

SELECTIONS
FROM THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

Vol. IV. February—May 1895.

CONTAINING ARTICLES FROM

Nos. CXXIV.—CXXIX. April 1876—July 1877.

SECOND SERIES.

"No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

CALCUTTA:

THOS. S. SMITH, "CITY PRESS," 12, BENTINCK STREET.
MESSRS. TILACKER, SPINK & CO., GOVERNMENT PLACE, N.
LONDON: MESSRS. KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & CO., LD.
PATERNOSTER HOUSE, CHANCING CROSS ROAD, LONDON, W. C.,
AND MAY BE ORDERED OF ALL BOOKSELLERS.

1895.

SELECTIONS

FROM
The Calcutta Review

JUST PUBLISHED.

May 1895.

THE CORSAIRS OF THE ISLE OF FRANCE. Col. G. B. Malleeson,
C. S. I.

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FOREIGN ADVENTURERS IN INDIA. Colonel Malleeson, C. S. I.

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SELECTIONS FROM THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

SECOND SERIES.

CENTRAL INDIA IN 1857.

BY H. M. DURAND, S. C.

IN the beginning of the hot weather of 1857, Sir Robert Hamilton, the Governor-General's Agent in Central India, was driven by ill health to Europe. Colonel Durand, who had been appointed to act for him, arrived at Indore on the 5th of April.

At this time there seemed to be no immediate danger that the new Agent's tenure of office would prove an unquiet one. The uneasy feeling which, during the last few months, had permeated the ranks of the Bengal Native Army, was apparently on the decrease. A perilous crisis had just been safely passed. The 19th Native Infantry, goaded into sudden mutiny a few weeks before by the story of the greased cartridges, had suffered itself to be quietly disarmed at Barrackpore, and its fate had provoked no overt expression of sympathy. April brought with it a general hope that the effect of this example, and the soothing assurances conveyed to the troops, might suffice to allay the prevailing spirit of insubordination or mistrust, that the wave of disaffection would die away as the circle widened. In Central India itself all seemed perfectly quiet. Writing to the Private Secretary on the 10th of April to announce his arrival, Colonel Durand found no topic of local interest more important than an outbreak of cholera in the city of Indore. But in truth India was on the eve of a terrible awakening. The storm was gathering to the northward, and it was not long before its first mutterings began to make themselves heard in the territories under the Agent's charge.

The earliest warning of trouble came from the most distant point of the Agency. On the 25th of April, Colonel Durand received information that a sepoy of the Bengal Native Infantry had been apprehended at Rewah, charged with the delivery of a treasonable missive to the Durbar. It was at first supposed that this man belonged to the disbanded 19th, but it turned out on enquiry that he was a private of the 37th Native Infantry, then stationed at Benares, immediately north of the Rewah State, and there was reason to believe that he was one of several emissaries sent out by that regiment to try the temper of the Native Courts. From this time evil tidings poured in fast. A private letter brought the news of the mutinous behaviour of the 3rd Cavalry at Meerut. Then came a report that a regiment of Oudh Infantry had misconducted itself at Lucknow, and this was a warning of peculiar significance for Central India, for it showed that the prevailing disaffection was not confined to the Regular Army. Even Contingents were becoming tainted, and

on the fidelity of Contingent troops depended the safety of the Agent's charge. But the Oudh soldiery were after all little different from their brethren of the Regular Army. In Central India all still seemed secure, and Colonel Durand wrote to Lord Canning : " I have no reason to suppose that any of the Contingents of Central India have as yet shown any disposition to sympathise with the disaffected movement. Rumours of an uncomfortable feeling existing among the Mhow native troops I have had, but nothing definite, and nothing to which I attach any importance." This was on Monday the 11th of May. On the following Thursday the calm was over. A series of startling telegrams had come in from the Lieutenant-Governor at Agra. The native troops at Meerut had broken into open revolt, many Europeans had been massacred, and Dehli was in the hands of the insurgents. The storm which had been so long gathering had burst at last. Every Englishman knows what followed. How through the long summer months, came from station after station the same story of treachery and massacre. How province after province was wrenched from our grasp by our own revolted soldiery. How a Mughul again enjoyed for a time the substance of power at Dehli, and a Peshwah was proclaimed at Bithoor. How here and there little clusters of our countrymen stood doggedly at bay, hardening their hearts against tremendous odds. And how at last doubt and disaster gave place to confidence and triumph; and the last of the Peshwahs fled before Havelock; and Hodson brought in as a prisoner the last of the Dehli Kings; and the British Government stood out in name as well as in fact the Paramount Power in India. We won in the end, as we have a way of doing. But it was a life and death struggle, and from end to end of India, Englishmen had to strain every nerve before our supremacy was restored.

To understand that which Central India was called upon to play in the great conflict, it will be necessary to examine in detail the geographical position of the territories under the Agent's charge, and the circumstances which surrounded him. Central India may be roughly described as a great triangle. The base, some five hundred miles in length, lay nearly east and west. It was formed by a line drawn across the continent, from a point about fifty miles east of Baroda. This line followed the course of the Nerbudda as far as Jubbulpore, and was thence produced to the eastern extremity of the Rewah State, about a hundred miles south of Benares. From the terminal points of the line, the sides of the triangle, each over three hundred and fifty miles* in length, sloped upwards to the northern extremity o

* These distances and many others map. Probably they are under th mentioned in this article have been mark as a rule.
roughly computed with the aid of a

Sindia's dominion, a point on the Chumbul about thirty miles south of Agra. Of course this figure was a very irregular one. The Rajpootana States encroached on the north-west side of the triangle, and the British provinces, below the Jumna, encroached on the north-east side, while Holkar's territory fell in a loop over the Nerbudda at the south-west corner. But the description will serve to convey a general idea of the position of the territories over which the Agent had to exercise a more or less direct control.

The importance of this great tract of country did not lie mainly in its size. From the southern frontier of Holkar's possessions below the Nerbudda to the apex of the triangle near Dholepore, the direct road between Bombay and Agra lay through the territory of the States under the Agent's charge. Both as a postal and telegraphic line this road was invaluable, for at that time there was no direct telegraphic line between Madras and Calcutta, and the only circle by which telegraphic communication with the Madras and Bombay Presidencies could be effected, was that by Agra and Indore. It was not less important as a purely military road, for along it the Bombay army could be brought directly into operation against the north of India. The maintenance of this line of communication, the very back-bone of his charge, was, at the beginning of the outbreak, the main object which the Agent had in view.

Unfortunately he had to contend against no common difficulties. The road was flanked to the westward, though at a considerable distance, by the two large military stations of Neemuch and Nusseerabad, both of which were occupied by Regular troops not under his orders. To the eastward, the position was still more insecure. The great triangular tract, of which I have spoken, was not all under the direct control of the Agency. It was fairly cloven asunder by the "Saugor and Nerbudda territories"—a wedge of country which pushed up through the base of the triangle, throwing off Bundelcund and Rewah to the eastward, and narrowing to a point at Jhansee, in the very heart of the Agent's charge, where it was met by a southerly projection from the British sub-Jumna districts. This tract of country was studded with military stations occupied by Regular troops. Jubbulpore, Saugor, Lullutpore, Nowgong, and Jhansee flanked the Bombay road at various distances, closing gradually upon it to the northward. The last-named and most northerly station was, perhaps, fifty miles east of the road. As this chain of posts completely separated the Agent from the eastern portion of his charge, the only force he could depend upon for the protection of the great line of communications, was that at his disposal between the western frontier of the Saugor Commissionership and the eastern frontier of Rajpootana, close to which was Neemuch.

The value of this force did not consist in its European element. With the exception of one battery of foot Artillery, which contained a source of weakness in the shape of native drivers, there was not a single European soldier under the Agent's orders. The only strong point about his position was the fact that the bulk of the force was not composed of Regulars. It was made up of troops from the several Contingents of the States under the Agency. These Contingent troops formed a service apart from the Regular Army. They were as soldiers under somewhat different conditions, and had little in common with the men of the British Line. Hitherto they had shown no signs of disaffection. It seemed possible, therefore, that masses of Contingent troops, carefully isolated, might keep the Regulars in check, the latter being uncertain whether sympathy with themselves or the ties of discipline would prevail in the ranks of the local forces. It was at best a precarious chance, but it was the only one, and so long as the isolation was maintained, the Contingents of Central India did, in fact, remain outwardly loyal.

The disposition of the various troops was as follows :— At Mhow, some five and twenty miles north of the Nerbudda, and the first military post on the line, were stationed the only Regular troops within the Agency. These were the 23rd Bengal Native Infantry, and a wing of the 1st Cavalry, the other wing of which was at Neemuch. Here also was stationed the European battery under Captain Hungerford. It was from Mhow that trouble was all along expected, and it was from Mhow that the worst of the trouble came. Thirteen miles higher up the road lay Indore, the head-quarters of the Agency. In Indore itself was a detachment of the Malwa Contingent, 200 strong, which acted as a guard for the treasury and other public buildings. There was also a large force of all arms belonging to the Maharaja Holkar. Above Indore there was no military station on the main road for something like 200 miles. But flanking it on the west were the two stations of Mehidpoor and Augur, thirty miles apart, and rather more than that distance from the road. Mehidpoor was the head-quarters of the Malwa Contingent. Facing these stations, some forty miles east of the main road, and about 100 from Indore, was Sehore in Bhopal, the head-quarters of the Bhopal Contingent. Higher up again, in Sindia's territory, and on the road itself, lay Goonah, perhaps 200 miles from Indore. Some sixty miles further north was Seepree, and about the same distance above it Gwalior. These three stations were all occupied by troops of the Gwalior Contingent, the head-quarters of which were at Gwalior itself, only 65 miles south of Agra.

Mhow, therefore, was entirely isolated. Below it lay the Ner-

budda, and the troops of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, while above if overwhelming numbers of Contingent and Durbar troops were spread out over the country and barred all passage to the northward. It would be useless to overload these pages with a statement of the strength of each Contingent. The Gwalior force alone numbered over 8,000 men, commanded by European officers. So long, therefore, as the Contingents remained faithful, the Agent could make sure of eventually crushing any attempt at revolt on the part of the small body of Regulars at Mhow. But on the fidelity of the Contingents everything depended.

Such was the state of affairs in Central India when on the 14th of May, news arrived of the great catastrophes at Meerut and Dehli. It was a critical moment, for the treasury at Indore was a tempting prize, and the guard available for its defence was a very small one. Colonel Durand immediately sent out right and left for reinforcements. But these could not arrive before the 20th. The Mhow troops could hardly be kept so long in ignorance of what was passing, and it was impossible to say how they might be stirred by the tidings. The City of Indore itself was full of dangerous classes, who would be only too ready to join in any undertaking which offered a chance of plunder. The European battery without supports of any kind could not, of course, be expected to do much against the mutineers. Indeed, it seemed only too probable, that if either Infantry or Cavalry plucked up courage for a rush, the guns must fall an easy prey. However, what could be done to secure Indore was done. A body of the Maharaja's Cavalry, with some guns, was kept ready night and day, and pickets were pushed forward along the Mhow road. But it was very doubtful whether these troops could be relied upon to fight the Regulars, and if they gave way there seemed to be little chance of saving Indore. The danger was narrowly escaped. It afterwards transpired that the Mhow troops had debated among themselves whether they would make a dash for the north, *via* Indore, before reinforcements could arrive. But they were not at this time sure of the Contingent or of Holkar's men, and they allowed the chance to go by. On the morning of the 20th May, the attempt would have been too late. The Bheel corps from Sirdarpore, 270 strong, about the same number of Bhopal Contingent Infantry with two guns, and two troops of Bhopal Contingent Cavalry, mostly Sikhs, had been brought in by forced marches.

Meanwhile, however, the Mhow officers had lost all confidence in their men, and the excitement throughout the Cantonment was distressing. Colonel Platt, who commanded the 23rd and the station, was known to be ever ready and resolute. But he had gone out tiger-shooting, and his absence was unfortunate.

Those who should have been lessening the danger by keeping up a show of confidence, were in fact doing their best to precipitate the collision by a series of injudicious proceedings. When the bad news arrived from Dehli, a large and heterogeneous council of officers was convened to discuss the position. * As might have been expected this resulted in the enunciation of some very unwise views, and the increase of alarm. On the 17th, Major Harris, commanding the Cavalry, who had himself objected to the council when it met, came into Indore and described the state of affairs at Mhow. Colonel Durand immediately informed him that the summoning of such an assembly was an indiscreet measure, and that it should not be repeated. With regard to the proposals of the officers, which involved a show of mistrust, the Agent replied that in his opinion there were only two courses open on these occasions—undiminished trust or overt mistrust with its accompanying precautions—that the former was in their power, the latter from want of force not so, and that they should be very careful to do nothing which might precipitate an outburst of feeling on the part of the troops. But the alarm did not subside. The artilleryman Hungerford shot his guns; measures were taken for provisioning the magazine, and the hesitating natives were encouraged to rise by every sign of perturbation among the Europeans. So it ever was. With Colonel Durand, as with all others in high places at the time, one of the great difficulties was to induce men, some of whom afterwards proved themselves brave enough in actual danger, to meet the approach of the danger with a serene face and a show of confidence. "Don't be alarmed yourselves and don't alarm others" was Colonel Durand's incessant advice. And from end to end of the Agency it was sorely needed.

For a few days after the arrival of reinforcements at Indore, things seemed to be going on better. The Regulars in Nowgong and Jhansee were loud in their professions of loyalty. The city of Indore, which from the 15th to the 20th had been in a state of the wildest alarm, began to regain its wonted composure. News came from Agra that "the plague was being stayed." The Dehli mutineers, some 3,000 strong, were clinging to the walls and living by plunder. The "final advance" of our army was about to be made, and it seemed likely that the news of the city having fallen would soon come to act as a general sedative. But as the month of May wore to a close this gleam of sunshine was overcast. Disquieting rumours came in from Neemuch and Nusseeraabad. A body of the Gwalior Contingent Cavalry pushed up, contrary to Colonel Durand's wishes, into contact with the mutinous masses at Hattrass, deserted its European officer, and went into open revolt. General Ramsay, who commanded at Gwalior expressed himself doubtful of the whole Contingent and refused

to call in any detachments to head-quarters. Nearer at hand Colonel Travers, commanding the Bhopal Contingent, reported that emissaries from the 23rd were tampering with his men. Writing to Lord Elphinstone on the 31st of May, Colonel Durand summed up the position as follows : " No great reliance can now be placed on Contingents any more than on their comrades of the Regular Army. In Central India, however, there is nothing for it but to hold the one in check by the other until some blow struck by the Commander-in-Chief tell as a sedative. Every day's delay is, however, rendering our position here as elsewhere more precarious.

The early days of June brought news of a still more serious nature. On the 1st, Colonel Durand learnt that the Nusseerabad troops had risen, and marched off in a body towards Dehli. Five days later it was known that the force at Neemuch had followed their example, and foremost among the mutineers had been the wing of the 1st Cavalry. It was very doubtful how the Mhow troops would take the news. Colonel Platt was confident, but the Durbar Vakeel at Indore insisted upon it, that they were on the point of rising ; while from other sources came information that they had been incited to mutiny by the Durbar itself. It was said that they meant to rise on the 9th, to surround and overwhelm the European battery, and then, " with Holkar in their favour," attack the Treasury at Indore. But if any rising had been contemplated, it was not carried into execution. The news of the Neemuch outbreak filtered through the ranks and seemed to produce no fresh excitement. The Cavalry remained outwardly respectful, and the 23rd volunteered to march against the mutineers. It seemed just possible that all might yet go well. Distrust of the Maharaja's troops, and of the heterogeneous detachments collected at Indore, might be sufficient to curb the Mhow force. Colonel Durand was well aware that Holkar's name was being made use of among the sepoys as an incentive to revolt. But he attached little credit to tales of Holkar's disloyalty : " Holkar's fears and interests," he wrote, " are on our side, and so far as any Durbar, especially a Mah-ratta Durbar, is trustworthy, Holkar's seems so : I have seen nothing suspicious." This was written on the 8th June. On the following day came a piece of bad news. The Malwa Contingent Cavalry, pushed up contrary to Colonel Durand's orders into practical contact with the Neemuch mutineers, had murdered their officers, and gone off in a body. The defection of this force was peculiarly unfortunate. The men had many relatives among Holkar's Cavalry, and their misconduct naturally threw suspicion on the latter. Holkar himself frankly confessed that he was no longer sure of his troops. But there was little further aid

available. Beyond calling in Colonel Travers from Sehore with the rest of the Bhopal Contingent Cavalry, some 50 men, nothing more could be done to make the position secure. Meanwhile, more bad news had come in. A terrible massacre of Europeans was reported from Jhansee. The troops at Nowgong were said to have followed suit. And, worse than all, on the evening of the 14th June, the interruption of the telegraph between Gwalior and Seepree gave the first intimation that the great main road itself was in danger. Two days later the cause of the interruption was known. The Gwalior Contingent had risen, and Sindia's capital was in the hands of the mutineers. The communications with Agra along the direct road were now cut off. For a hundred miles below the Chumbal the line was gone, and, as detachments of the Gwalior Contingent held Seepree and Goonah, it seemed likely that the flame of insurrection would run down the line, and that the telegraph would soon be working only upon the last 150 miles above Indore. This apprehension was soon verified. On the evening of the 20th, an express from Captain Harrison, who commanded a troop of the Contingent at Goonah, announced that the Seepree officers had joined him. Captain Harrison added that he was falling back on Indore. He was ordered to halt his troop at Biowra, 120 miles north of Indore, and to keep up telegraphic communication from there. Letters from Agra had now to travel round by Jey-poor in Rajputana, and even so their safety was very doubtful.

Meanwhile, a small relieving column, under the command of Major-General Woodburn, had been moving up to Mhow from Bombay. It consisted of five troops of H. M.'s 14th Dragoons, a battery of European Artillery, one company of Sappers, and a regiment of Native Infantry. The 3rd Nizam's Cavalry, and another regiment of Native Infantry, were waiting at Mullingaum to join in the advance. The advent of this force at Mhow had been anxiously awaited. It would have kept the Mhow troops in order, and established the fidelity of the Contingents which still stood. In all probability, it would also have enabled the Governor-General's Agent to recover the greater part of the lost line of communication with Agra. But Colonel Durand's hopes were doomed to disappointment. Just as it seemed probable that he would soon have a trustworthy force above the Nerbudda, the 1st Nizam's Cavalry, which had been pushed up to take the place of the 3rd, mutinied at Aurungabad; Woodburn's advance on Mhow was checked, and the column was diverted to the eastward. The result of this move was likely to be serious. The Mhow troops were relieved from immediate fear, and it seemed probable that they might take advantage of the delay to make a dash for Sindia's country, while immediately to the south of the Nerbudda, symptoms of

disaffection had begun to manifest themselves. At the moment that this unlucky diversion took place, worse news came pouring in from the north and east. Jubbulpore was on the verge of mutiny; Lullutpore the same; Saugor was hesitating; and in Bundelcund a rising of the turbulent natives began to assume formidable dimensions. Nothing now stood above Indore but a small semi-circle of doubtful contingent troops. At Mehidpore the Artillery and Infantry had remained faithful under peculiarly trying circumstances; Augur was held by a detachment of the same force; Captain Harrison, with his troop of Gwalior Cavalry, lay at Biowra; and from Schore all was reported safe. But in Mhow itself the temper of the troops was so uncertain that Colonel Platt dared not risk the punishment of an emissary who had been caught tampering with the 23rd. The man was sent over to Indore to be dealt with, and Colonel Durand wrote: "Any thing more ticklish than the state of the native corps at Mhow, Saugor and Jubbulpore, can scarcely be conceived. Of course there has been volunteering, etc., and 'entire confidence' on the part of commanding officers. But that is all moonshine, and every one knows the real state of affairs."

The fate of Central India was trembling in the balance. For a moment it seemed as if the crisis would be safely passed. News came that Woodburn had roughly trampled out the rising at Aurungabad and was free to march on Mhow, and at the same time Colonel Durand received information that Dehli had fallen on the 12th. But these good tidings were soon found to be delusive, and the reaction turned the scale. On the 28th Lord Elphinstone telegraphed that Woodburn could not advance, and inquired the probable effect on Colonel Durand's charge. The Agent immediately replied that he could not answer one hour for the safety of Central India if it should become known that the column was not marching on Mhow. He urgently pressed Lord Elphinstone to push on the little force without delay, and pointed out that there was no difficulty in its path. Lord Elphinstone replied that the advance had not been countermanded. But it was too late. The contents of the first message had leaked out of the telegraph office, and were soon known in the bazars. About the same time one of the Indore bankers received bad news from Dehli which he would not communicate to the Agent. What that news was became only too soon apparent. On the morning of the 1st July, a letter came in from Agra. It was dated the 20th June, and showed that the former report of the fall of Dehli had been premature. Up to the 17th, the British position had been repeatedly attacked, it was all we could do to hold our own, and the General had determined to await reinforcements before venturing on an assault.

Colonel Durand was in the act of condensing this information into a telegram for Lord Elphinstone, so that the latest news from Dehli might reach England by the Bombay steamer of the 1st July, when a *chupprasse* rushed into the room and reported that there was a great commotion in the bazaar. The noise rose rapidly, and Colonel Durand laid down his pen to see what was the matter. He had not long to wait. A fortnight before, three of Holkar's nine-pounders and two companies of Infantry had been brought over to strengthen the garrison of the Residency. As Colonel Durand came out upon the Residency steps these guns opened fire, and sent a shower of grape into the Bhopal Contingent lines. The surprise was complete. The Cavalry at their pickets had received the greater portion of the discharge, and as fast as the men could saddle and mount they came rushing out, wild with alarm. All attempts to form them were useless. They were galloping hither and thither in utter confusion, and seemed to think only of getting under cover. Colonel Travers, always ready for a deed of daring, did the best thing that could be done under the circumstances. Calling upon his men to follow, he dashed into the open and rode straight at the guns. But his example was not sufficient to stir the blood of the panic-stricken troopers. Five men, all Sikhs, followed him and got in among Holkar's gunners, but the rest of the regiment hung back, and the chance of taking the guns was lost. Of course the charge, gallant as it was, could make no real impression, though it served to gain a little time. Holkar's Artillery moved round unmolested by the left of the Infantry lines and took up a new position in front of the Residency, where they were less exposed to a second attempt of the kind; a position they could never have held and would never have taken up had they not been sure of the Contingent Infantry. They were supported by Holkar's Cavalry, swarming under every sort of cover, and by the two companies of Infantry which had been posted for the defence of the Residency. The two guns of the Bhopal Contingent were now moved forward to meet the attack. Those of the native gunners who had not made off at the first discharge of grape, fourteen in number, did their duty well under the direction of two European Sergeants, Orr and Murphy. One of the enemy's pieces was disabled, and the Infantry supports driven off. But the success of our people was only temporary, for it was not supported. Nothing would induce the Contingent Cavalry to seize their opportunity. They were mostly Sikhs, and Colonel Durand, who knew of old how Sikhs could fight, had fully relied upon their courage. But he was miserably disappointed. No exertion on the part of the officers could bring them into any sort of formation. A portion of the regiment was already scampering along the road to Sehore,

where they arrived incoherent with terror, spreading the report that every European in Indore had been massacred, and that they alone had escaped to tell the tale. The rest gathered in a shapeless heap far to the rear of the Residency, and there remained, loyal but useless. The behaviour of the Infantry was still worse. The men of the Bhopal Contingent, some 270 strong, levelled their muskets at their European officers and drove them off. The Mehidpore Contingent Infantry, of whom about 200 were in the lines, refused to obey orders, and remained sullenly aloof. The Bheels under Colonel Stockley, were so far manageable, that they allowed themselves to be formed; but fight they would not. By incessant exertion their officers succeeded in making them keep their ranks, but Colonel Stockley reported them too unsteady to be thrust into action, and all thought of an advance had to be given up.

One last chance remained. At the beginning of the cannonade Colonel Durand had sent off a note to Colonel Platt asking for the immediate despatch of the European battery. A stand might possibly be made until news should arrive from Mhow. The Bheels were thrown into the Residency in the hope that they might pluck up courage under cover, and do something to punish the attacking force. But the hope was a vain one. Holkar's guns had now moved round to their original position, where they had good cover, and were pouring a well-directed fire of round shot and grape into the Residency building itself. The Bheels were completely cowed by the storm, and could not be induced to discharge their pieces even from the comparative security of the Residency windows. The whole work of defence was left to the fourteen faithful gunners, and it soon became clear that even if Hungerford's battery were able to leave Mhow, it would arrive too late to do more than cover a retreat. The attack was no longer a tentative one. Encouraged by the impunity with which the guns had for nearly two hours cannonaded the Residency, Holkar's troops came pouring up to their support. A Durbar officer of high rank called them out to the attack, and the lines were rapidly emptied. Holkar was known to have a powerful force. Besides the three guns which had proved too much for the feelings of the Cavalry and Bheels, he had nine good English six and nine pounders, with some fifteen or twenty others of various calibres. His Cavalry numbered about 1,400 sabres. His Regular Infantry, putting it at the lowest computation, was 2,000 strong, and was backed by all the rabble of the city, burning to join in the slaughter of the *Sahib logue*. To make matter worse nearly 500 mutinous Contingent Infantry were biding their time within the Residency lines.

At this juncture, Captain Maghiac, the officer commanding the Bhopal Contingent Cavalry, came up for the third time with a

message from his men. They intimated that they were about to consult their own safety, further resistance being hopeless, and begged that this last chance might be taken of saving the ladies and children. Some of Holkar's guns and Cavalry were moving round to cut off the retreat, and they intended to make their escape before it was too late.

To fight longer, with any chance of success was impossible. The flight of the Bhopal Horse would have cut away even the faint show of strength which remained. All the Europeans who had not been murdered were now in the Residency, and the last hope of saving them was to retreat while retreat was possible. To cling to the Residency was to pronounce the doom of the little company. There was just a chance that the European battery might be coming up, but this was very unlikely. The Mhow troops had from the first formed the nucleus of disaffection and intrigue. In all probability the rising was a concerted one, and Hungerford had enough to do to hold his own. Even if this were not the case the arrival of the battery would now be too late to turn the scale. It could hardly be up under two hours, and by that time the whole of Holkar's troops would be ready to receive it. Unsupported by either Cavalry or Infantry it could hardly be expected to break through the overwhelming masses of the enemy and bring off the survivors, if there should be any survivors, of the little garrison. More than this it certainly could not hope to do. There was nothing, therefore, to be gained by clinging to the walls of the Residency, and there was everything to be lost. To retire now while the remnant of a force hung together was the course dictated by every military consideration. At half-past ten the order was given. The mutineers had cut off all the horses and carriages, but the ladies were mounted on the gun waggons, and thus with the Bheels and Cavalry covering the rear, the little force moved slowly off under the fire of Holkar's guns. For the time at least it was not pursued. Small as it was, it was yet sufficient to command a certain amount of respect; and Holkar's troops, shrinking from hand to hand fight, or satiated by the slaughter of some forty Europeans, who had been cut off outside the Residency, turned to the more congenial occupation of plundering the Treasury. In this they were joined by the Contingent troops.

The line of retreat chosen was of course that on Mhow. It was possible that the battery might be on its way and that a junction might be effected. But the hope, if hope there ever was, was very soon over. The Bhopal Cavalry could not be persuaded to follow; their fears of the Mhow troops were too vivid, and the attempt had to be given up. The next best course was to circle round Mhow and make Mundlaisur, which Captain

Keatinge, the Political Officer in Nimar, had prepared as a point of refuge for our people in case the Mhow troops rose. Mundlaisur was situated on the northern bank of the Nerbudda, some five and twenty miles south of Mhow. The force was accordingly diverted from the Mhow road with the view of crossing the hills by the Simrole pass. But this plan also failed. When Colonel Durand arrived at Tilloor, about ten miles from Indore, some villagers came up with the information that four guns and some Cavalry of Holkar's had gone on in advance the day before, and had occupied the pass. This information was corroborated by a Sikh trooper, who stated that he had seen the guns go by when on picket upon the Mhow road. Colonel Durand decided upon this to force the pass, and descend on Mundlaisur. But again the fears of the Cavalry stepped in. They resolutely declined to obey the order, and intimated, in the plainest terms, that if the attempt were persisted in, they would detach themselves from the force and leave the Bheels to follow alone. Their officers were in no position to enforce obedience. The value of the Bheels had been sufficiently demonstrated, and the Mundlaisur route was reluctantly given up. The only chance of keeping together the semblance of a force, and effecting an orderly retreat, was to humour the Cavalry and march eastward on Schore. As I have already stated, this place was the head-quarters of the Contingent, and the Cavalry were disturbed by fears for the safety of their families, the Mussulmans distrusting the Sikhs, and the Sikhs distrusting the Mussulmans. The change of route was a serious one, for it took the little force away from the only strong place within reach, from the chance of rejoining the European battery, and from the line of Woodburn's advance. It trebled the distance to be covered, and of course it invited pursuit. But there was nothing else to be done. The retreat was safely effected. Pressed on in rapid marches by the Cavalry, whose ungovernable fears made them utterly careless of the exhaustion of the unmounted men, the remnant of the little force marched into Schore on the 4th of July, bringing in its guns, and every European who had reached the Residency on the morning of the outbreak. For the time the Contingent remained faithful, and the troops of the Bhopal State behaved well. The Sekunder Begum, a lady of remarkable talent and tact, was at the head of affairs, and she succeeded in keeping down the gathering spirit of revolt. After a day's stay in Schore, Colonel Durand struck down to Hoshungabad, on the southern bank of the Nerbudda, whence he hoped to get into communication with Major-General Woodburn, and to bring round his people to Mundlaisur, or if such a course seemed advisable, to Mhow; of course any attempt to reach either place by the northern bank of the river was to

retrace his steps through Holkar's territory, unattended even by the Contingent. When he arrived at Hoshungabad, however, he learnt that the Mhow troops had risen on the night of the 1st July, and after murdering three of their officers had gone off to Indore. The European battery was safe in the Fort, neither pressed nor threatened, though without supports, and crippled, moreover, by the defection of its native drivers and syces, it could do nothing to check or punish the mutineers.

The whole line of communication from the Nerbudda to the Chumbul, had now passed out of our hands. But below the Nerbudda all stood firm so far, and it needed only the rapid advance of Woodburn's column to stay the spread of disaffection, and maintain our position at all events up to the river line. To delay any longer was to risk the loss of the river itself, and the fall of the only barrier which yet stood between the blazing north and the smouldering south. But, neither Major-General Woodburn nor the Civil authorities at Nagpore had grasped this fact. While Colonel Durand was at Hoshungabad he received information which struck him with indignant surprise. Blind to the disastrous nature of such a surrender the Nagpore Commissioner, Mr. Plowden, was doing his utmost to throw up the Nerbudda, and to divert Woodburn's column from its advance. The officers commanding the military posts upon the northern line of the Commissionership had been directed to fall back on Kamptee, if the Indore mutineers threatened to march southwards, and Mr. Plowden had written to Major-General Woodburn, begging him to march eastward on Nagpore. It is hardly necessary to point out the consequences of such a move. It would have lost us a remarkably strong military position, thrown back our frontier, perhaps 150 miles, exposed Candeish, imperilled the northern portion of the Nizam's dominions, and afforded a strong incentive to the southern troops to revolt. A more dangerous confession of weakness could hardly have been conceived. Moreover it was totally unnecessary, for Nagpore was strong in European and Madras troops, and the mutineers could not cross the river if the posts were held. But it is only fair to add that Mr. Plowden was at the time under a misconception as to the results of the rising at Mhow. He believed that every European had been put to death.

Directly the news of the great mistake contemplated by the Nagpore authorities reached Colonel Durand, he did his utmost to prevent its commission. He addressed Mr. Plowden and the Supreme Government, pointing out the serious military error of the move. He sent an express to Major-General Woodburn announcing that he entirely disapproved of Mr. Plowden's advice, and of the instructions issued to the military posts. And he

authorised the officers commanding those posts to disregard the orders they had received. But this was not enough to secure the line of the Nerbudda. Woodburn had left uncertain whether he meant to advance or not, and Colonel Durand knew that the effect of his representations must at best be very uncertain. There was no time for a protracted correspondence on the subject. Woodburn's delay had already done irreparable mischief. He had wasted a fortnight at Aurungabad trying mutineers when he should have been making long marches. It was now near the middle of July, and a dry July in Central India was no common phenomenon. If the column were not on the Nerbudda before the rains set in, and the roads over the black soil became impassable, it could not be there for several months, and as the line of the river was held by native troops, it was impossible to say what might happen. The Agent could, of course, do no good by joining the little garrison shut up in Mhow Fort. So he determined to go down himself to Aurungabad, or if necessary to Lord Elphinstone at Bombay, and force up the column by the weight of personal argument. Accordingly, on the 14th of July, after satisfying himself that Mhow was safe for the present, and making arrangements for the transaction of any political business which might require attention during his absence, he started for Asseerghur. Happily his fears were soon at an end. On the 17th, after reaching Hurdah, he learnt that his urgent appeals for the advance of the column, and his indignant notice of Mr. Plowden's instructions, had been effectual. Woodburn had retired to Poonah sick. But his successor, Brigadier Stuart, had been ordered to push on at once, and had marched for Mhow *via* Asseerghur on the 12th. To Asseerghur Colonel Durand proceeded to meet him and hurry on the advance. On the 1st of August he stood again at Simrole in the guise a British Agent should stand, independent of the good will of any native chief, and ready to enforce his orders. While the column lay at Simrole, it was reported that Holkar's mutinous regiments were coming out to attack it. It is a pity they did not carry out the idea, for despite their great numerical superiority they would have been scattered to the winds by Stuart's handy little force; and a good deal of after trouble would have been saved. But they thought better of it, and on the following day the column marched into Mhow. Colonel Durand had brought it up, but just in time. The first shower of rain fell on the night of the 1st, and the black soil was in such a state next morning, that the European battery took fourteen hours to cover the nine-mile march. However, the column was there, and the line of the Nerbudda was saved. A few days later the force was strengthened by the arrival of 250 men of H. M.'s 86th.

Shortly after his return to Mhow, Colonel Durand summed up in the following words the state of affairs in Central India, and the measures which seemed to him to be necessary for the re-establishment of the British power :—

“ The means of coercion at our disposal are extremely inadequate to the restoration of order, and to the stay of anarchy wherever that exists. The Gwalior Contingent has wholly gone from our colours, and is now, with its well-equipped Artillery, in Sindia's hands, and of course, at his disposal. It may act against us. It never can act for us. The Malwa Contingent has lost all its Cavalry, a body of 800 good horse, and its Infantry, so misbehaved at Indore, that it is impossible not to hold the whole body in suspicion, though the Artillery and Infantry are still together at Mehidpore under its European officers. The Bhopal Contingent, after its disgraceful and treacherous behaviour at Indore, is now in open mutiny at Sehore and not likely to hold together long. The Bheel Corps is in course of re-assembly, but with its character and influence deteriorated, and having to be thinned of many native officers and men whom the utmost latitude of commiseration cannot permit to remain in the ranks. At Nagode, up to the latest advices from Major Ellis, the 50th Bengal Native Infantry still stood and was dutiful ; but with that single exception from north to south of this charge, there is not a gun, there is not a sabre, there is not a musket, which can be called in aid of the maintenance of order and British supremacy, except Brigadier Stuart's weak column at Mhow, consisting of one battery of European Artillery, thoroughly effective, one battery of European Artillery paralysed by loss of drivers, 230 Dragoons of H. M.'s 14th, 250 of H. M.'s 86th, the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, details of Bombay and Madras Sappers and Miners, and the 3rd Nizam's Cavalry. The total of this effective force may amount to 700 Europeans of all arms, and 1,200 native troops of all arms, giving a grand total of 1,900 men. This force may for the present be considered in observation of Holkar's force at Indore, composed of 30 guns of various calibres, about 1,400 horse, and five battalions of Infantry, besides a city which has shown itself hostile and seditious.”

Such was the condition of affairs in the middle of August. It could hardly seem much worse. But worse was to come. As the rainy season wore on a person calling himself the Shahzada Humayoon raised the Mussulman standard at Mundesore near the Rajputana frontier. He was joined by a portion of Sindia's troops, and by all the turbulent Velayutees and Mewatees of the neighbourhood. The force under his orders rose rapidly, until at last it was estimated at no less than 20,000 men, and threatened

to overrun all Western Malwa. To the north-east the lookout was even more threatening. It seemed only too probable that the Nana's forces, broken by Havelock about Cawnpore, might strike southward into Bundelcund, and gathering to themselves the Banda and Gwalior mutineers, pour down in one overwhelming mass upon Central India, where there was nothing to stay their advance but the small column at Mhow. The Nana's Agent, Tantia Topce, was known to be intriguing at Jhansee, and the Mahrattas eagerly awaited the advance of the "Peshwah" himself. Meanwhile, immediately to the east of Mhow, a body of Velayutees menaced Nimar; while, immediately to the westward, a strong force of Afghans and other mercenaries rose and occupied Dhar and Amjhera. From this position they communicated by their left with the Mundesore army, and threatened with their right the Bombay road below Mhow.

All this time the little force at Mhow was chafing in helpless idleness. It could not attempt to enter on a campaign during the rains. Its strength lay in Cavalry and Artillery, and until the black soil was dry, there was no possibility of using these arms with effect. The roads themselves were in most parts around Indore execrably bad at this season, and off the roads there was no firm ground to deploy and act. The Infantry by itself was too weak to do much, and moreover the exposure of the men in the open, where carts, baggage, and Commissariat stores could not follow, was to ensure the ruin of the force from wet bivouac and want of supplies. Swayed partly by these considerations and partly by others of a political nature, Colonel Durand decided to keep the column stationary at Mhow until the rains should cease, and the surface of the country should become sufficiently hard to admit of rapid and effective movement. In this course he was supported by the Bombay Government, who feared for the security of their frontier, and objected to the employment of the little force at any distance from Mhow.

Directly, however, that the weather showed signs of breaking, the column prepared to open the ball. There were some difficulties to be overcome before it could take the field. The Bombay Government still desired to retain it at Mhow, and the Saugor authorities wished to cripple it by borrowing half its Artillery. To both those suggestions, Colonel Durand resolutely declined to listen, and strengthening himself by calling up a force of Nizam's troops, which the apprehensions of the Bombay Government would have kept inactive below the Nerbudda, he set his force to the northward. But it was no easy matter to decide in what direction the force should deliver its first blow. It was, of course, very desirable to disarm the Indore insurgents, and dangerous to leave them in the rear. On the other

hand their position was strong; an attempt to disarm them would probably involve a good deal of street fighting, which was the thing of all others to be avoided; and if they should prefer to retreat before the column could close on Indore, the only result of an advance in that direction would be to swell the Mundesore insurrection, already sufficiently formidable. It was decided finally that the best course would be to move on Mundesore first *via* Dhar. The crushing of the Shahzada's army would, it was thought, have a most salutary effect. His rude Velayutees were dreaded by the natives almost as much as Europeans, and with justice. The defeat of these hardy fighting men would probably take the heart out of Holkar's troops, and their disarming would be easy. If the latter should take advantage of the northward march of the column to attack Mhow, they would, of course, cause temporary embarrassment. But they seemed unlikely to undertake any offensive operations, and it was necessary that something should be risked. In the middle of October, therefore, the column moved out of cantonments. The plan of operations was as follows:—The insurrection which had broken out in Dhar and Amjhera, was first to be put down. The force was then to march north against the Shahzada, and disperse the Mundesore army, after which it could either swing round on Indore, or, if necessary, strike across the road above Indore, and hound back the Nana to the north-east.

It will not be necessary for the purposes of this article to give any detailed account of the movements of the column during the next two months. Dhar Fort was occupied on the 1st of November after ten days' siege, and a detachment was sent to Amjhera, a few miles further west, to free the rear and left flank of the column as it marched northwards. Amjhera was occupied without opposition. Before our troops arrived the mutineers had fled to Mundesore, and the Bombay road was free from insult. It was now hoped that the Shahzada's force might come down to meet the column in the open field, and at first it seemed as if the hope might be fulfilled. On the 8th a body of Velayutees attacked Mehidpoor, where the Infantry and Artillery of the Malwa Contingent still made a show of standing faithful. Little resistance was offered, and the enemy carried off a large supply of ammunition and some guns. Their success, however, did not last long. Major Orr, who had been pushed on in advance with a small body of Nizam's Cavalry, came up with them about sunset on the 12th. His men justified the confidence Colonel Durand had placed in them. The Velayutees made a hard stand for their supplies and guns, but they were broken and dispersed, and the whole of the spoils of the Mehidpoor station were retaken. During the next fortnight the Shahzada's army was completely shattered, after some

very severe fighting, and then, leaving the Hyderabad Contingent Cavalry at Mundesore, the little column turned round upon Holkar's troops. The effect of the move had been accurately calculated. While on the march Colonel Durand wrote to inform Holkar that he should be at Indore about the 15th of December. It was added that ample time had been allowed for the punishment of the troops and people concerned in the attack on the Residency; that only one man had in fact been punished; that now if the Maharaja could deal with the guilty, their punishment would be left to him, but that if he could not, force would be used rapidly and summarily. Holkar intimated in reply that if the column would halt outside the city a mile from the Cavalry lines, he would disarm the troops himself. This was done, and on the 15th the mutinous regiments quietly laid down their arms. The mere presence of the victorious little force was sufficient. On the following morning Colonel Durand made over charge of the Agency to Sir Robert Hamilton, who now arrived on the scene, and at the same time Sir Hugh Rose took command of the troops.

Such, from a military point of view, were the facts, very briefly stated, of Colonel Durand's administration in Central India. Without the aid of any European force he had succeeded in maintaining himself at Indore for six weeks after the outbreak at Delhi, by isolating the Contingent troops and playing them off against the Regulars. When contrary to his wishes the two were allowed to come into contact, the fidelity of the Contingents gave way, and gradually the circle of insurrection closed upon Indore. At last, driven out of the Residency by a combination of treachery and cowardice, he made good a soldierly retreat in the face of overwhelming masses, veiling his weakness by a show of force, and marched into Sehore without the loss of gun, standard, or other trophy. Thence he proceeded to Hoshungabad, and resolutely holding, in the teeth of orders, the great natural barrier of the Nerbudda, dragged up Woodburn's hesitating column to Mhow before the rains came down. Using that column compactly to deal heavy blows, he took a strong fort, crushed a formidable insurrection, dispersed or disarmed forces far exceeding his own in numbers, and finally handed over his charge free of serious embarrassment to his successor.

It remains to consider the political aspect of his administration. For the purposes of the present article this resolves itself into a consideration of his relations with the Holkar State; for, as far as I am aware, his relations with the other States of the Agency never gave rise to discussion, except in the case of Dhar, and this point will be more conveniently treated later on. Up to the time of the attack on the Residency, Holkar had been treated with perfect confidence by the Acting Agent. His interests

seemed to be on our side, and his fears were openly expressed. He was at his own desire supplied with ammunition for his guns. His troops were invited to aid in the defence of the Residency. He was made acquainted with the progress of our arms in the north. In every way trust was openly shown to him, until the end of June. But on the 1st of July that trust vanished and gave way for a time to suspicion. There were many circumstances which seemed at the moment to throw serious doubt upon Holkar's loyalty. He was said to be in constant communication with those whose ill-will towards the British power was beyond a doubt. It was reported that he had just received, and entertained, a messenger from the Emperor at Delhi. During the two hours that the cannonade lasted, he made no attempt to communicate with the British Representative, and some of his officers were prominent among the insurgents. Finally, when the Residency was abandoned, the retreating Europeans found that Holkar's guns had been sent round to the passes in their rear. All these facts were suspicious, and failing any denial on the Maharaja's part, Colonel Durand was led to believe that he had declared against us. To this view he gave open expression. But, meanwhile, Holkar had been doing his best to prove that he was in fact innocent of all participation in the attack. He behaved kindly to some Europeans, who had sought refuge in his palace. He saved what treasure the mutineers had left and sent it in to Mhow. He forwarded some supplies he had promised, to aid the advance of Woodburn's column. He met the requisitions of the officers in the Mhow Fort. He brought in Lieutenant Hutchinson from Jhubbooa. And he wrote protesting his innocence to Lord Elphinstone and to Colonel Durand. These protestations Colonel Durand received with the necessary caution. He informed the Maharaja that the Governor-General would doubtless be gratified with His Highness' proceedings after the outbreak; but he pointed out that Native Chiefs must *prima facie* be held responsible for the conduct of their troops, and courteously requested the Maharaja to submit any observations he might wish to make with regard to certain points connected with the insurrection; particularly with regard to his silence during the cannonade of the Residency, his retention of mutineers in his service, his supply of carriage and provisions to those of the insurgents who had marched northwards, and his despatch of guns to the rear of the Residency before the attack. Holkar replied that the confusion during the attack had been too great to allow of any communication being made; and that the moment he learnt what had happened, he prepared to start for the Residency, but was stopped by the news that all was over. With regard to his troops he was powerless to punish or control, having no one on whom he

could rely. It was true that he had supplied carriage and provisions to the mutineers who marched north, but they were plundering the city, and this was his only chance of getting rid of them. As to the guns they had been sent to Mahesur, south of Mhow, in anticipation of disturbances below the Nerbudda, and the smallness of their escort showed that they were not meant for offensive action.

This explanation was forwarded to the Supreme Government by Colonel Durand with a covering letter which reviewed the circumstances in the fairest possible manner. The Agent observed that before the rising, Holkar had candidly expressed mistrust of his troops; that a marked distinction was to be drawn between the Maharaja and his Durbar; that whatever might be thought of the conduct of those about him, there could be no doubt of His Highness' anxiety to separate his own name and fame from the guilt of participation in the rising; and that in his case the plea of helplessness was certainly not a mere excuse, his only means of saving Indore from the prolonged stay of the revolted soldiery being, to find them carriage and supplies. As to the guns, Colonel Durand observed that there had been no concealment about their despatch, and that some time before the rising, the Durbar Vakeel had talked of sending guns to Mahesur. It was added that the Maharaja proposed to appoint a commission for the trial of the guilty at Indore, but that in Colonel Durand's opinion this measure was useless, for Holkar could not enforce its sentences, even should they be honest, against armed bands who had set at defiance alike the authority of their own sovereign and that of the Supreme Government. Pending the receipt of orders on this letter, Colonel Durand continued to treat the Maharaja with friendliness, but he declined to commit himself to any act which might seem to anticipate the decision of Government as to His Highness' *prima facie* responsibility. To do so would not only have been indiscreet, but it would have been contrary to orders, as the Governor-General in Council had expressly reserved to himself the power of pardoning any individual guilty of certain crimes, and among these was the supply of assistance to mutineers.

But in the meantime others had not been so judicious. After the outbreak at Mhow, Captain Hungerford of the Artillery had assumed command of the Fort, apparently in the presence of his senior officer, Major Cooper of the 23rd. The mutineers had retired to Indore unmolested in the darkness. In spite of the fact that incendiary fires had been blazing in the Cantonment from sunsè until ten o'clock on the night of the 1st July, and that a rise was momentarily expected, Hungerford had made no preparations for rapid action. When the rise came he was not ready to

meet it. The battery turned out eventually, but too late to do any good. Colonel Platt and his Adjutant, Fagan, who went on in advance, were shot down, and when the guns arrived, there was no enemy to be seen. A few round, shot were fired at the native lines on the chance of somebody being in them, and the battery returned to the Fort. Next morning there was not a sepoy in sight, dead or alive. But it was perfectly clear that if Holkar's troops did march down to Mhow, Hungerford could do nothing but cling to the walls of the Fort. He had no supports of any kind, and his battery was, moreover, immediately crippled by the defection of the native drivers and syces. If Hungerford had any power, he was in a measure dependent on Holkar, who could at any moment surround the Fort and cut off all supplies. He was, of course, absolutely ignorant of all that had passed at Indore, of the many suspicious circumstances connected with the attack on the Residency, and of Holkar's character and conduct. In fact he was about in as bad a position as he possibly could be in, to pronounce upon Holkar's loyalty. But, believing himself to be "threatened by an attack from the Rajah of Indore," Captain Hungerford addressed His Highness, pointing out that Holkar's interests lay on our side, and expressing his confidence that Holkar was not blind to the fact. It need hardly be said that this was not a judicious proceeding. Even if the Maharaja was disloyal, it was clearly to his advantage to anticipate a deliberate review of the circumstances attending the insurrection, and to gain an advocate with the British Government. He was certain, therefore, to respond to the overtures, and the fact that he did so was no proof of his loyalty. But Hungerford did not see the indiscreetness of committing himself to an opinion which he was not qualified to form. Hastily assuming Holkar's innocence from Holkar's behaviour after the outbreak, and relieved from apprehension by the success of his diplomatic effort, he "took political charge" and from his little corner in Mhow Fort sounded forth the Maharaja's loyalty to Lord Elphinstone at Bombay. He was joined in this by Lieutenant Hutchinson, a son-in-law of Sir Robert Hamilton's, and himself a political officer, who was at the time a fugitive in Holkar's hands. I have already shown what Colonel Durand was doing in the meanwhile. He was upholding the line of the Nerbudda and forcing up Woodburn's column. But he had not devoted himself to any lengthy exposition of his views on the comparatively unimportant question of Holkar's loyalty, and the protestations of the Maharaja backed by the advocacy of the Mhow officers, were at first somewhat hastily accepted by Lord Elphinstone at Bombay and Lord Canning at Calcutta, as proof positive of his innocence. I have no wish whatever to assert, or to imply, that the Maharaja was guilty, or that Colonel Durand continued to think

him so. I have already shown how favourably the Acting Agent received Holkar's explanation of his conduct when it was submitted. But Holkar's innocence should not have been taken for granted without careful enquiry. There was a very important principle involved, that of the *prima facie* responsibility of Native Chiefs for the acts of their troops, and the dangerous nature of the precedent created in Holkar's case was afterwards fully recognised.

From the time that Colonel Durand arrived at Mhow with Stuart's column, the main political difficulty of the position was the disarming of Holkar's troops. The Durbar could never make up their minds whether they did or did not wait the aid of the British force. From the very first this vacillation showed itself. While the column lay at Simrole, waiting for the Artillery to close up, Holkar's ministers asked whether help could be afforded. They were informed that if they wished it, the column would march on Indore direct instead of Mhow. But their fears had abated as suddenly as they had risen, and the answer was that as the troops were at present quiet, they did not require assistance. And so it ever was. When their fears were on them, urgent cries for help were sent to the Agent at Mhow. But when they had to face the consequences of his advance, they drew back and declined his help. They feared that the march of the Mhow troops might precipitate the crisis, and they shrank from the unpopularity attendant upon measures of punishment, and from the loss of dignity involved in the disarming of the State troops in the State capital by a British force. In this way the disarming of the mutinous regiments was deferred from week to week, and from month to month, and Colonel Durand, who wished as far as possible to respect the Maharaja's feelings, and had strong military reasons for not pressing the matter during the rains, so long as the troops remained quiet, exerted no authoritative interference. How the difficulty was eventually solved I have already described.

Such were the main facts, very briefly stated, of Colonel Durand's political administration in Central India, considered with reference to the Holkar State.

In July 1859, eighteen months after he had left Indore, when all the facts had been fully and calmly reviewed, Lord Canning wrote a Minute recording the services of certain officers during the mutiny. It contained the following words:—

"I desire to bring prominently before Her Majesty's Government the very important services of the two distinguished men who have had charge of the affairs of Central India during that time.

"The first thanks of the Government are due to Lieutenant-Colonel Durand, C.B., who, at the time of the outbreak, was officiating as the Agent of the Governor-General. Colonel Durand's conduct was marked by great foresight and the soundest judg-

"ment as well in military as in civil matters. He had many points to guard, and the trustworthy force at his disposal was almost hopelessly small, but by a judicious use of it, and by the closest personal supervision of its movements, Colonel Durand saved our interests in Central India until support could arrive."

Such, after long and mature consideration, was Lord Canning's opinion. But Sir John Kaye, whose latest work now lies before me, takes an altogether different view of Colonel Durand's conduct; and as Sir John Kaye's works are at present extensively read, I propose to point out briefly what I venture to think are imperfections in his account of the mutiny in Central India.

To begin with, it may be as well to consider the source from which he draws his information. In the preface to his first volume, Sir John Kaye mentions that he has obtained "much valuable matter in elucidation of the history of the Central Indian campaign" from Sir Robert Hamilton. It is not altogether unreasonable to suppose, that he is indebted to the same authority for more valuable matter in elucidation of the conduct and character of the Acting Agent, Colonel Durand. The supposition is borne out by the tone in which the historian speaks of Sir Robert Hamilton himself, and the coincidence of his views with those which Sir Robert Hamilton is known to have held. Now, Sir Robert Hamilton and Colonel Durand were, as Sir John Kaye justly remarks, "extremely dissimilar." "They had different characters and different opinions." Therefore, it is at least possible that Sir John Kaye has followed a somewhat unsafe guide in forming his judgment of Colonel Durand's action in Central India. It will be advisable to bear that possibility in view in estimating the value of Sir John Kaye's criticisms. But to turn to the story itself. In the first place it is singularly incomplete. Sir John Kaye ignores altogether the position of Central India, the objects which the Agent had in view, and the difficulties which beset him. He discusses Colonel Durand's conduct almost entirely with reference to Holkar and Holkar's behaviour on the particular occasion of the Indore outbreak. He describes, with his customary eloquence, the attack on the Residency, drives the British Representative into outer darkness, and then, making no mention whatever of subsequent operations, dismisses Sir Henry Durand to his doom in the Punjab, with a few final words of somewhat inconsistent eulogy. The whole chapter reads far more like an elaborate justification of Holkar, than an attempt to narrate the facts of the mutiny in Central India. But doubtless the behaviour of the principal Native Chiefs had some bearing on the progress of the revolt, and Sir John Kaye may possibly be right in attaching such exclusive importance to the discussion of Holkar's loyalty. His view of the insurrection at Indore may be stated in a few

words. Holkar was "thoroughly true to the British Government," and from first to last did his duty boldly and well. Colonel Durand unfortunately was not capable of grasping this fact. He had an "antipathy" for Holkar from the first. He was "not tolerant." He expected a Mahratta Chief to be "as leal as a Percy or a Campbell." He "wanted imagination" and "could not orientalise himself." He was inclined to "leap hastily to conclusions." On the 1st of July, when Holkar's troops attacked the Residency, he leaped hastily to the conclusion that Holkar was faithless, simply because Holkar was as much "bewildered" as himself, and had not sent any message during the cannonade. Thus easily convinced of Holkar's disloyalty, Colonel Durand "fled without good cause from Indore," and disappeared into space; leaving his political function to be assumed, and the British Government to be "saved," by a stout-hearted Artilleryman at Mhow, who, if Colonel Durand had only held on "a few hours" longer, would have rattled up with his battery, dissipated the enemy, and crushed the revolt. Afterwards as this "precipitate retreat" could only be justified "by proving the consummate treachery of Holkar," Colonel Durand laid himself out to prove it. He did not succeed. But his influence was sufficient to keep Holkar ever "more or less a suspect," and to prevent his obtaining, what he most coveted, the grant of a territorial reward. "There can be no question that Holkar was sacrificed to the justification of Durand."

Such are Sir John Kaye's views. Now this line of reasoning is based throughout on what seems to me a patent fallacy: that the retreat from Indore was made in consequence of political considerations. Sir John Kaye states the case as follows:—"Durand, . . . hastily condemned Holkar, and by his flight from Indore brought matters to this issue, that either the Maharaja was a traitor or that the British Agent had fled without good cause from Indore." If I were disposed or obliged to accept this issue, I should be able to do so with a certain amount of encouragement from Sir John Kaye himself. I might remind him of his own words used with regard to Sindia: "It was not to be expected that being a man and a Mahratta, he should not, when assailed by the fierce temptation, sometimes have wavered in his allegiance, and for a little while yielded inwardly to the allurements that beset him." Perhaps, indeed, there was not a Native Chief in India, who was not sometimes minded to wait and watch at the outset of the great convulsion." Holkar also was a man and a Mahratta, and if he waited and watched while his guns were cannonading the Residency, he was not "thoroughly true to the British Government." But in point of fact Sir John Kaye's issue is altogether

beside the mark. He has failed to see that Colonel Durand's retreat from the Residency, and Colonel Durand's treatment of Holkar, were two entirely separate and distinct matters. If Colonel Durand fled from Indore without good cause, he tarnished his honour as a soldier. If he misjudged or maligned Holkar, he was a bad political officer or a dishonest man. But to mix up the two considerations is wholly illogical. The retreat from the Residency was a purely military operation to be justified or condemned solely on military grounds. No one seems to have realised more clearly, than Sir John Kaye, the fact that Holkar was entirely powerless : that he neither had nor pretended to have the smallest remnant of control when his troops rose. One of the leaders of the insurgents was a Durbar officer, named Saadut Khan, who was hanged two years ago for his share in that day's work. The evidence given at this man's trial shows clearly enough what the Maharaja's power was. His troops turned out as one man. Cavalry, Infantry, and Artillery came pouring up in a mass, all equally eager to join in the slaughter of the English. As the Durbar Vakeel afterwards told Colonel Durand, with the view of justifying his master, "the lines were empty." For three days after the attack Holkar could not even bury the dead. Until the 4th of July, when the Maharaja first visited the Residency, the bodies of the men and women murdered by his Cavalry lay about his city of Indore. According to Sir John Kaye the Maharaja was himself subjected to insolence and threats. This being the case, what conceivable difference could it have made, if, when Colonel Durand saw the whole of Holkar's troops surging up to the Residency, he had been absolutely confident of the personal loyalty of Holkar himself? He "fled," not from Holkar, but from Holkar's guns and sabres and muskets. An inkling of the distinction seems to dawn upon Sir John Kaye's mind when he writes : "But admitting that the sudden retreat was justifiable, or even commendable, I can see nothing to justify the after-treatment of Holkar by the Acting Resident at Indore." It need hardly be pointed out that the possibility of such an admission, coupled with the assertion of the Maharaja's innocence, is wholly incompatible with the issue stated above—"Either the Maharaja was a traitor, or the British Agent fled without good cause from Indore." I propose, therefore, to treat the two matters as they ought to be treated, separately : to show first that the "sudden retreat" was in fact not only justifiable, but commendable and necessary ; and, secondly, that "the after-treatment of Holkar by the Acting Resident at Indore," was equally capable of being justified.

First, as regards the retreat. Sir John Kaye contends that it was "precipitate" and groundless ; that Colonel Durand ought to have held on "a few hours" longer ; that if he had done so, the Maharaja

would have had time to "declare himself on our side," the European battery would have come up, the revolt at Indore would "most probably have been suppressed," and "there would have been no combination of Holkar's troops with the Mhow mutineers." It will not, I think, be necessary to delay long over this matter. As I have already shown, Colonel Durand's fighting men consisted of fourteen gunners and five Sikh troopers of the Bhopal Contingent Cavalry: besides these, he had 270 Bheels, who could not be induced to discharge their pieces even from the Residency windows; 150 troopers, who could not be formed; and nearly 500 Contingent Infantry, who were threatening to shoot their officers. With this force he held his ground for nearly two hours, and retreated only when the last show of strength was about to be taken from him by the flight of the Cavalry; when the attack, at first hesitating and tentative, had become organised and overwhelming, and he found, surging up to surround the Residency, masses of Holkar's troops, consisting of 1,400 Cavalry, 2,000 Infantry,* and from 25 to 30 guns, besides any amount of armed rabble from the city.

But Sir John Kaye's contention is that Colonel Durand ought to have held on notwithstanding until the arrival of the European battery from Mhow. Now there are several circumstances which militate against this view. In the first place, even supposing that the call for help had safely reached Mhow, which was doubtful, the probability was that Hungerford would be unable to obey it. From first to last Mhow had been the point from which danger was apprehended. As Sir John Kaye himself remarks: "It is scarcely to be doubted that the sepoys of 'our own regiments at Mhow contaminated Holkar's troops at 'Indore.' This was precisely Colonel Durand's view, and the natural conclusion was that the rising was a concerted one; that Hungerford was hard at work on his own account, if not already overwhelmed by the rush of an Infantry regiment and a wing of Cavalry upon his unsupported battery. That this apprehension was not altogether unfounded was afterwards shown. In a letter written in January 1858, certainly with no view of justifying Colonel Durand, Sir Robert Hamilton gives a lucid account of the progress of disaffection at Indore. After describing "how 'the Durbar troops became associated with the Contingents and 'the mutineers at Mhow,' Sir Robert goes on as follows: "This 'was the position of the Indore plotters when news came of the 'Neemuch rising. About that time a detachment had come

* They were afterwards computed by the Indore Durbar itself and by others, themselves soldiers, at a far higher figure. But I choose the lowest estimate.

" from Mhow for treasure, and it seems to have been arranged that the morning of the 1st of July should be the day on which the Mhow and Indore troops should simultaneously rise. To test the sincerity of Holkar's troops, it was decided that they should commence early at eight o'clock on the morning of the 1st. At the time appointed, Buns Gopal, with the men of the Maharaja and Bujrung Paltans, with their guns, commenced the attack." So Colonel Durand can hardly be blamed for supposing that help from Mhow was very doubtful. As a fact the treacherous Regulars waited to see the result of their machinations before committing themselves; and Hungerford was able to obey orders. But it was impossible to count on this, and after Holkar's troops had begun to cut off the retreat, there was no time left to wait and see.

Supposing, however, that Colonel Durand had resolved to await the battery, and stake all on the chance of its arrival, what would have been his position? Hungerford could hardly come up before one o'clock. How was the defence to be maintained for two hours and a half against the increasing masses of the enemy? If Holkar's troops had consisted of Cavalry and Infantry only, the thing might perhaps have been done. Could it possibly have been done against an overwhelming force of Artillery? It afterwards transpired that Hungerford left Mhow at a slow trot, and never mended his pace. He would not have been at Indore at this rate until four o'clock in the afternoon. Meanwhile for more than five hours Holkar's numerous guns, choosing their own position and getting their range with perfect impunity, would have been pouring a concentrated fire on the Residency building, and a rush on the part of the mutinous Contingent, or Holkar's swarming Infantry, would at any moment have overwhelmed the fourteen faithful gunners, and put an end to the defence. But even supposing that the Residency had still been standing and occupied when Hungerford's leisurely advance was completed; supposing that his unsupported guns had been able to burst through the attacking force and reach the little garrison: what could they have done beyond helping to cover a perilous retreat? With all Sir John Kaye's *esprit de corps*, he surely cannot maintain that one European battery, with the aid of 270 Bheels, who declined to discharge their muskets, and perhaps 30 European officers and native gunners, could have attacked and defeated a force numbering, at the lowest computation, some 3,500 Cavalry and Infantry with a large superiority in guns, not to speak of the Contingent troops and the swarming city rabble.

At pages 344 and 345 of his book, after stating his views on the subject, Sir John Kaye quotes, what purports to be Colonel Durand's "answer." This is a letter to Lord Canning's Private Secretary in which Colonel Durand animadverts on certain incorrect statements published by the *Friend of India*. After stating

that the call for help reached Mhow at a quarter to ten, and describing the slowness of Hungerford's advance, Colonel Durand says : " It would have been four P. M. at least before he reached the Residency, for they did not canter out. I retired from the Residency after a two hours' cannonade about half-past ten." Upon this Sir John Kaye, abruptly breaking short Colonel Durand's " answer," proceeds to make the following point : " That is three-quarters of an hour after the call for the battery reached Mhow. Now the battery could not have been equipped, mounted, and brought down to Indore at full gallop in three-quarters of an hour. So it is clear that Colonel Durand did not await even the possibility of an arrival under the most favourable circumstances of Hungerford and his battery." Sir John Kaye's argument would have been fairer if he had allowed Colonel Durand to finish his sentence. It runs as follows : " As none of our men would fight, except the two Bhopal guns, the support of our guns and the defence of the Residency for five and a half hours would, had I tried to hold it longer, have depended upon the officers and European non-commissioned officers present, in all, telegraphic signallers included, from sixteen to twenty in number." Colonel Durand's " answer " was not that he awaited the battery and that it did not come, but that he knew it could not arrive before one o'clock if it arrived at all ; that, as a fact, it would not have arrived before four ; that he had little chance of holding the Residency even up to the earlier hour ; and that he must certainly, as it turned out, have been overwhelmed if he had attempted to do so. It is to be observed that Colonel Travers, commanding the troops, who earned his Victoria Cross among Holkar's gunners, never hinted at the possibility of prolonging the defence. Yet it was undoubtedly his duty to do so if he thought the retreat premature. The question was a purely military one.

Further comment with regard to the retreat itself would be superfluous. Before passing on, however, to the political question, there is one more point in Sir John Kaye's narrative which requires notice. On page 334 of his book, Sir John Kaye describes how Hungerford's advance was stopped midway by the arrival of a trooper of the Bhopal Cavalry who brought the news that Colonel Durand had evacuated the Residency. " The trooper added that Colonel Durand had not gone to Mhow because the cantonment was in Holkar's dominion, and an attack on our cantonments was meditated in the course of the night." This sentence is calculated to leave a wrong impression on the mind of the reader. Colonel Durand's manuscript memorandum, to which Sir John Kaye refers, shows clearly that the retreating force was not diverted from Mhow by the reasons here given. As I have already noticed Colonel

Durand did, in fact, order a retreat in that direction, but was unable to carry it out, because his troops refused to obey orders.

To turn now to the political aspect of the question? Sir John Kaye can see nothing to justify the after-treatment of Holkar by the Acting Resident at Indore. Now I have no intention whatever of entering upon a discussion of Holkar's loyalty. There is happily no necessity for doing so. The justification of Colonel Durand's after-treatment of Holkar depends, not upon the proof of Holkar's bad faith, but upon the fact that that treatment itself was never harsh or hostile. To begin with : Colonel Durand certainly imagined that Holkar had thrown in his lot against us. But I have already enumerated some of the many circumstances which led him to entertain this belief, and I have shown that directly Holkar endeavoured to explain those circumstances, Colonel Durand wrote most fairly, and, indeed, favourably reviewing the Maharaja's excuses for his conduct. Nothing surely can be less inimical or indicative of the "antipathy" which Sir John Kaye most unjustly attributes to Colonel Durand, than the tone of the letter already quoted. If, after writing that letter, Colonel Durand still entertained a doubt as to the Maharaja's fidelity, and I am far from asserting that he did so, that doubt certainly amounted to nothing more than this : that at the beginning of the outbreak Holkar was playing a waiting game. Considering that Sir John Kaye himself expresses the same doubt with regard to all the Native Chiefs in India, he is hardly justified in blaming Colonel Durand for expressing it, if he did so, with regard to one. Nor is it reasonable to attribute to Colonel Durand's influence the refusal of a territorial reward. Holkar had a steady advocate in Sir Robert Hamilton, and he had perfectly impartial judges. Men like Lord Canning and Lord Lawrence and Lord Mayo, were surely capable of forming their own opinions. No misrepresentations on Colonel Durand's part would have kept Holkar out of his due. And it must be remembered that the refusal of a territorial reward is not necessarily equivalent to an imputation of disloyalty. It was confessedly in 1857 the Maharaja's misfortune to be powerless. He was not, therefore, in a position to render any conspicuous active service to the British Government. This fact is surely sufficient in itself to account for the withholding of a grant of territory. Indeed, the honours subsequently bestowed upon the Maharaja and the consideration invariably shown to him by the Government of India, do not seem consistent with the possibility of his being a "suspect." They are certainly inconsistent with the statement that the Maharaja was "sacrificed" to the justification of another.

I have already referred in passing to Sir John Kaye's account of what happened at Indore and Mhow immediately after

Colonel Durand had been driven out of the Residency. But that account is so calculated to mislead, that it will be necessary to notice it a little more in detail. On page 336, *et seq.*, of Sir John Kaye's book, will be found a vivid description of the behaviour of Captain Hungerford after the outbreak. The writer tells how that officer wrote to Holkar expressing his disbelief in the story of the Maharaja's disloyalty; how he was satisfied and assured by the Maharaja's answer; how he proceeded to take upon himself the diplomatic as well as the military control of affairs; to prepare himself for a month's siege at Mhow; to "establish himself as representative of the Governor-General in Holkar's dominion," and to open a correspondence with Lord Elphinstone in Bombay. The description winds up with the following sentences: "He 'did what he had no right to do,' and he was afterwards severely rebuked by Durand. But His-tory, 'rising above all official formalities, must pronounce that 'the men who did what they had no right to do, were those who 'saved the British Government in India.' Now I have no wish to say anything against Captain Hungerford's reputation as a military officer. He afterwards did good service with the Mhow column in Western Malwa, and Colonel Durand spoke in his favour for brevet rank. But before this, he certainly did nothing to merit the extravagant laudation bestowed upon him by 'History.' He was not strong before the outbreak when a rise of the Mhow troops was expected. He was not ready during the outbreak either in the morning or the evening of the 1st July. And he was injudicious after the outbreak. If the actual facts of the case be extracted from Sir John Kaye's glowing pages, they seem to amount to this: that Captain Hungerford's contribution towards the salvation of India consisted in firing a few rounds of grape through the darkness at nothing in particular; in holding for a month a fort which was never threatened; and in writing a series of letters to, and about, a suspected Native Chief, of whose loyalty he was in no position to judge.

A little further on Sir John Kaye proceeds to describe how Lieutenant Hutchinson was driven out of Bhopawur by the Amjhera mutineers and was reported a prisoner; how Captain Hungerford "promptly took upon himself the political responsibility" of allowing Holkar to rescue the party; and how Lieutenant Hutchinson "had such implicit confidence in Holkar's friendship" that he did not hesitate to place himself "under the protection of his troops." "And thus," as Sir John Kaye remarks, "was Hungerford relieved from the political responsibility which he had undertaken with so much promptitude and "acquitted himself of with so much address." Thus the Artilleryman, who, unable to stir out of Mhow, and ignorant of Holkar's conduct before the rising, had "established himself as re-

presentative of the Governor-General in Holkar's dominion," handed over the charge to an equally ignorant political assistant who was a fugitive "under the protection of Holkar's troops." It would be rather interesting to know what these gentlemen would have done if, while they were acquitting themselves so entirely to their own and Holkar's satisfaction, the man whom they were endeavouring to supplant had let the barrier of the Nerbudda drop behind them and allowed Woodburn to march off to Nagpore.

There is one more question taken up by Sir John Kaye which requires a passing notice. He refers to Colonel Durand's "argument, persistently repeated, that a native prince is responsible for the conduct of his troops," and he cites the case of Dhar to show how "impolitic and unjust" such an argument was. Now, in point of fact, what Colonel Durand persistently argued, was the necessity of holding native chiefs *primâ facie* responsible, which is something widely different. A loyal chief could easily produce evidence to rebut the presumption in his own case. Holkar himself, for example, produced such evidence, and it was immediately received with favour by Colonel Durand. But the presumption in itself is surely a reasonable one. The nominal Government of a State must be *primâ facie* responsible for the acts of its troops. The distinction between the view attributed to Colonel Durand by Sir John Kaye, and the view Colonel Durand actually held, is brought out by the very case cited, that of Dhar. Colonel Durand urged the sequestration of the State, not simply on the ground that the Dhar Durbar was responsible for the excesses of its mercenary troops, but because the Durbar had, as a fact, thrown in its lot with the mutinous soldiery and encouraged rebellion against the British power. The case has already been the subject of much discussion. As Sir John Kaye has thought fit to bring it up again, it may be as well to supplement his account by a short statement of the facts. Just after the news of the Meerut and Delhi tragedies reached Central India, the Dhar Rajah died. He had adopted his younger brother, Anund Rao Puar, then about thirteen years of age. The boy was acknowledged as Rajah, and chose for his Dewan or minister one Ramchunder Bapojee, who had a thorough knowledge of English, had associated much with English officers, and was supposed to be in favour of our interests. Contrary to the well-known and repeated instructions of the British Government, this man commenced his career by enlisting large numbers of foreign mercenaries. As soon as the news of the Indore rising reached Dhar, a party of these mercenaries, joining with those of the Rajah of Amjhera, plundered the stations of Bhopawur and Sirdarpore, and burned the hospitals over the heads of the sick and

wounded. Returning to Dhar with their plunder, they were met and honourably entertained by the young Rajah's uncle ; and on the 31st of August they were in possession of the Fort. Six weeks later, Captain Hutchinson, the Political Agent, reported that there was strong reason to believe that the Rajah's mother and uncle and other members of the Durbar were the instigators of the rebellion. The Durbar Agent gave him no trustworthy information, and had purposely deceived him on the nature of the Durbar's negotiations with the mutinous mercenaries, and the number of such men who had been enlisted. And the Durbar had received, with attention and civility, emissaries from Mundesore, which was the centre of the Mussulman rising. On receipt of this intelligence, Colonel Durand dismissed the Dhar Agent who was in attendance upon him, with a message to the Durbar that they would be held responsible for what occurred. Then followed the march upon Dhar, and the occupation of the Fort. After the capture, Colonel Durand ordered the Fort to be demolished, the State to be attached, pending the orders of Government, and charges to be prepared against the leaders and instigators of the rebellion. Consideration was to be shown to the Rajah on account of his youth, and to the Rance on account of her sex. But the Dewan Ramchunder Bapojee, the Rajah's uncle, Bheem Rao Bhonsla and others, were carried prisoners to Mhow, and were to be tried for their lives. Shortly afterwards Sir Robert Hamilton returned from England and resumed charge of his office as Agent of the Governor-General. To his negligence is attributable the escape of these men from the punishment they had merited. They were never brought to trial ; beyond a summary and unofficial enquiry nothing was done ; and on the 29th November 1858, without the knowledge of the Supreme Government, and in spite of the orders issued for their trial, of which Government had approved, they were permitted quietly to return to Dhar.

Three years later, when Sir Robert Hamilton had been relieved by the late Sir Richmond Shakespear, this neglect of orders was brought to light. Government could not then, of course, press any charges against the Durbar, and if it had desired to do so, there was little chance of evidence being procured, the record of the summary enquiry made in 1858 had been lost.

But the complicity of the Durbar in the rebellion was never questioned by any one in India, not even by Sir R. Hamilton, the champion of Dhar, till the 5th July 1858. It fell to Sir R. Hamilton to carry out the first orders for confiscation, and in doing so he did not hesitate to describe the Durbar as ' ungrateful and unfaithful,' and to declare that ' the treaty with the Dhar State has been completely abrogated by the act of that Durbar.' It may be noticed that the offence of Dhar was

precisely the same as that of Amjhera. The troops of both States conjointly plundered Bhopawur and Sirdarpore. The Rajah of Amjhera was hanged, and his territory incorporated with Sindia's dominions. No one has ever questioned the justice of his fate.

Such, as I have seen them publicly stated, were the facts of the Dhar case, which Sir John Kaye quotes as an exponent of Colonel Durand's mischievous views upon the responsibility of native princes. The action of the Home Government is well known. The despatch of the Court of Directors, cited by Sir John Kaye, which prevented the "unjust and impolitic" sequestration of the principality, was based on imperfect information. When the facts of the case were more fully reported in Lord Canning's letter of the 6th December 1859, after personal enquiry during his great progress through the Upper Provinces, which clearly established the complicity of the Dhar Durbar in the rebellion, the Home Government entirely concurred in the justice of the confiscation, but from 'merciful consideration' to the youth and apparent innocence of the young Rajah himself, decided to forego the extreme penalty. An outlying portion of the State was, however, sequestered and handed over to the Begum of Bhopal, as a reward for her faithful services, Her Majesty's Government being of opinion that it was "not right nor expedient that the principality of Dhar should wholly escape all penalties for the misconduct of those who directed its counsels and forces during the late events."

It would be impossible for me to notice here the many other defective or erroneous statements advanced by Sir John Kaye in this short chapter of his history : that Lord Elphinstone, "with all the facts before him," condemned Colonel Durand's retreat from Indore : that Colonel Durand had an "antipathy" for Holkar, and so on. As a fact, all Lord Elphinstone appears to have done, was to write a few days after the insurrection, and assert Holkar's innocence on the strength of the reports received from the officers at Mhow. This was no slur on Colonel Durand, as Lord Elphinstone afterwards proved by personal assurances. I have already pointed out that Holkar's justification was not in the smallest degree inconsistent with that of the Acting Agent. As to the alleged "antipathy" Colonel Durand had been under three months at Indore when the troops rose, and had seen Holkar only twice. But it would be useless to notice every point of this kind. Nor would it serve any practical purpose to criticise Sir John Kaye's general imputations on Colonel Durand's character as a political officer, his intolerance and his want of consideration for the "down-trodden native princes and chiefs of India." Certain it is that I have received no warmer tributes to my father's memory than from some of these very princes and chiefs. However, this is a question which I have no wish to discuss. As I have

before observed Sir John Kaye draws a marked contrast between Colonel Durand and Sir Robert Hamilton. He says the two men were "extremely dissimilar;" that they had "different characters and different opinions." No one who knew them both will be likely to dispute the assertion. For the rest every man has a right to his own opinion. Sir John Kaye believes that Sir Robert Hamilton's views were altogether right, and Colonel Durand's altogether wrong. In his case the belief is not incomprehensible. It arises partly from personal friendship for Sir Robert Hamilton, and partly from the fervour with which he has espoused the "predominant theory" that all our troubles came upon us "because we were too English." Colonel Durand "could not orientalise himself." Therefore he was a bad political officer.

The peculiar tone of Sir John Kaye's narrative is doubtless due to the same causes. Where he is not writing about anything connected with Sir Robert Hamilton, or the defects of our national character, he can be just and even generous to the memory of Colonel Durand. But where Sir Robert Hamilton and the predominant theory are concerned, he can be neither the one nor the other. Fired by an enthusiastic desire to right what he conceives to be Holkar's wrongs, and imagining, without reason, that the justification of Holkar implies the condemnation of Colonel Durand, he allows himself to be carried away into a good deal of inconsistency and bad taste. He accuses "a man brave in battle" of making a groundless and precipitate retreat, and a "high-minded conscientious English gentleman" of justifying an act of poltroonery by a systematic course of misrepresentation. The accusation is not, on the face of it, a probable one. How far it is borne out by facts I must leave others to judge.

H. M. DURAND.

LORD MAYO, FOURTH VICEROY OF INDIA.

A Life of the Earl of Mayo, Fourth Viceroy of India. By W. W. HUNTER, B.A., LL.D., of Her Majesty's Bengal Civil Service. London : Smith, Elder and Co. 1875.

IT seems but yesterday that the largest company of Europeans that ever gathered together at an Indian funeral, followed with slow steps, the gun-carriage which bore the body of Lord Mayo from Chánpál Ghât to Government House, Calcutta. But though the memory of that day remains—and must ever remain—fresh in the mind of every one who formed part of the sad procession, the sands of time have not ceased to run, and four Februarys have passed since the *Daphne* carried the remains of the assassinated Viceroy to the land of his birth—their last resting-place. These years have been well occupied by Dr. Hunter in collecting, arranging, and condensing the materials for the biography which is now before us. The work has been looked for with an interest very rarely excited by the announcement of a forthcoming Indian book. And this for three reasons : In the first place, no Indian Viceroy ever made for himself so many personal friends ; and by each of these the appearance of this biography has been eagerly expected. Then the somewhat unreasonable outcry made by the Press, both of England and India, against Lord Mayo's appointment to the Viceroyalty ; the rapid revulsion of feeling in his favour as he gradually became better known ; and the cruelty of the fate by which his career was so suddenly ended ;—all combined to make the public, both at Home and in India, look with more than ordinary interest for a review of the life and work of a man who had so ably filled one of the most honourable and important, as well as one of the most difficult and responsible posts to which an English Statesman can aspire. And, finally, literary men, both in England and in this country, looked forward, with considerable interest and curiosity, to the appearance of a biographical work by an author who had earned his brilliant reputation in an entirely different department of the field of letters.

We may at once say that the book is in every way a success, and that it forms a permanent and very valuable addition to the standard literature of India. Lord Mayo's numerous personal friends will find in the work much that will deeply interest them, and some things which will surprise those of them who did not know him thoroughly. By the larger body of his admirers, who did not personally know him, the book will be read with gratification, as showing on what good grounds their admiration of his character rests. And we venture to say that no political opponent

of Lord Mayo, no one in India or England, who disagreed or disagrees with any part of his policy as Viceroy, will close this biography without feeling that India was governed from 1869 to 1872 by one of the most conscientious, high-minded, able and genial men, who ever occupied the Viceregal seat. To the general reader, Dr. Hunter's book will be full of interest. It may without flattery be said of the author, *nilhil quod tuncit non ornat*; and we only hope that his success in this new direction will not seduce him from the field in which he earned his early laurels. The readers of the charming *Annals of Rural Bengal and Orissa*, will recognize in many places throughout the two luxurious volumes now before us, the delicate touches which they have learned to look for and like, and will join with us in the hope we have just expressed.

Dr. Hunter's first chapter is devoted to an account of the early years of his hero. No life of a descendant of one of the oldest and most prominent Irish families, would have been complete without some account of the ancestors from whom he sprang, and Lord Mayo's biographer accordingly carries us back, with the help of the heralds, to the time of Charlemagne and William the Conqueror, with whom the noble family of the de Burghs was closely connected by marriage: 'The de Burgh of 1066 fought by the side of his half-brother William, at Hastings, and received, as his share of the spoil, the Earldom of Cornwall with 793 manors.' From him Dr. Hunter briefly traces the descent to the present Earls of Mayo; and the retrospect proves distinctly enough that the family was a highly respectable one, and had a very decent number of ancestors, who were hanged or otherwise violently put to death. There was also a certain Mistress Graine-ni-Mhaile (pronounced, of course, by the English, 'Granny O'Malley') in the family—mother, indeed, of the first Viscount,—who must, according to all accounts, have been a lady of singularly advanced views, having a portable husband, three galleys, and two hundred buccaneers, and being consequently in those days, as Dr. Hunter justly remarks, 'a person to be cultivated.' The genealogical sketch is judiciously brief, and Dr. Hunter's readers will readily acquit him of 'an idle love of genealogy,' for which interesting but perhaps somewhat frivolous study, we must ourselves confess to a certain fondness.

Richard Southwell Bourke, Sixth Earl of Mayo, was born at Dublin on the 21st February 1822. His early years were spent at Hayes, the house of his father, about 22 miles from the Irish capital. The pages in which his biographer describes the family-circle and the doings at Hayes, are, to our thinking, among the best in the book. The boy is the father of the man. No truer word was ever written, and we have therefore read with the greatest interest this charmingly written account of Lord Mayo's early life. He was as wild and mischievous as other boys, and

had no pretensions to being a genius. 'He rejoiced in a long succession of dogs and ponies : and especially affected the carpenter's shop and a certain cow-shed, where each member of the family had an animal of some kind which was his very own. Richard passed through all the usual phases of a boy's life, and took his place with proper pride as eldest son. He fitted up 'a small Blue-beard closet' as a museum, and worked therein with a lathe. He played cricket, swam, shot, rode, and generally lived a thoroughly healthy outdoor life under the auspices of his father, of whom a most pleasant picture is given, and who was his children's companion and friend as long as he lived. Richard was blessed with a mother, whose 'figure stands out from among the robust open-air group at Hayes, as something of a paler and more spiritual type than the warm colouring of the life around her.' She was filled with an overwhelming love for her children and exercised a highly beneficial influence over them all. "Long after we were out in the world," writes one of her sons, "we used to resort to her when in doubt or difficulty. Not so much for advice, which she was chary of giving ; but for an interchange of opinion upon a step to be taken or avoided, which might make our course more clear, or our resolution more strong." Richard, we have said, was no genius, but what he did read he understood ; he was fond of history and natural science, and, when thirteen years old, gave a lecture on astronomy to the servants and farm people whom he had collected in the Hall. At a still earlier age he wrote a series of sermons and 'a preface to the Holy Bible,' in which 'he gives an historical introduction to each of the books of the Old Testament as far as the Psalms, with notices of their authors and contents.' His parents were both exceedingly pious people, and at this time and 'for several years, the future world filled his imagination.' "On one occasion," writes his tutor, "he had for some days been busily employed all by himself in making a little secluded arbour in a clump of trees, a very retired spot, concealed from view and not easily found. When I asked him what it was for, he answered 'It will be a quiet place for me to pray in, and I mean it for that.'" Of course he wrote verses, principally addressed to his sister, regarding which his biographer says : 'They are good of their kind, with nothing about the Muses in them, but a great deal of natural affection, and some gracefully turned thoughts.' At fifteen, he left home for the first time, to visit a relative. Then he had a two months' cruise in a yacht. In 1838, when he was 16, his mother fearing, 'lest the home-breeding of her sons should place them at a disadvantage on their entry into life,' brought about a migration of the whole family to the continent of Europe. In Paris he learnt French and dancing. In Switzerland he climbed mountains, and went long walking excursions. At Florence he took singing

lessons, and at Rome, Naples, Venice and Verona, he spent days in the galleries—‘the mother, now as ever, leading him on in all noble culture.’ At this time, too, he entered into the world, went to balls, and, of course, fell in love. ‘This he did with characteristic vigour, ending in a heart-broken parting, which was, however, happily-mitigated by a more than usually copious flow of verse, among which certain lines on Juliet’s tomb almost deserve to live.’ After spending two years in this way abroad, he returned to England in 1840, and in that year obtained a Captain’s commission in the Kildare Militia. The following year he entered Trinity College, Dublin, and after the usual course took ‘an uneventful degree.’ In 1843 he came of age.

About this time Mr. Richard Bourke spent a considerable portion of his time in London and saw a good deal of society there. He is thus described : ‘A very young man with a fine bearing ; one of the best waltzers in town, and a great deal made of.’ The summer of 1845, he spent in Russia, and, on his return, he published an account of his visit in two volumes ; * ‘a very fair specimen,’ says his biographer, ‘of a young man’s travels, modestly written, full of eye-sight, and not overlaid with general reflections.’ We must quote one passage only from this work. The author describes the horrible punishment of the execution by the knout of the serf who shot Prince Gargarin, and adds :—“This man was a criminal, guilty of a heinous crime ; but it is on all sides agreed that the punishment of death is, and ought to be considered as an example to the survivors, and not as a means of vengeance on the criminal. Such a scene, as I have related, is a disgrace to a country calling itself Christian, and contrary to all right principles of Government. ‘These words,’ says his biographer, ‘have become memorable from the appalling fate, then lurking among the tragedies of coming time, to which their writer was destined. It is something that we can also remember how, amid that paroxysm of amazement and wrath, the views here expressed by a generous youth became the policy of a great empire, of an empire three times more populous than all Russia in Europe and in Asia put together. This is not the place to speak of the impassive tread with which retribution then measured each step to punishment ; how, amid the cries for vengeance by many races and in many tongues, the pulse of justice beat not one throb more or less, and law neither raised nor lowered her voice by semi-tone. But the words of a brave and merciful man do not wholly die. The same trial, the same delays of the courts, the same safeguards of evidence, and the

**St. Petersburg and Moscow* : By Richard Southwell Bourke, Esq. *A visit to the Court of the Czar.* 2 vols. Henry Colburn, 1846.

same penalty for his crime, were awarded to the assassin of Lord Mayo, as if the murdered man had been the humblest among the 250 millions of subjects and feudatories over whom the Viceroy ruled.'

It was after his return to Ireland, that the serious work of Mr. Richard Bourke's life began. The outbreak of the potato disease in Ireland in 1836, brought heavy work upon the Irish gentry, many of whom devoted themselves with great earnestness to the relief of the sufferers. At the same time, Mr. Bourke's father gave him a small farm which occupied a great deal of his time, and altogether he had his hands full of work of one kind or another. In 1847, he was appointed by Lord Heytesbury, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to "the little post of Gentleman at large" on his staff, an office which brought him pleasantly into contact with the society at the castle, but entailed no duties except attendance at ceremonials and levées.' The same year, being then twenty-six years old, he was returned a Member of Parliament for his own county Kildare; and in 1848 he married Miss Blanche Wyndham, whose father afterwards became Lord Leconfield. Six months after his marriage, his grand-uncle, the Earl of Mayo, died. Mr. Bourke of Hayes became fifth Earl, his eldest son taking the courtesy-title of Lord Nass, and it was under this title that he was known in Parliament. We can only very briefly notice his Parliamentary career; Anglo-Indians do not, as a rule, take a very earnest interest in English politics, and our readers will not probably care for details of the part taken by Lord Nass in political discussions a quarter of a century ago. As a matter of fact he did not take any part in discussions on general questions, but confined himself to subjects with which he was acquainted, and on which he was, therefore, able to speak with some confidence. In the first two years he did not speak at all, and his maiden effort was not made until February 1849, when the subject before the House was the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act (Ireland). Of course he was congratulated by his friends, including Mr. Disraeli, and equally of course he discovered that his speech had been very badly reported. Although he had no brilliant oratorical qualities, he attracted the notice of the chiefs of his party, and generally spoke when Irish subjects were under discussion. In 1850, when the ministry changed, Lord Derby, much to his surprise, offered him the Chief Secretaryship for Ireland, a position in which he gained so completely the confidence of the Irish Conservative Party, that he was offered the post a second time on Lord Derby's accession to power in 1858, and again in 1866. On accepting office, he desired re-election for Kildare, but found it advisable to retire from a struggle in which he had no chance of success, and was returned for Coleraine instead. He represented

that borough until, 1857, when he was elected for Cockermouth, which place he represented until his departure for India in 1868. Throughout his Parliamentary career he confined himself exclusively to Irish subjects, and was virtually the leader of the Irish Conservatives in the House of Commons. A list of the measures which he brought forward would not interest our readers; he especially insisted over and over again on the necessity of giving improving tenants in Ireland some compensation for their outlay, and brought in a Tenants' Compensation Act during his first term of office. He believed, says one of his colleagues, that any permanent improvement of the land ought to be for the benefit alike of the owner and of the tiller of the soil. His idea was: "If you really improve my land, you shall not lose by so doing, and any rule that says otherwise shall be done away with." He used to argue that if you prevent such reforms, you injure yourself as landlord and you act unjustly to your fellowmen. Liberty of thought, of faith, and of action he loved more than life itself. The exercise of spiritual or temporal power for purposes of intimidation or wrongful coercion was to him hateful. He had an unresting sympathy for all in want or in misery. For the lunatic poor, for prisoners and for the fallen, his heart was always urging him to work; and for them he *did* work, and did good work. His Chief, the Earl of Derby, and several of his colleagues, have written in the highest terms of his manner of doing business, his firmness, his sound judgment, and his wonderful capacity both for doing real work himself and for getting the greatest possible amount out of those with whom he came in contact. We cannot, with the small amount of space at our disposal, quote the expressions of high praise from all who knew him, but we must give one extract from a letter written by one of his colleagues to show, that in a very important respect, he was particularly qualified for the high position to which he was so soon to be chosen. The writer says:—

He never lost his presence of mind. I well remember one morning in March 1867, I received a message at an early hour from Lord Naas, saying he would like to see me. When I entered his room at the Irish Office, he was sitting at a table writing a letter, looking uncommonly well and fresh, and quite composed and quiet. He handed me a telegram and went on with his writing. I read that during the night there had been a rising of Fenians near Dublin. I confess I was considerably agitated, and did not conceal it. I shall never forget the demeanour of Lord Naas. He had lost not a moment in sending a copy of the telegram to Her Majesty, and preparing the case for the Cabinet. What puzzled him more than anything was the sudden stoppage of any further news. We telegraphed again and again, but it was not till late in the afternoon that any clear answers were received. He issued all the orders with the same quiet and precision as if dealing with ordinary work. He had at once determined to go that night to Ireland and to remain there till order was restored. He had perfect confidence in his arrangements, and he declared that the insurrection could never assume

any serious importance. But he was uneasy for the safety of persons living in isolated parts, and about the small bands of villains, who would use a political disturbance as a shelter for local crimes. He said: "I dread more than anything else that a panic will be fed by newspaper reports; and that an outcry may get up that Ireland ought to be declared in a state of siege and military law proclaimed. To this I will never yield, although I know my refusal will be misrepresented, and may for the moment intensify the alarm." It is unnecessary in a personal narrative to repeat what followed in the Fenian camp. The insurrection, if it may be dignified by that name, was immediately stamped out. Lord Naas put it down in his own way, yielding neither to threats nor entreaties, acting wisely and firmly, and allowing himself to be influenced neither by newspaper panics nor by patriots in the House of Commons, nor by rebels outside it. When he returned to London he went on with his Government Bills precisely as if nothing had happened, and no fewer than eighteen of his measures prepared in that year received the Royal assent.

And in a public speech to the Buckinghamshire electors, Mr. Disraeli, alluding to the same matter, said:—"With regard to Ireland, I say that a state of affairs so dangerous was never encountered with more firmness, but at the same time with greater magnanimity; that never were foreign efforts so completely controlled, and baffled and defeated, as was this Fenian conspiracy by the Government of Ireland, by the Lord Lieutenant and by the Earl of Mayo. Upon that nobleman, for his sagacity, for his judgment, fine temper and knowledge of men, Her Majesty has been pleased to confer the office of Viceroy of India; and as Viceroy of India, I believe he will earn a reputation that his country will honour, and that he has before him a career which will equal that of the most eminent Governor-General who has preceded him." These qualities are precisely those which would be required by a Viceroy in such emergencies as have unhappily arisen in India, and it is easy, after reading Dr. Hunter's book, to understand Lord Mayo's nomination to the high office in which he died. When the subject of that appointment was first broached to him, he hesitated a great deal, but at last consented to accept the Viceroyalty of India in preference to that of Canada, which he was offered at the same time.

Our readers need not be reminded of the torrent of abuse which was poured on the Government in connection with this appointment. It is interesting to read how this hostile criticism effected himself. 'I am sorely hurt,' he wrote to Sir Stafford Northcote, 'at the way in which the Press are abusing my appointment. I care little for myself, but I am not without apprehension that these attacks may damage the Government and injure my influence if ever I arrive in India. I am made uneasy, but not daunted.' Again: 'I did not accept this great office without long and anxious consideration. I leave with a good confidence and hope that I may realize the expectations of my friends. I was prepared for hostile criticism, but I thought that my long public service

might have saved me from the personal abuse which has been showered upon me. I bear no resentment and only pray that I may be enabled ere long to show my abusers that they were wrong.

Again he writes to a friend :—" I know India is ' a big thing,' but I am not afraid of it, and feel confident that if I get there in health and strength, I can, with God's help, show these bitter scribblers that they are wrong. Indian experience is very valuable. But I believe that twenty years of the House of Commons, five years' labour in the most difficult of offices, with two in the Cabinet, form as good a training as a man could have for the work." And in addressing his constituents at Cokermonth he said :—" Splendid as is the post, and difficult as will be my duties, I go forth in full confidence and hope that God will give me such strength and wisdom as will enable me to direct the Government of India in the interests and for the well-being of the millions committed to our care. In the performance of the great task I ask for no favour. Let me be judged according to my acts. And I know that efforts honestly made for the maintenance of our national honour, for the spread of civilization, and the preservation of peace, will always command the sympathy and support of my countrymen."

It was in October 1868, that Lord Mayo was appointed to the Viceroyalty of India ; on the 20th December, he landed at Bombay ; and on the 12th January 1869, he entered Government House, Calcutta, for the first time. To this period—October to January—Dr. Hunter devotes one of the most interesting chapters in his book. The moment Lord Mayo accepted the Viceroyalty, he commenced with characteristic energy to prepare for the important work before him. His biographer in this chapter uses freely the very interesting diary kept by the Viceroy-elect. The extracts show how conscientiously he used the time at his disposal. One day immediately after his acceptance of the appointment, he has ' a long talk on Indian matters ' with some one who calls ; he then goes to the India Office and discusses railways, army organization, the state of the North-West Frontier, and irrigation works. Next day there is ' a long talk on railway matters, ' a discussion on gaols and the partial decentralization of Indian finance—a visit to the Home Office—then to the India Office, where there is ' another long talk on frontier matters. ' Another day he has ' a long and interesting conversation ' on the subject of Indian Finances with Mr. Massey ; and the ex-Finance Minister seems to have touched on most of the difficult points connected with the financial administration of India. Mr. Massey is followed by the Chairman of the Sind Railway, with whom ' another very long talk, ' the salient points of which are all noted. " After he went away, " the diary proceeds : " Sir

Arthur Cotton came, with whom I had a most interesting conversation for two hours and a half on irrigation matters; then follow the heads of the conversation, which alone occupy more than two pages of Dr. Hunter's book. After this a "Mr. M." came 'with whom,' writes Lord Mayo, 'I had a long talk, principally upon social matters in Calcutta. He forms, apparently, a very low estimate of the Bengali character, and gave me some very interesting details of the Mutiny. He is strongly in favour of the influence of hospitality.' All this in one day. And the other days are the same. The amount of work of this kind recorded in the diary between 20th October and 10th November is extraordinary. And his sense of the heavy responsibilities of his position did not cease when, on the 11th November 1868, 'he looked for the last time on the Dover Cliffs.' At each stage of his outward journey, there is some one to be seen, or something to be done, having a bearing on his future work. The lengthy extracts from the diary regarding the Suez Canal, through which he was taken by M. Lesseps, are specially interesting both in themselves and as showing how retentive Lord Mayo's memory must have been, and with what readiness he acquired information on technical subjects, with which he can have had little acquaintance. At Aden there is much about the defective principles on which the fort is constructed, the deficient water-supply, &c., and the conclusions at which he arrived regarding this important place are summarized. At Bombay, the drainage, gaol system, harbour works, port defences, municipal taxation, sanitation, customs, cotton-presses, barracks, water-works, and many other matters are noted. At Puna there is something about the powder manufactory, the Dacca College, the Sassoon Hospital, the Jiranda gaol, the Native Infantry lines, the barrack, the bakery, &c. During his three clear days at Madras he visited the Model Farm, the Horticultural Gardens, the Monegar Chaultri, the Lock Hospital, the Gaol, the General Hospital, the Fort, the Barracks, the Red Hills Tank, the Cathedral, and in fact every place worth visiting. He stayed up late at balls and dinner parties, and was out early at the races or hunting. He discussed Public Works, irrigation, decentralization of finance, the police system, the officering of the native army, 'the proceedings and movements of the Carnatic family,' and so forth. He himself admits that 'during our short turn I managed to see a great deal.' So much, indeed, that the first entry in the diary after leaving Madras runs: '*Madras to Calcutta*, 8th January. Paid the penalty of my imprudence and over-exertion at Madras, being attacked sharply by fever this morning.'

Lord Mayo landed at Chándpál Ghât, Calcutta, on the afternoon of the 12th January 1869. He was received with the usual honours, and went at once to Government House. 'I walked,' he writes,

straight with Sir William Mansfield (Commander-in-Chief) and the Members of Council into the Council Room, where I was immediately sworn in and took my seat at the Board. This is his own description of the event, but we must quote his biographer's account. It is one of the finest passages in the work :—

The reception of a new Viceroy on the spacious flight of steps at Government House, and the handing over charge of the Indian Empire which immediately follows, form an imposing spectacle. On this occasion it had a pathos of its own. At the top of the stairs stood the wearied, veteran Viceroy, wearing his splendid harness for the last day; his face blanched, and his tall figure shrunken by forty years of Indian service; but his head erect, and his eye still bright with the fire which had burst forth so gloriously in India's supreme hour of need. Around him stood the tried counsellors with whom he had gone through life—a silent, calm semi-circle—in suits of blue and gold, lit up by a few scarlet uniforms. At the bottom, the new Governor-General jumped lightly out of the carriage amid the saluting of troops and glitter of arms; his large athletic form in the easiest of summer costumes, with a funny little coloured necktie, and a face red with health and sunshine. As he came up the tall flight of stairs with a springy step, Lord Lawrence, with a visible feebleness, made the customary three paces forward to the edge of the landing-place to receive him. I was among the group of officers who followed them into the Council Chamber; and as we went, a friend compared the scene to an even more memorable one on these same stairs. The toilworn statesman, who had done more than any other single Englishman to save India in 1857, was now handing it over to an untried successor; and thirteen years before, Lord Dalhousie, the stern ruler, who did more than any other Englishman to build up that Empire, had come to the same act of demission on the same spot, with a face still more deeply ploughed by disease and care, a mind and body more weary, and bearing within him the death which he was about to pay as the price of great services to his country. In the Chamber, Sir John Lawrence and his council took their seats at the table, the Chief Secretaries stood around, a crowd of officers filed the room, and the silent faces of the Englishmen who had won and kept India in times past, looked down from the walls. The clerk read out the oaths in a clear voice, and Lord Mayo assented. At the same moment the Viceroy's band burst forth with "God save the Queen," in the garden below, a great shout came in from the people outside, the Fort thundered out its Royal Salute, and the 196 millions of British India had passed under a new ruler.

Dr. Hunter considers separately the Foreign, Financial, Legislative, and Military Administrations of India during Lord Mayo's Viceroyalty, then devotes a chapter to his internal administration. We shall follow the biographer's order, and would merely premise that it is not our object in this review to criticise Lord Mayo's policy as Viceroy, but simply to state what that policy was.

The leading features of Lord Mayo's foreign policy, were an absolute objection to anything like annexation or extension of the frontier—the cultivation of friendly relations with the tribes along the entire frontier line of India—the preservation of the independence of their powers, and the encouragement of friendly commercial relations with them, and absolute non-interference

with their internal affairs except when intervention was rendered necessary by gross mis-management. His dealings with the Feudatory powers were guided by the same principles. He desired to encourage them to manage their own affairs well, and led them to understand that if they did so they might depend on his support and friendship; he discouraged all unnecessary interference or control in the case of rulers, who showed any desire or ability to govern well and peaceably. On the other hand, he let it be known, both by words and deeds, that he would not tolerate mis-government nor look quietly on oppression on the part of any of the Feudatories. He distinctly intimated that firm steps would be taken to prevent such mis-management or oppression—that, if a prince proved himself unworthy of his position, the Indian Government would at once step in and take the government out of his hands, not by annexing his territory, but by displacing him and appointing a competent successor, or, if necessary, an English agent. The remedy for mis-government was, he thought, not to be found in ‘vexatious interference in minor matters, or by constant threats of deposition or sequestration of revenue,’ but rather ‘in a policy which would exalt the dignity, strength, and the authority, and increase the personal responsibility of these families; and at the same time by showing them that that which they really value above everything, *viz.*, the support of the British Government in securing the permanency of their rule, is only to be gained by the exercise of justice, by the certain punishment of crime, and the encouragement of those who support our recommendations.’ ‘Should a well-disposed chief,’ he writes on another occasion, ‘while using his utmost endeavours to establish good government within his State, be opposed by insubordinate petty barons, mutinous troops, or seditious classes of his subjects, it is then our duty to support his authority and power.’ But he never concealed the other side of the question, and firmly set his face against mis-rule of every kind. ‘I believe,’ he writes, ‘that if in any Feudatory State in India, oppression, tyranny, corruption, wastefulness, and vice are found to be the leading characteristics of its administration, it is the imperative duty of the Paramount Power to interfere, and that we evade the responsibility which our position in India imposes upon us, and avoid the discharge of a manifest duty, if we allow the people of any race or class to be plundered and oppressed. . . . Further, I believe that under no circumstances can we permit in any State in India the existence of civil war, and that on such an occasion as this’—he is writing of the gross mis-management of the Alwar Chief—‘it is plainly our duty to interfere, at first, by every peaceful means which we have at our disposal; but that, in the event of arbitration and mediation failing, it will be our duty to stop by force of arms anything approaching to

open hostilities between large classes of the people and their chiefs.

These principles he carried out with consistency and firmness throughout the period of his Viceroyalty, and it is undeniable that the effect produced by this policy was most wholesome and excellent. His plan was to begin with kindness, but, if that failed, to quietly but firmly apply pressure. The speech which he addressed to the Princes and Chiefs of Rájputaná assembled in Durbár at Ajmír, expresses so clearly his views, and is so perfect a specimen of a good speech, that we give it here. It is for many reasons worthy of a permanent place in Indian literature :—

I, as the representative of the Queen, have come here to tell you, as you have often been told before, that the desire of Her Majesty's Government is to secure to you and to your successors the full enjoyment of your ancient rights and the exercise of all lawful customs, and to assist you in upholding the dignity and maintaining the authority which you and your fathers have for centuries exercised in this land.

But in order to enable us fully to carry into effect this our fixed resolve, we must receive from you hearty and cordial assistance. If we respect your rights and privileges, you should also respect the rights, and regard the privileges, of those who are placed beneath your care. If we support you in your power, we expect in return good government. We demand that everywhere, throughout the length and breadth of Rájputaná, justice and order shall prevail ; that every man's property shall be secure ; that the traveller shall come and go in safety ; that the cultivator shall enjoy the fruits of his labour, and the trader the produce of his commerce ; that you shall make roads, and undertake the construction of those works of irrigation which will improve the condition of the people and swell the revenues of your States ; that you shall encourage education, and provide for the relief of the sick.

Be assured that we ask you to do all this for no other but your own benefit. If we wished you to remain weak, we should say, be poor, and ignorant, and disorderly. It is because we wish you to be strong that we desire to see you rich, instructed, and well governed ; it is for such objects that the servants of the Queen rule in India ; and Providence will ever sustain the rulers who govern for the people's good.

I am here only for a time. The able and earnest officers who surround me, will, at no distant period, return to their English homes ; but the power which we represent will endure for ages. Hourly is this great Empire brought nearer and nearer to the throne of our Queen. The steam-vessel and the railroad enable England, year by year, to enfold India in a closer embrace. But the coils she seeks to entwine around her are no iron fetters, but the golden chains of affection and of peace. The days of conquest are past ; the age of improvement has begun.

Chiefs and Princes, advance in the right way, and secure to your children's children, and to future generations of your subjects, the favouring protection of a Power who only seeks your good.

The subject of the preservation of our Indian frontier cost Lord Mayo much earnest thought. His system was, as it were, to insulate India by forming a belt of independent and friendly territories round the entire length of its frontier from

the Persian Gulf to Burmah. He thought our policy lay in encouraging, by every means, the independence of these trans-frontier Powers, in making of them staunch allies, who would have everything to lose and nothing to gain by giving up our friendship or by intriguing with any Central Asian power that might have designs on them. And he consistently and steadily carried out this policy. How he gradually established link after link of the chain, is well told in Dr. Hunter's book. We can only briefly follow him here. To begin with Kilát. When Lord Mayo came to India, Persia was virtually, by constant encroachments, pushing her frontier eastward, until it seemed likely that ere long her territory would be continuous with our own. In September 1869, the Indian Government wrote to the Secretary of State pointing out that, if this should happen, "the safe and prudent policy which we deem essential to British interests would be rudely terminated." They then urged, and continued to urge, the necessity of firm and decided steps being taken to prevent this. Not, however, until 1870 did Lord Mayo gain his point. In April of that year the Shah consented to the making out of a Persian frontier-line, by Commissioners appointed by England, Persia and Kilát. General Goldsmid was appointed to the duty of defining the eastern boundary of Persia, and his decision, which was not at first agreeable to either party, was eventually accepted by both. Thus the beginning of the great trans-frontier belt was made; and, at the time of his death, Lord Mayo was busily engaged—in accordance with his policy already described—in trying to secure for the Kilát State peaceful and good internal government.

With Afghánistán the same policy was followed. Just before Lord Mayo's arrival in India, Sher Ali had established his power firmly throughout that country, and had been recognized as the Amír by Lord Lawrence the Viceroy. It would be beyond our province, in this paper, to enter into the discussion which has been raised regarding the part which Lord Mayo took in carrying out his predecessor's policy. The views of the two parties are very fairly stated by Dr. Hunter, who also gives a very succinct and clear *résumé* of Afghán affairs from 1838. It is sufficient for our present purpose to state that in all he did, it was Lord Mayo's object to establish a firm friendship between the actual ruler of Afghánistán and himself as Viceroy of India. The great Ambála Durbár did much to bring this about. Lord Mayo's winning manner, which never failed to charm the foreign Princes and Feudatories with whom he came in contact, the splendid reception given to him, the evidences of peace and prosperity which he saw on every side about him as soon as he passed into English territory, all deeply impressed the Amír, and he remained a firm and loyal friend to the Viceroy during Lord Mayo's life.

Thus the second link in the trans-frontier chain was established.

The third link was Turkestan. In the beginning of 1869, when Lord Mayo assumed the Viceroyalty, the Atáligh Ghází had not established himself in Turkestan, and the State was in no way recognised by the Indian Government. But in the end of that year, the Atáligh Ghází sent an envoy with letters to the Viceroy and the Queen. In March 1870, the envoy had an interview with Lord Mayo in Calcutta, and asked among other things 'that a British officer might accompany him back on a friendly visit to his master, the ruler of Eastern Turkestan.' Having satisfied himself, as far as he could do so, that the Atáligh Ghází was the actual ruler of Turkestan, Lord Mayo acceded to the request of the envoy, and deputed Sir Douglas (then Mr.) Forsyth to accompany him back to Yárkand. The visit was to be one of courtesy only. No question of politics was to be discussed; but Mr. Forsyth was at liberty to repeat the advice already given by Lord Mayo to the envoy, namely, that 'the Atáligh Ghází would best consult the interests of his kingdom by a watchful, just, and vigorous government; by strengthening the defences of his frontier; and above all, by not interfering in the political affairs of other States, or in the quarrels of chiefs or tribes that did not directly concern his own interests.' Further Mr. Forsyth was expected to collect as much information as he could regarding the state of trade in the country which he was to visit—its political condition, its relations to the neighbouring countries, and indeed everything that could be of interest to the Indian Government. He was not to stay in the country beyond the winter. The result of the expedition is fresh in the memory of our readers. As soon as Mr. Forsyth discovered, on his arrival in Turkestan, that the Atáligh Ghází was engaged in fighting in a distant part of his territories, he resolved on an immediate return, and only stayed long enough at Yárkand to make the necessary arrangements. He had no choice but to do this, having received the most imperative instructions from Lord Mayo to do so, should he find the Atáligh's assertion, that he was the established ruler of a peaceful State, in any degree incorrect. The visit, however, was not without fruits. Mr. Forsyth and his party had obtained much valuable information about the country they had visited, and one of the results has been the opening of a free trade route through the Chang Chenmu Valley; and Eastern Turkestan has become a valuable market for English goods. Our readers will also remember that, three years ago, at the request of another envoy from the Atáligh Ghází, begging that an English official might be sent back with him with power to frame a commercial treaty, Sir Douglas Forsyth again visited Yárkand and signed a treaty

of the nature proposed. Thus, during Lord Mayo's Viceroyalty, the first steps were taken towards the establishment of this link in the trans-frontier chain of independent States.

With Nepál he had no difficulty ; and he confined himself to maintaining an attitude alike firm, friendly, and dignified, and consolidated the satisfactory relations he found existing with that State. On the North-Eastern frontier of Bengal and with Burmah he desired to carry out the same policy as that which we have already described ; but in the case of the Lushai frontier, he was obliged to adopt different means for establishing peace. In his Minute with regard to the Lushai Expedition, he gives fully his reasons for thinking the expedition necessary, and his views as to the manner in which it should be conducted.

We have devoted a considerable portion of our space to Lord Mayo's foreign policy, because it stands out most prominently as one of the strongest points in his administration, and because as he retained the Foreign and Public Works Portfolios in his own hands, it is from his management of these departments that we can best form an opinion of his powers as an Indian administrator. We have already said that it is not our province in this paper to criticise ; but, we may be permitted to say briefly, that the policy towards Feudatories and Frontier States so distinctly enunciated and followed by Lord Mayo, is a thoroughly sound one, and that the firm and consistent way in which he carried it out, is alone sufficient to give him a very high position among Indian Viceroys.

We cannot lay aside Dr. Hunter's first volume which closes with Lord Mayo's foreign policy, without extracting from it a description of the mechanism of the Indian Government, which is exceedingly interesting, and, so far as we know, is not to be found in any other book :—

The mechanism of the Supreme Government of India consists of a Cabinet, with the Governor-General as an absolute President, subject to the distant authority of the Secretary of State in England, and directly controlling the twelve Provincial Governments and the 153 Native States of India. Every order runs in the name of the President and the collective Cabinet, technically the 'Governor-General in Council.' And under the Company every case actually passed through the hands of each Member of Council circulating at a snail's pace, in the little mahogany boxes, from one Councilor's house to another. 'The system involved,' writes a former Member of Council, 'an amount of elaborate minute-writing which seems now hardly conceivable. Twenty years ago the Governor-General and the Council used to perform work which would now be disposed of by an Under-Secretary. Lord Canning found that, if he was to raise the administration to the higher standard of promptitude and efficiency which now obtains, he must put a stop to this. He remodelled the Government into the semblance of a Cabinet, with himself as President ! Each Member of the Supreme Council practically became a Minister at the head of his own department, responsible for its ordinary business, but bound to lay important cases before the Viceroy whose will forms the final arbitra-

ment in all great questions of policy in which he sees fit to exercise it. 'The ordinary current business of the Government,' writes Sir John Strachey, 'is divided among the Members of the Council much in the same manner in which, in England, it is divided among the Cabinet Ministers, each Member having a separate department of his own.' The Governor-General himself keeps one department specially in his own hand, generally the Foreign Office; and Lord Mayo, being insatiable of work, retained two: the Foreign Department and the great Department of Public Works. Various changes took place in the Supreme Government even during his short Viceroyalty, but the following represents the *personnel* of his Government as fairly as any single view can:—

Departments.	Members of Council.	Chief-Secretary.
I. Foreign Department	The Viceroy	Mr. C. U. Aitchison, C.S.I.
II. Public Works Department.	The Viceroy	Divided into branches.
III. Home Department.	Hon'ble Barrow Ellis ...	Mr. Clive Bayley, C. S. I.
IV. Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce.	Hon'ble Sir John Strachey, K. C. S. I.	Mr. A. O. Hume, C. B.
V. Financial Department.	Hon'ble Sir R. Temple, K. C. S. I.	Mr. Barclay Chapman.
VI. Military Department.	Major-General the Hon'ble Sir H. Norman, K. C. S. I.	Colonel Burne.
VII. Legislative Department.	Hon'ble Fitz-James Stephen, Q. C.	Mr. Whitley Stokes.

Lord Mayo, besides his duties as President of the Council, and final source of authority in each of the seven departments, was, therefore, in his own person, Foreign Minister and Minister of Public Works. The Home Minister (No. III), the Minister of Revenue, Agriculture, and Commerce (No. IV), and the Finance Minister (No. V), were members of the Indian Civil Service, along with the Secretaries and Under-Secretaries in those and in the Foreign Department; of the other two departments, the Military (No. VI), was presided over by a distinguished soldier, and the Legislative (No. VII), by an eminent member of the English Bar. Routine and ordinary matters were disposed of by the Member of Council within whose department they fell. Papers of greater importance were sent, with the initiating Member's opinion, to the Viceroy, who either concurred in or modified it. If the Viceroy concurred, the case generally ended, and the Secretary worked up the Member's note into a letter or a resolution, to be issued as the orders of the Governor-General in Council. But in a matter of weight, the Viceroy, even when concurring with the initiating Members, often directed the papers to be circulated either to the whole Council, or to certain of the Members whose views he might think it expedient to obtain on the question. In cases in which he did not concur with the initiating Member's views, the papers were generally circulated to all the other Members, or the Governor-General ordered them to be brought up in Council. Urgent business was submitted to the Governor-General direct by the Secretary of

the department under which it fell; and the Viceroy either initiated the order himself, or sent the case for initiation to the Member of Council at the head of the department to which it belonged.

This was the paper side of Lord Mayo's work. All orders issued in his name. Every case of any real importance passed through his hands, and either bore his order, or his initials under the initiating Member's note. Urgent matters, in all the seven departments, went direct to him in the first instance. He had also to decide what cases could be best disposed of by the Departmental Member and himself, and what ought to be circulated to the whole Council or to certain of the Members. In short, he had to see, as his orders ran in the name of the Governor-General in Council, that they fairly represented the collective views of his Government. The 'circulation' of the papers took place, and still does, in oblong mahogany boxes, air-tight, and fitted with a uniform Chubb's lock. Each Under-Secretary, Deputy-Secretary, Chief-Secretary, and Member of Council gets his allotted share of these little boxes every morning; each has his own key; and after 'noting' on the cases that come before him, sends on the box with his written opinion added to the file. The accumulated boxes from the seven departments pour into the Viceroy throughout the day. In addition to this vast diurnal tide of general work, Lord Mayo had two of the heaviest departments in his own hands, as Member in charge of the Foreign Office and of Public Works.

There is no part of his administration to which Lord Mayo's friends point with greater pride than his management of the finances of India, and the story told in Dr. Hunter's book is certainly full of the deepest interest. We once more find Lord Mayo sternly setting his shoulder to the wheel and doing with all his might, what he believes to be right, because he believes it to be right, with a noble contempt for unpopularity, and the outcry of people ignorant of the facts of the case. The two great measures round which the interest of his financial administration centres, are, of course, the raising of the Income Tax and the decentralization of Indian finance, or, as the Financial Secretary, in deference to Lord Mayo's objection to the term 'decentralization,' prefers to call it—the establishment of Provincial Finance. He was led to both of these measures by the same facts. The key-note to Lord Mayo's financial policy is to be found in a letter written to Sir Henry Durand in August 1869: '*I am determined not to have another deficit*,' he writes, 'even if it leads to the diminution of the Army, the reduction of Civil Establishments, and the stoppage of Public Works.' In the three years preceding Lord Mayo's first budget, there had been an aggregate deficit of nearly six millions sterling, and the total excess of expenditure over revenue had been *more than eleven millions sterling*.* Sir Richard Temple's first budget (March 1869) showed a deficit in the actuals of 1867-68 of £923,720 being 2½ millions less than the budget estimate for the year; the regular estimate for 1868-69 showed a deficit of £889,598 instead of an estimated sur-

* At the rate of 1s. 10d. per Rupee.

plus of £1,893,508—total difference, five and a quarter millions. The budget estimate was for a small surplus of £48,263. All this was bad enough, but it was not the worst. Lord Mayo soon found that, at the end of the financial year, the cash balances were lower than had been estimated by 1½ million sterling, and that, altogether, the real deficit for 1868-69 was £2,542,861, instead of £889,598 as estimated. This naturally alarmed him; the whole budget estimates were revised; and it became apparent that the current year must end with a deficit of £1,650,000, instead of the estimated surplus of £48,263 announced in March. Meanwhile Sir Richard Temple had gone home on six months' leave, and Sir John (then Mr.) Strachey was acting for him. Lord Mayo, assisted by Mr. Strachey, faced the difficulty with characteristic energy, and his enquiries showed 'that the financial collapse was due partly to a failure of the revenue estimates, especially of the opium duty, and partly to an undue expenditure on Public Works, the Army, and certain civil departments.' He rapidly decided what to do—first, *to prevent the anticipated deficit*; secondly, to re-adjust the finances, and so permanently prevent the recurrence of deficits. He at once cut down the grant for Public Works by £800,000, and reduced the expenditure for education, science, and art, by £350,000. Finding that he could do no more in the way of reduction, he reluctantly raised the Income Tax from 1 per cent. (at which he found it) to 2 per cent. and enhanced the salt-duty in Madras and Bombay, by these means hoping to increase the revenue by £500,000. This in addition to the £1,150,000 saved in expenditure, would cover the estimated deficit of the current year, £1,650,000. The actual result was a surplus of £108,779, but this was only due to 'the unexpected adjustment in the accounts of the year of some important outstanding items,' but for which there would, after all, have been a (very small) deficit.

Having thus dealt with the current difficulty, he turned his attention to placing the finances on a permanently sound and satisfactory basis. His reforms in this direction are divided into three branches:—First, improvements in the mechanism of the Financial Department of the Supreme Government itself. Second, the more rigid enforcement on the Local Governments of economy in framing their estimates, and of accuracy in keeping within them—while thus increasing their fiscal responsibility Lord Mayo also extended their financial powers. Third, a systematic and permanent re-adjustment of the revenues and the expenditure.' Under the second of these heads, came a thorough consideration of the financial relations between the Supreme Government and the various local administrations. Before the issue of the well-known Resolution of 14th December 1870, grants were

made for specific purposes, and a Local Government could not expend any portion of a grant on any other object than that for which it was given ; any balance unspent, being returned to the Imperial Treasury. The faults of such a system are patent :— It causes unnecessary friction between the Supreme and the Local Governments, and is evidently not conducive to economy. By the Resolution of 14th December 1870, this was changed ; ‘ a fixed yearly consolidated grant was made to each Government to enable it to defray the cost of its principal services, exclusive of the Army, but including Public Works. The grants thus made are final, being liable to reduction only in case of severe financial distress. They belong absolutely to the respective Local Governments. No savings from any one of them revert to the Imperial Treasury. Their distribution is left to the free discretion of the Local Governments, without any interference on the part of the Governor-General in Council. In fact, the only conditions imposed are those necessary to restrict the powers of the Local Governments within the limits assigned by Parliament and Her Majesty’s Secretary of State to the powers of the Supreme Government itself ; and to prevent a Local Government from embarrassing its neighbours by capricious or injudicious innovations.’

The system was, after four years’ experience of its working, reported an undoubted success. Mr. Barclay Chapman writes : ‘ It is now generally acknowledged that its effects have been to promote a good understanding between the Supreme and the Local Governments ; to increase the interest of the latter Governments in their work ; to enlarge their power to do good, and to relieve the Imperial Exchequer from an old class of urgent demands.’ And Sir John Strachey writes : ‘ In regard to the general success of the new system, so far as it has gone, there neither has been, nor is, any difference of opinion.’ The question of local taxation which, although not necessarily connected with that of provincial assignments, came to be considered at the same time, is discussed by Dr. Hunter, but into that question we cannot enter here. Dr. Hunter points out that ‘ both of these great topics had engaged the attention of Indian Statesmen before Lord Mayo’s rule. What he did was to find a successful solution for one of them, and to place the second in a train for practical settlement.’

Dr. Hunter has, of course, much to say in connection with this part of Lord Mayo’s administration, on the subject of the Indian Income Tax. ‘ Viewed by the light of after events, there seems little doubt that the Viceroy might have adopted a less stringent course,’ but his biographer shows how earnestly Lord Mayo considered the matter before consenting to raise the tax to $3\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. for 1870-71, and how gladly he reduced it the following year to $1\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. During the last few weeks of his life, the subject

was constantly in his thoughts, and the following words, written only a month before his death, seem to show that, had he lived, the tax would have been abolished :—

These papers throw more light upon the working of the Income Tax than anything I have yet read. I cannot accept the deduction that the 1 per cent. License Tax and the 1 per cent. Income Tax were not unpopular. With regard to the tax at the present [low] rate, all that is said is, that there is a feeling of relief. After such an *exposé* of the hardships that could be inflicted, we ought certainly to withhold our consent from any proposal which might continue the bare chance of such injustice, even if it effected a very limited number of people. It will rest with those who propose the continuance of the Income Tax in any shape to prove to demonstration that such a state of things can be effectively guarded against.

Regarding the suitability of the tax for India, Dr. Hunter gives, with his usual clearness, the views of the different schools of thinkers. We need only say here that we are of those who absolutely condemn it on the practical ground of the impossibility of realizing it without gross oppression. The Press with one voice denounced it at the time of its imposition, and that Lord Mayo became strongly impressed with the same view, is shown by his letters to Lord Napier of Ettrick and the Duke of Argyll. To the former he wrote : “ I am coming fast to the conclusion that we can hardly venture to impose, as a permanent part of our system, any direct taxation, whose collection cannot be placed almost entirely in the hands of European officials of good standing.” And to the Duke of Argyll : “ The feeling against the Income Tax continues in as great force as ever. There is much more reason than I at first supposed in the objections as regards its levy from the poorer natives, and I am inclined to think that no direct tax can be levied in India through the agency of native officials without causing much oppression. This is the real blot.” The following table given by Dr. Hunter shows to what extent the Earl of Mayo carried out his policy of economy and retrenchment :—

Year.	Revenue.		Ordinary Expenditure.
1867-68 ...	£48,429 644 ...	{ Years of Deficit preceding Lord Mayo's Rule ... }	£49,437,339 54,431,688
1868-69 ...	51,657,658 ...		
1869-70 ...	50,901,081 ...	{ Year of Equilibrium ; his first year of office. }	50,782,413
1870-71 ...	51,413,685 ...	{ Years of Surplus ; his last two years of office. ... }	49,930,695 46,984,915
1871-72 ...	50,109,093 ...		

From this it will be seen that 'the three years of Lord Mayo's rule left a surplus of $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions (reduced to sterling) and nearly redressed the deficit of $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions during the three preceding years.' We conclude our consideration of this part of Dr. Hunter's book by quoting from a letter addressed to the author by Mr. Barclay Chapman, three years after Lord Mayo's death:—

Lord Mayo's close personal attention to financial questions never flagged. He had, by decisive measures, established steady surplus for chronic deficit; he had increased the working power of the Local Governments, while checking the growth of their demands upon the Imperial treasury. He had established a policy of systematic watchfulness, and severe economy. The time was now coming when the results of all his exertions and sacrifices were to be gathered; when the Viceroy would be able to gratify his nature by granting relief from the burdens which he had reluctantly imposed. Lord Mayo was occupied with such questions on the very journey which ended so fatally. He had reason to hope that effective remission of taxation would soon be practicable, but he was still uncertain what shape it ought to take. It should never be forgotten that the welcome measures of relief, which the Government subsequently found itself in a position to effect, were possible only in consequence of Lord Mayo's vigorous policy of retrenchment and economy. His career was cut off just when the fruit for which he had made such sacrifices was ripening.

He found serious deficit and left substantial surplus. He found estimates habitually untrustworthy; he left them thoroughly worthy of confidence. He found accounts in arrear, and statistics incomplete; he left them punctual and full. He found the relations between the Local Governments and the Supreme Government in an unsatisfactory condition, and the powers of the Local Governments for good hampered by obsolete financial bonds. He left the Local Governments working with cordiality, harmony, and freedom, under the direction of the Governor-General in Council. He found the Financial Department conducted with a general laxity; he left it in vigorous efficiency. And if the sound principles be adhered to, which Lord Mayo held of such importance, and which in his hands proved so thoroughly effective, India ought not again to sink into the state from which he delivered her.

The only important matter of military administration with which Lord Mayo was called upon to deal during his Viceroyalty, was the retrenchment of the expenditure on the Military Government of the country. Almost immediately after his assumption of the Viceregal seat, a despatch was received in India from the Duke of Argyll, pointing out that 'notwithstanding the numerical decrease in the forces since the Mutiny, the expenditure on them had increased from $12\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling in 1856-57 to over 16 millions in 1868-69. He also alluded to the fact, that while a new and costly system of police had been organized, the expectations of any retrenchment based upon it had borne no fruit. The despatch concluded with a hope that the Viceroy would devise means to bring down the military expenditure in India by a million and a half sterling. Lord Mayo, assisted by Lord Sandhurst (Commander-in-Chief), Sir Henry Durand (Military Member of Council), and Sir Henry (then Colonel) Norman (Secretary in the Military Department),

carefully considered how the Secretary of State's wishes could be carried out without injuring the efficiency of the Army in India. They turned their attention to possible retrenchments in the Staff and in the Army departments, and to reductions in the European and Native Armies. They found it possible to retrench in the Staff to the extent of £46,065, and in the Military Department to the extent of £32,940—total £79,000; and this was promptly done. But the question of the reduction of troops was different and much more difficult to settle. After much consultation, however, and while earnestly protesting against the withdrawal of a 'single bayonet or sabre from India,' the Viceroy suggested measures which would result in a saving of nearly £950,000. Thus, he proposed that the number of European regiments should be reduced, but that each regiment should have its full complement of men, the total number of European soldiers remaining unchanged. The estimated annual saving in this way he put down at £297,220, in Cavalry and Infantry. A similar proposal to reduce the numbers of under-manned batteries of Artillery, and to render the remaining ones efficient by increasing their strength, would add £271,542 to the amount saved. Lord Sandhurst proposed in detail 'reductions, which he believed could be made in the Madras and Bombay regiments, with absolute safety as regards the military requirements of India, and with the minimum of irritation to the *esprit de corps* of local armies.' Sir Henry Durand went further, and boldly proposed the entire abolition of the Madras and Bombay commands and of the Adjutant-Generals and Quarter-Master-Generals of those Presidencies, and estimated that a saving of £60,000 would be the result. But 'the Viceroy felt that, however great the value to be attached to the opinions of military advisers like Lord Sandhurst and Sir Henry Durand, proposals of such magnitude might imperil the minor reforms and retrenchments which he felt within his grasp. The abolition of the costly three-fold organization of the Indian Army would injure the prospects of a large and an influential body of officers in India and at Home, and raise a tempest of opposition in which all hope of reform or retrenchment of any sort would be wrecked. These schemes were not, therefore, permitted to find entrance into the despatches in which Lord Mayo conveyed to the Secretary of State the deliberate decision of his Government with reference to the Native Army.' The following were the reductions in the Native troops recommended in those despatches :—

	Saving.
4 Batteries or Companies of Artillery ...	£ 17,003
4 Regiments of Cavalry ...	„ 59,009
16 Regiments of Infantry ...	„ 224,474
Total	£ 300,486

We may briefly mention the result. The total annual saving which would have been effected had all the recommendations of Lord Mayo's Government been carried out, was £948,253 : the portion of the scheme carried out effected a saving of £591,440 per annum. The Secretary of State sanctioned the retrenchments in the Indian Staff and Army departments, 'but he did not see his way to adopt, in their entirety, either of the other two series of measures, namely, those which affected the British regiments serving in India, or the reductions of the Native Army.' From the extracts given by Dr. Hunter from the letters and minutes of the Viceroy and his advisers, we gather that Lord Mayo was actuated by the same high notions and feelings in his treatment of this military problem, as were evident in his foreign and financial policy. He took a special and practical interest in all matters affecting directly or indirectly the welfare and comfort of the British soldier in India in barracks, hill-sanitaria, hospitals, and the Lawrence Asylum. 'Regimental workshops, exhibitions, and every device for keeping alive the mental vitality of the British soldier under the strain of the Indian climate, found in him a constant friend.'

The chapter headed 'Legislation under Lord Mayo' consists entirely of a letter written to Dr. Hunter by Mr. Fitz-James Stephen, in which he defends Lord Mayo's Government from the charge of over-legislation, and gives a very interesting account of the legislative business done during the time he was legal member of the Governor-General's Council. A mere list of the Acts passed during Lord Mayo's tenure of office would not interest our readers. Among the most important of them may be mentioned the Evidence Act (I of 1872), the Contract Act (IX of 1872), and the Code of Criminal Procedure (X of 1872). Writing of these Mr. Stephen says : 'That the Government of India was able to pass in 1872 the three great Acts, to which I have already referred, was principally due to Lord Mayo personally. If he personally had cared less about legislation, and had taken a less vigorous line about it, it would have been impossible to pass any one of those Acts.' And he concludes his letter with the following sentences :—

I do not like to trespass on what is your peculiar province in telling the story of Lord Mayo's life. But I cannot leave the subject without saying that of the many public men whom it has been my fortune to meet in various capacities at Home and in India, I never met one to whom I felt disposed to give such heartfelt affection and honour. I hope you will succeed in making people understand how good and kind, how wise and honest and brave he was, and what freshness, vigour and flexibility of mind he brought to bear upon a vast number of new and difficult subjects.

Dr. Hunter *has* succeeded, in this delightful and valuable book, which we lay aside for the time with real regret, in showing Lord

Mayo's many noble qualities of heart and mind. We have already so far exceeded the space we had allowed ourselves that we cannot attempt, at this time, to give our readers an insight into Lord Mayo's internal administration. We may only in one sentence summarize its principal features. He visited many parts of the immense territories he governed, and saw and heard and noted many things which could not otherwise have come to his knowledge; he revolutionized the Public Works Department and shook it almost fiercely into something like order; reducing at the same time its annual expenditure by nearly two millions sterling; he organized a department of Agriculture, Revenue and Commerce; he bent his mind to a hundred subjects which cannot even be enumerated now—Jails, Railways, Statistics, Irrigation, Minerals, Horse-supply, &c. Finally he exercised a magnificent hospitality, and did more than full justice to the social duties of his position. He made innumerable friends and but few enemies, and the feeling towards him of all those immediately about him was one which would probably be more correctly described by a stronger term than friendship. The Aides-de-Camp, who stood over his coffin in the gloomy, black-draped Throne Room of Government House when his body lay in state, were not the only men there who shed tears. We conclude our notice of Dr. Hunter's book by an extract which will always have a melancholy interest for Indian readers. It is also one of the finest and most touching things the author has ever written. It is the account of Lord Mayo's last evening:—

On his way he said: 'We have still an hour of daylight, let us do Mount Harriet.' This had originally formed part of the day's programme, but the Private Secretary, according to his regular practice of so arranging each day's work as never to let it keep the Viceroy out after dark, had managed to get the visit postponed till next morning. Mount Harriet is a hill rising to 1,116 feet, a mile and a half inland from the Hopetown Jetty. Its capabilities as a sanitarium had been much discussed, and Lord Mayo was anxious to compare the conflicting opinions he had received with his own impression on the spot. Malaria was the one enemy of the colony which remained, and the Viceroy was resolved to get the better of it. He desired, if possible, to provide a retreat where the fever patients might shake off their clinging malady. No criminals of a dangerous sort were quartered at Hopetown, the only convicts there being ticket-of-leave men of approved good conduct. However, the Superintendent at once despatched a boat with the guards from Chatham Island to the Hopetown Jetty, and followed with the Viceroy and party in the launch.

On landing at Hopetown a little after 5 P.M., the Viceroy found gay groups of his guests enjoying the cool of the day; and had a smile and a kind word for each as he passed. 'Do come up,' he said to one lady, 'you will have such a sunset!' But it was a stiff climb through the jungle, and only one recruit joined him. His own party was dead tired; they had been on their feet for six blazing hours, and Lord Mayo, as usual the freshest after a hard day, begged some of them to rest till he returned. Of course no one liked to give in, and the party dived into the jungle. When

they came to the foot of the hill, the Viceroy turned round to his Aide-de-Camp, who was visibly fatigued now that the strain of the day's anxiety had relaxed, and almost ordered him to sit down. The Superintendent had sent on the one available pony, but Lord Mayo, at first objected to riding while the rest were on foot. When half way up, he stopped and said: 'It's my turn to walk now; one of you get on.' At the top he carefully surveyed the capabilities of the hill as a sanitarium. He thought he saw his way to improve the health of the settlement, and with the stern task of reorganisation to make a work of humanity go hand in hand. 'Plenty of room here,' he cried, looking round on the island group, 'to settle two millions of men.' Presently he sat down, and gazed silently across the sea to the sunset. Once or twice he said quietly, 'How beautiful!' Then he drank some water. After another long look to the westward, he exclaimed to his Private Secretary: 'It's the loveliest thing, I think, I ever saw;' and came away.

The descent was made in close order, for it was now dark. About three-quarters of the way down, torch-bearers from Hopetown met the Viceroy and his attendant group of officials and guards. Two of his party who had hurried forward to the pier saw the intermittent gleam of the torches threading their way through the jungle; then the whole body of lights issued by the bridle-path from the wood, a minute's walk from the jetty. The *Glasgow* frigate lay out on the left with her long line of lights low on the water; the *Scotia* and *Dacca*, also lit up, beyond her; another steamer, *Nemesis*, was coaling nearer to Hopetown, on the right; the ship's bells had just rung seven. The launch, with steam up, was whizzing at the jetty stairs; a group of her seamen were chatting on the pier-end. It was now quite dark, and the black line of the jungle seemed to touch the water's edge. The Viceroy's party passed some large loose stones to the left at the head of the pier and advanced along the jetty, two torch-bearers in front, the light shining strongly on the tall form of Lord Mayo, in a grey tussersilk coat, close between his Private Secretary and the Superintendent, the Flag-Lieutenant of the *Glasgow* and a Colonel of Engineers, a few paces behind, on left and right; the armed police between them, but a little nearer the Viceroy. The Superintendent turned aside, with Lord Mayo's leave, to give an order about the morning's programme; and the Viceroy stepped quickly forward before the rest to descend the stairs to the launch. 'The next moment the people in the rear heard a noise as of 'the rush of some animal' from behind the loose stones; one or two saw a hand and knife suddenly descend in the torch-light. The Private Secretary heard a thud, and instantly turning round, found a man 'fastened like a tiger' on the back of the Viceroy.

In a second twelve men were on the assassin; an English officer was pulling them off, and with his sword-hilt keeping back the native guards, who would have killed the assailant on the spot. The torches had gone out; but the Viceroy, who had staggered over the pier side, was dimly seen rising up in knee-deep water and clearing the hair off his brow with his hand as if recovering himself. His Private Secretary was instantly at his side, helping him up the bank. 'Burne,' he said quietly, 'they've hit me.' Then in a louder voice, which was heard on the pier, 'It's all right, I don't think I'm much hurt,' or words to that effect.^o In another minute he was sitting under the smoky glare of the re-lit torches, on a rude native cart, at the side of the jetty, his legs hanging loosely down. Then they lifted him bodily on to the cart, and saw a great dark patch on the back of his light coat. The blood came streaming out, and men tried to staunch it with their handkerchiefs. For a moment or two he sat up on the cart, then fell heavily backwards. 'Lift up my head,' he said faintly: and said no more.

* I use his own words.

They carried him down into the steam launch, some silently believing him dead. Others, angry with themselves for the bare surmise, cut open his coat and vest, and stopped the wound with hastily torn strips of cloth and the palms of their hand; others kept rubbing his feet and legs. Three supported his head. The assassin lay tied, stunned a few yards from him. As the launch shot on in the darkness, eight bells rang across the water from the ships. When it came near the frigate, where the guests were waiting for dinner, and jesting about some fish which they had caught for the meal, the lights in the launch were suddenly put out, to hide what was going on in it. They lifted Lord Mayo gently to his cabin. When they laid him down in his cot, every one saw that he was dead.

To all on board, that night stands out from among all other nights in their lives. A silence, which seemed as if it would never again be broken, suddenly fell on the holiday ship with its 600 souls. The doctors held their interview with the dead—two stabs from the same knife on the shoulder had penetrated the cavity of the chest, either of them sufficient to cause death. On the guest steamer there were hysterics and weeping; but in the ship where the Viceroy lay, the grief was too deep for any expression. Men moved about solitarily through the night, each saying bitterly to his own heart, 'Would that it had been one of us.' The anguish of her who received back her dead was not, and is not, for words.

At dawn the sight of the frigate in mourning, the flag at half-mast, the broad white stripe, a leaden grey, all the ropes slack, and the yards hanging topped in dismal disorder, announced the reality to those on the other steamer who had persisted through the night in a sort of hysterical disbelief. On the frigate a hushed and solemn industry was going on. The chief officers of the Government of India on board assembled* to adopt steps for the devolution of the Viceroyalty. The trial of the murderer took place. And in a few hours, while the doctors were still engaged on their sad, secret task, one steamer had hurried north with the Member of Council to Bengal, another was ploughing its way with the Foreign Secretary to Madras, to bring up Lord Napier of Ettrick to Calcutta, as acting Governor-General. *Uno avverso, non deficit alter.* The frigate lay silent and alone. At half past nine that night, the partially embalmed body was placed in its temporary coffin on the quarter-deck, and covered with the Union Jack.

The assassin received the usual trial and the usual punishment for the crime. Shortly after he had been brought on board, in the launch which carried his victim, the Foreign Secretary asked him why he had done this thing. He only replied, 'By the order of God.' To the question, whether he had any associates in his act, he answered, 'Among men I have no accomplice; God is my partner!' Next morning, at the usual preliminary inquiry before the local Magistrate, when called to plead, he said, 'Yes, I did it.' The evidence of the eye-witnesses was recorded, and the prisoner committed for murder to the Sessions Court. The Superintendent, sitting as Chief Judge in the Settlement, conducted the trial in the afternoon. The accused simply pleaded 'not guilty.' Each fact was established by those present when the deed was done; the prisoner had been dragged off the back of the bleeding Viceroy with the reddened knife in his hand. The sentence was to suffer death by hanging. The proceedings were forwarded in the regular way to the High Court at Calcutta for review. On the 20th February, this tribunal confirmed the sentence; and on the 11th March, the assassin was taken to the usual place of execution on Viper Island, and hanged.

The man was a highlander from beyond our North-Western frontier, who had taken service in the Punjab Mounted Police, and been condemned to death at Peshawur for slaying his enemy on British soil. The evidence being chiefly circumstantial, his sentence was commuted to transportation for life to the Andamans. In his dying confession, years afterwards, he stated that although he had not struck the blow, he had conspired to do the murder.

* Sir Barrow H. Ellis (Member of Aitchison, C.S.I., Foreign Secretary, Council) presiding, with Mr. C. U. and others.

But the slaying of an hereditary foe in cold blood was no crime in his eyes ; and ever since his conviction, in 1869, he said he had made up his mind to revenge himself by killing 'some European of high rank.' He therefore established his character as a silent, doggedly well-behaved man ; and in due time was set at large as a barber among the ticket-of-leave convicts at Hope-town. During three years he waited sullenly for some worthy prey. On the morning of the 8th February, when he heard the Royal Salute, he felt that his time had come, and sharpened a knife. He resolved to kill both the Superintendent and the Viceroy. All through the day the close surveillance gave him no chance of getting to the islands which Lord Mayo visited. Evening came, and his victims landed, unexpectedly, at his very door. He slipped into the woods, crept up Mount Harriet through the jungle side by side with the Viceroy ; then dogged the party down again in the dark ; but still got no chance. At the foot he almost gave up hope, and resolved to wait for the morrow. But as the Viceroy stepped quickly forward on the jetty, his grey-suited shoulders towering conspicuous in the torch-light, an impulse of despair thrilled through the assassin. He gave up all idea of life, rushed round the guards, and in a moment was on his victim's back. He was a hill-man of immense personal strength ; and when heavily fettered in the condemned cell, overturned the lamp with his chained ankle, bore down the English sentry by brute strength of body, and wrenched away his bayonet with his manacled hands. He made no pretence of penitence, and was childishly vain of being photographed (for Police inquiries in Northern India) as the murderer of a Viceroy. Indeed, some of the above details were only got out of him by a native officer who cunningly begged him for materials for an ode on his deed, to be sung by his countrymen. Neither his name, nor that of his village or tribe, will find record in this book. The last words spoken to him on earth were a message from the family whom he had stricken : 'God forgive you, as we do.'

The passionate outburst of grief and wrath which then shook India, the slow military pomp of the slain Viceroy's re-entry into his capital, the uncontrollable fits of weeping in the chamber where he lay in state, the long voyage of the mourning ship, and the solemn ceremonial with which Ireland received home her dead son—all these were fitting at the time, and are past. Earth shuts him in, with his glories and his triumphs. Yesterday, said one of the Dublin papers, we saw a State solemnity vitalized, 'by the subtle spell of national feeling. Seldom are the two things united in an Irish public funeral. When imperial pomp is displayed, the national heart is cold, when the people pay spontaneous homage to the dead, the trappings of the State are absent, its voice-mute ; yesterday, for once, this ill-omened rule was broken, Government and the people united in doing homage on earth to an illustrious Irishman.' The Indian Press had given vent to the wild sorrow of many races in many languages ; the English newspapers were full of statelier, nobly expressed tributes ; Parliamentary chiefs had their well-chosen utterance for the nation's loss. But Lord Mayo, as he sat on the top of the sea-girt hill, and gazed towards the West, where his dear home lay beyond the sunset, would have prized that united silent mourning of his countrymen above any articulate pauegyric. They laid him at last in the secluded graveyard which he had chosen on his own land.

JESSORE.

BY H. J. RAINEY.

A Report on the District of Jessore : its Antiquities, its History, and its Commerce. Second Edition. Revised and corrected.

By J. WESTLAND, C. S., Late Magistrate and Collector of Jessore. Calcutta : Bengal Secretariat Press. 1874.

WE believe Mr. Westland was the very first member of the Bengal Civil Service to present us with a District Manual, the first edition of which made its appearance in 1870 ; and the good example set by him has been followed successively by Mr. Oldham in Ghazipur, Mr. Toynbee in Orissa, Mr. Williams in Dehra Dun, and Mr. Glazier in Rangpur. All such works are of great utility ; and we hope they may increase in number until every district, throughout the length and breadth of British India, is provided with a similar useful work. The fact that the first edition of Mr. Westland's report has been exhausted within so short a space of time, and a second edition already rendered necessary, conclusively proves that that gentleman's labours have been duly appreciated by the public. Mr. Westland performed his laborious and arduous task so well and carefully, that the first edition of his work contained, we were rather surprised to find, only a few errors ; but in the second edition, we regret to have to point out, that most of those errors have been perpetuated, albeit stated to be " revised and corrected." This is, however, probably owing, in a great measure, to his having in the *interim* left, not only the district, but also the Lower Provinces altogether. We purpose noticing, in the course of our article, all the errors we are able to detect, however small they may be ; not any wise in a cavilling or hypercritical spirit, but simply because Mr. Westland's work, being universally reckoned an authority, and rightly so, on matters pertaining to the district, ought to be freed as much as possible from all mistakes and inaccuracies that have in any way crept into it ; and it is, we consider, the bounden duty of those who are able to discover any error, to contribute towards this most desirable result. Hence, we trust, we shall escape the charge of captiousness in so doing ; and it is certainly far from our intention to depreciate a work from which we have, we candidly confess, derived a vast deal of local information on

various subjects, and we by no means under-estimate its intrinsic worth.

Mr. Westland has divided his voluminous report, which extends to nearly two hundred and fifty pages, into half-a-dozen parts, thus :—"Part I.—Geographical. Part II.—Antiquities. "Part III.—The First Thirty Years of British Administration. "Part IV.—Landed Property. Part V.—Agriculture and Commerce. Part VI.—Gazetteer." Besides this, there is an appendix, containing some statistical information regarding population, agriculture, revenue and commerce. We shall notice the subjects treated of by Mr. Westland *seriatim*, but our present article will be confined to a review of only the first two parts.

The general features of the district are faithfully depicted as a "plain intersected by rivers;" and accurately divided into three parts, denominated, respectively, northern, central and southern. The *first* is described as high land, with sandy soil, and the rivers watering it beyond the tidal range. The *second* is swampy land, composed almost entirely of *bils* or marshes, and the rivers therein within tidal influence. The *third* is low land, which forms the Sundarban portion of the district, and its surface is generally below high-water level, but the rise of tide, we must add, varies considerably on the western and eastern sides of the Gangetic Delta, for the greatest rise in the former, in the Húgli at Calcutta, has been ascertained to be but 23 feet 4 inches, whereas in the latter it has reached, it is said, over eighty feet! The rainfall, too, in this tract differs very considerably, for, whereas at Sagar Island the average annual fall is only 82·29 inches, in the Báqirganj District it is stated to be "from 200 to 300 inches in the year."* The average annual rainfall in Jessore is, according to Mr. Blanford's elaborate table, 66·41 inches, distributed throughout the year thus :—

1.—January	...	...	...	0·23 inches.
2.—February	...	...	...	0·56 "
3.—March	...	...	...	1·82 "
4.—April	...	...	...	4·50 "
5.—May	...	...	...	7·27 "
6.—June	..	...	...	13·42 "
7.—July	...	...	...	10·98 "
8.—August	...	...	...	10·91 "
9.—September	...	...	...	9·52 "
10.—October	...	...	...	6·39 "
11.—November	..	...	...	0·80 "
12.—December	...	...	...	0·01 "

The physical aspects of each of the three several divisions are also, of course, very different. The *upper* portion is stated to be well-wooded in some parts with numerous kinds of trees, especially that useful species of the palm genus, rich in saccharine sap, known to us as the date, and called by the natives the *khajur* (*Phoenix sylvestris*, Roxburgh): in other parts, the extensive fields, *aus* paddy, the rice crop gathered in autumn, is cultivated, and in the cold weather the several sorts of pulses, such as *khesári*, *kállái*, and peas. In the *central* portion paddy is almost exclusively cultivated,* and the villages, situated on the margin of the rivers, are covered with trees of various descriptions, and here those useful members of the grass family (*Bambusa*, Schreb) flourish in extreme luxuriance. In the *lower* portion rice is the only crop cultivated, and the houses of the few inhabitants located therein—for it is sparsely populated—are far apart from one another, and built entirely on the banks of rivers and *kháls*, where the ground is rather higher than in the interior, as usual in recent alluvial formations. These are the Sundarban clearances. All the rest of it is clad with almost impenetrable jungle, composed for the most part of that species of bullrush, wrongly designated by us elephant-grass, known to the natives as *hoglá* (*Typha elephantina*, Roxburgh), the so-called nipa palm, or *gol-pátá*, (*Nipa fruticans*, Willdenow), the well-known *nals*, reed, (*Arundo Karka*, Linnaeus), &c, and dense forests, comprising such trees as the two species of *sundari* (*Heritiera minor*, Roxburgh, et *H. littoralis*, Willdenow), the *keaurá* (*Sonneratia apetella*, Buchanan), the *gáb* (*Diospyros glutinosa*, König), the *gárán* (*Ciriops Roxburghianus*, Arn.), the *bhoirá* (*Rhizophora mucronata*, Lamarck), and numerous others. In these wilds where the foot of man never treads, except that of the adventurous wood-cutter, or daring *shikári*, roam those superior mammals, the fierce tiger (*Felis tigris*, Linnaeus), the gigantic buffalo (*Bubalus arni*, Hodgson), the stupendous rhinoceros (*R. sondaicus*,† Müller), the surly boar (*Sus indicus*, Schiny), and four members of the cervine group, the swamp deer, or *bárdasinghá* (*Rucervus Duvaucelli*, Blyth), the spotted deer (*Axis maculatus*, Gray), the hog deer (*Axis porcinus*, Blyth), and the barking deer (*Cervulus aureus*, Hamilton Smith).

We find that Mr. Westland has not alluded to certain physical phenomena heard in the district of Jessore, as well as in the adjoining district of Báqirganj, and generally known as the

* The marshes, or *bils*, in the cold season, teem with numberless species of wild fowl, from the ponderous and somber-hued grey goose (*Anser cinereus*, Meyer), to the light and bright plumaged blue-winged teal, (*Querquedula circitá*, Linn.).

† The above scientific designation

has been assigned to it by naturalists on the supposition that it is identical with the Javanese rhinoceros, but this we think extremely doubtful, for various reasons, which it would be premature to here state; we consider the Sundarban animal to be a new and distinct species.

'Barisal Guns.' They are so called, because, probably, they are more distinctly heard, or rather, more especially noticed in that station than elsewhere.

In 1870, we brought the subject prominently to the notice of Mr. Henry F. Blanford, then Meteorological Reporter for Bengal, in a letter under date the 25th June of that year; and as that letter describes the phenomena, we may as well quote it *in extenso* :—

"I have the honour to bring to your notice the occurrence in the districts of Bāqirganj and Jessore, and even as far north as Farīdpūr, I believe, periodically during the prevalence of the S.-W. Monsoon and rainy season, of certain peculiar noises from the south and south-east directions, or sea-board, resembling the report of cannons, or loud explosions, usually heard distinctly after a *heavy fall of rain, or cessation of a squall, generally whilst the tide is rising*, and to solicit your being good enough to investigate this physical phenomenon with the view of discovering the cause thereof, as there most decidedly exists a profound ignorance on the subject, and more particularly as it may prove of some interest to scientific research.

"In the *Englishman* newspaper, a correspondent, writing under the signature of *Barisal*, has lately noticed these singular noises, as you may have casually observed, with the avowed intention of obtaining an authoritative explanation of it; but judging from the futile efforts of numerous similar attempts previously made, I do not think he is likely to meet with any success, which is my only excuse for troubling you on the subject, though it is hardly needed, as I venture to think you will be sufficiently interested in the inquiry to enter into it *con amore*."

Mr. Blanford then wrote and suggested to us that the letter might be read at a meeting of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, with the view of getting the subject fully discussed; and we gladly acquiescing in the suggestion, it was duly read, when a discussion followed, which was reported in *Proceedings, Asiatic Society, B.*, for August 1870. We do not think it necessary to reproduce the discussion as there given; and an epitome of it will, we think, amply suffice for the present purpose.

The President, the Hon'ble J. B. Phear, invited the members present to express their opinions on the subject, and attributed the sounds "to breakers on the sea coast," remarking that similar phenomena were met with in Devonshire and Cornwall, and were due to the same cause.

Mr. Westland, the author of the report under review, bore testimony to the actual occurrence of the phenomena, but disagreed with the preceding speaker as to the origin of the sounds.

Mr. Dall mentioned several explanations he had heard regard-

ing the cause of the phenomena, one of which was that they were ascribed "to explosive gases stirred by some sort of volcanic action."

Mr. Blanford agreed with the President regarding the explanation he had given of the cause of the phenomena, and which had been suggested previously by Mr. Fleetwood H. Pellew, (*Journal, Asiatic Society, B.*, vol. xxxvi., p. 133). He, Mr. Blanford, considered that "the conditions under which the "sounds were heard, were all such as to point to the breaking "of the surf as their cause," but "to clear up every supposed "difficulty, much closer observation was doubtless required than "had hitherto been given to the matter."

Mr. Westland again spoke, and at some length, against what may be designated the "surf-theory." He argued that, "if they "are produced by the breaking of surf, it is clear that to produce "a sound loud enough to be heard so well over a long distance, "it will require, not the breaking of a wave at any point, but "the breaking of waves over a considerable extent of country."

Baboo Rajendralâlâ Mitrâ also spoke in disapproval of the surf-breaking hypothesis, reasoning from analogy that "the "Deltas of the Irâwadi, the Mahânadi, the Danube, the Missis- "sippi and the Amazon, had similar estuaries, but they did not "produce the 'Barisâl Guns.'"

Both Mr. Blanford and the President again spoke in favour of their views; and the latter adduced, as an instance, in support of their contention that, on "some occasions, the sounds of firing "at Sheerness or elsewhere in the neighbourhood of the mouth "of the Thames, reached the same place"—"part of Suffolk, "with which he was familiar"—"and must have traversed not "less than fifty miles." "But," he added, "the matter should not "be left to conjecture," and a little careful observation ought to suffice "to clear it up."

In *Proceedings, Asiatic Society, B.*, for November 1870, appeared a letter from Mr. Fleetwood H. Pellew, C.S., giving an explanation of the surf-theory advanced by him, thus:—

"In regard to the 'Barisâl Guns,' my notion was that waves "of a length of a mile or two each, advancing obliquely from the "S. S. W., would break successively on the coast from W. to E. "To a person close by, the sound of each wave would be some- "what continuous, but to a person 40 to 50 miles off, if the wave "broke simultaneously, the sound would be a boom like that of "a gun, because both extremities of the wave would be nearly "at the same distance from the hearer as the centre.

"I have at Puri, when the S.-W. Monsoon has lulled, seen "far to the south a very lofty wave break with a distinct boom- "ing noise, a second or two after another nearer, then one oppo- "site to me, and then others towards the north as far as one "could see. Even to one standing on the beach, the noise of these

"waves (except the nearest) was so like that of guns, that we used to remark on the resemblance. When the wind was blowing strongly, the wave was turned over by the force of it before it attained its full height, but when there was no wind or a slight breeze from the shore, whilst the swell was still high from the effects of the monsoon, this phenomenon often occurred, the wave rising to an immense height and breaking over a mile or two of the beach at one moment.

"I may remark that the wind blows very obliquely on to the Puri coast, and would not take the sound so far inland as at Bâqirganj.

"The great difficulty of the 'Barisál Guns' arose from the fact that the Musalmans at Perijpur and round the Kochá river, celebrating their marriages chiefly in September, always fire off earthen bombshells, and it is almost impossible to tell the sound of these from the 'Barisál Guns.' I should never have believed in them at all, if I had not once, when in the Saplenja river in the Sundarban, with nothing but forest to the south, heard them distinctly on four or five different occasions in one night. Of course we may have been mistaken, but the sound to our senses was undoubtedly from the south, and much louder than I ever heard it before. It woke me up from sleep; we were then about thirty miles from the coast."

In the same issue of the Proceedings, there also appeared a letter from us on the subject, stating that:—

"One incident, and a prominent one too, I have, I find, inadvertently omitted to mention in my last letter, which is that the directions of the sounds appear to travel invariably along the course of the streams that discharge themselves into the Bay. This circumstance I have carefully observed for a series of years, and hence I indicated the noises as coming from the sea-board, e.g., the sub-division of Khulná is situate on the confluence of the rivers Bhairab and Rupsáhá (the latter a local name for the continuation of the Pasar), which run, respectively, N. and E. of it, and when I was residing there, I noticed that the sounds appeared to come from the S.-E., whilst now that I am living across the Rupsáhá, on the east of it, the noises are heard from the S.-W. Again, I lived for about a year at a place called Nálí, *alias* Schillerganj, on the Balishwar river, and to the east of it, when the detonations, for such I may call them, were distinctly heard from the S.-W. No European has, I believe, resided lower down the Balishwar river in the Sundarban than Schillerganj, which is distant about a tide only from the open sea, and the sounds heard by me there were decidedly louder than those I hear here, while below that place, and I have heard them very close to the sea, as far down the Haringhútá river as a boat could well venture

"out, during the S.-W. Monsoon, they were the loudest I have heard ; but the reports were quite as distinct there from one another as they were elsewhere, which would not go to bear out the surf-theory, or hypothesis, originally propounded by Mr. Pellew, and which appears to have found much favour."

After what no further discussion appears to have taken place ; but in 1871, we received a number of printed forms for recording observations on the " Barisál Guns," from the Secretary of the *Asiatic Society of Bengal*, and we duly distributed several of them to various gentlemen, who were stationed in places where they could note down their observations on the phenomena ; but we regret to have to add, that though some of them were good enough to promise to do so, yet we did not receive a single return from any one of them. As the form will be useful to those desirous of entering their observations on the " Barisál Guns," we give it as it was supplied to us :—

Observations on the "Barisál Guns"

1. Place of Observation...	...		
2. Date and time ...	...	
3. Direction from which the sounds appear to come ...	...	
4. Direction of the wind ...	...	
5. Anything which seems to mark the duration of the sound, such as whether it is sudden or prolonged ; the interval at which it is repeated ; total duration of the sound, and so on ..	...	
6. State of the weather at the time of observation ...	...	
7. State of the weather during the previous 24 hours ...	...	
8. Any other fact as strikes the observer as important ...	...	

To the above form was appended the following :—

NOTE.—" In the spaces for remarks it is requested that the information may be given as to the interval between the reports, and whether these intervals are equal or otherwise ; the nature of the sound ; the direction of the wind ; whether the sky is cloudy. Also the height of station above ground, and if surrounded with trees, &c.

" The form should be filled, as early as possible, while the recollection is fresh. If the reports are frequent, a watch might be placed on the table and the time of each occurrence noted."

We may here, we think, fittingly allude to those terrible atmospheric disturbances, known as rotary storms, or cyclones, as appropriately designated by Piddington. They occur in the district, periodically, at uncertain intervals, but generally at the beginning

or close of the South-West Monsoon. Considerable damage to houses and boats is occasioned by them, as well as loss of human life; and when accompanied by storm-waves, the rice crops in the low-lands, more especially in the Sundarban tract, suffer to a great extent.

Regarding the geology of the district, Mr. Westland has given us no information whatsoever; so we may here very briefly state, that the disposition and nature of the strata of the Gangetic Delta at various depths below the surface of the ground,* from, say, 20 to 395 feet, is composed of "drift wood, carbonaceous and "peat beds," indicating the gradual sinking of the surface. From 400 to 481 feet, the greatest depth attained, a bed of coarse conglomerate was discovered, which induced Dr. McClelland to infer that, when these deposits were formed, rocky mountains were in existence not far north of the Delta, which suddenly sank, owing probably to the occurrence of some violent seismic phenomenon, such as the earthquake at Chatgaon (Chittagong) of 1762, when a range of mountains sank below the level of the surface, and the sea passed over the space they occupied. It is supposed that this conglomerate was deposited on a marshy surface "clothed with vegetation," and that it "is underlaid by the "solid rock," referred to above: *vide Cal. Jour. Nat. His.*, vol. ii., *et Jour., As. Soc., B.*, vol. ix.

Mr. Westland next proceeds to give us his ideas of the river system and its changes; and shows pretty clearly that the rivers formerly, over a century ago, used to run from the N.-W. of the district, and that they now flow from the N.-E. This is, we may shortly state, simply owing to the lower course of the Ganges having shifted from the former direction to the latter,† and "that is all that need be said on this head.

A short dissertation on the Deltaic formation concludes Part I, and the theory advanced by Mr. Westland to account for it, is, to say the least, insufficient, and on the whole erroneous. He explains the phenomenon by stating that the annual inundations leave deposits on the surface of the country submerged, which raises its level and creates new land. Now, this process of land building is altogether too tardy to satisfactorily account for the comparatively rapid formation of Deltaic land. The main cause

* The superficial soil, which reaches to a depth of about ten feet, has below it a thick bed of clay, and water can hardly percolate through it. Dr. McClelland graphically describes these characteristics in his *Topography of Bengal*, thus: "Without the surface soil, Lower Bengal would be a swamp, and without the underlying clay, a desert."

† Dr. Oldham has fully demonstrated that the tendency of the course of the rivers is again westward, owing to the main outlet of the waters of the Ganges and Brahmaputra, which now flow down to the sea as the Megna, being obstructed in its further progress eastward by the Tiparrah hills.—*Vide Proc., As. Soc., B.*, 1870.


of Deltaic formation, it is well known, is attributable to the various streams depositing the silt and sand they hold in suspension in their waters *on their own beds*, which gradually raise them above the level of the adjacent plains, and cause the streams to change their channels, inasmuch as it is physically impossible for any piece of water to continue flowing on the summit of a raised embankment, as it were, without some artificial means being employed to compel it to do so. Thus new channels are successively opened, and fresh deposits formed, until the entire surface of the country is raised to one uniform level, when Deltaic action may be said to cease.

We may also here, we think, fittingly explain the drainage system of alluvial formations. Ordinarily, in undulating tracts of country, the water spreads from an elevated central point to the surrounding parts. But it is entirely the reverse of the case in low Deltaic land, for in such places the water from the surrounding parts is found to flow to a depressed central point owing to the edges being raised by the deposit of *detritus* borne by the rivers. The former may be appropriately termed the centrifugal system of drainage, and the latter the centripetal system of drainage: in the one the water flows outward, and in the other inward.

Under the head of Antiquities, we have most valuable and interesting information regarding several ruins more or less known in the district. The first and oldest of them are those of Khán Jahán Ali, commonly called Khánjáli, situate in the Bagherhát Division, within the Parganah of Khaifátabád, or rather Hawéli. Khaifátabád, "the vicegerent's clearance," as Mr. Blochmann describes it, is mentioned by name in Abulfazl's *Ain-i-Akbari*. A plan of the largest building there is given, called by Mr. Westland and others, and doubtless by the people of the locality, the *Satgumbaz*, or "sixty domes," which is an obvious misnomer, for an edifice having in reality seventy-seven domes, and its correct designation must be *Sathattargumbaz*, or "seventy-seven domes," corrupted in the course of time by the vulgar to *Sathgumbaz*, and thence *Satgumbaz*. The façade of the building faces the east, and has one large central door, with five smaller doors on each side, in all eleven doors, opening into an immense hall, which, according to Bábu Gaurdása Basáka,* is 144 × 96 feet. The structure is supported by sixty pillars,† arranged in ten rows of six pillars in each row, and they are composed of grey-stone encased in brick. Tradition states that this extensive room was used as a place of worship as well as business. Above each of the door-ways we find five circles arranged thus $\odot\odot\odot$, and we are tempted to ask, were

* *Jour., As. Soc., B.*, New Series vol. xxxvi. signation *Satgumbaz* originated in ignorant people confounding "domes".

† It is just possible that the *de-* with "pillars."

these circles merely placed in the way of ornamentation, or were they meant to signify aught? We are inclined to think that there must have been some signification attached to them. No. 12 of Laidley's Plate of Bengal coins (*vide Jour. As. Soc., B.*, vol. xv) has five circles with the name of the reigning King, Mahmád Sháh Assultán (the twelfth King of Bengal), who ruled Bengal from A. H. 846 to 864. and who was, therefore, on the throne during the latter portion of the lifetime of Khán Jahán Alí. The five circles, or rings, were, probably, intended to represent the arms of the reigning monarch. *En passant*, the arms of Timur, were three circles, or rings, placed one above and two below, in this way—.

The tomb of Khán Jahán Alí is placed within a mosque, the exterior of which represents a square, but the interior is octangular, surrounded with a dome of the full size of the structure, which is said to be 45 feet square, and its height to the summit 47 feet. The tombstone is about 6 feet long, and covered with Arabic and Persian inscriptions in relief* as well as two out of three steps on which it is raised. The flooring of the mosque is paved with hexagonal encaustic tiles; but a good many have been taken out and carried away by different people at various times. Mr. Westland has furnished us with transcripts of five of the inscriptions on the tomb, four of which are Arabic and one Persian, and given translations of all of them. From these we gather that the tomb is that of Alagh Khán Jahán Alí, who is described as "a friend of the descendants of the chief of all the prophets, a sincere well-wisher to the learned, and the hater of the infidels, who left this world for a better one on the night of "Wednesday, 26th Zél Hijja," which corresponds with the 24th October 1459 A. D.; and, therefore, Mr. Westland is in error when he states that the Khán's demise occurred in 1458 A. D.; and Bábu Gaurdása Basáka, too, for he states that it was "about the end of March, or beginning of April, "A. D. 1458," *vide Jour., As. Soc., B.*, vol. xxxvi. Close to this building and to the north of it, is the tomb of Khán Jahán's intimate friend and favourite Dewan, Muhammad Tahir, who is reputed to have been a high caste Bráhmaṇ before he embraced Moslemism, and who is commonly known as a Pír Alí.†

Besides the minor buildings erected by Khán Jahán, we find a large tank, said to have been excavated by him, in which are

* Mr. Westland appears to be right in stating that the inscriptions are not in gilt letters, nor is there any white marble about the tomb, as erroneously represented by Bábu Gaurdása Basáka.

† Bábu Gaurdása Basáka says, that one of the ancestors of the well-known and highly respected Thákur family of

Calcutta, is said to have been associated with this man, and on that account they are dubbed Pír Alís; but I am rather inclined to agree with Bábu Kisari Chánd Mitrá, who considered them to be thus designated because they intermarried with the Kayastha family of the Rájás of Jessore.

Mr. Westland says, eight tame alligators, but he, of course, means crocodiles,* and these are said to be offsprings of the two crocodiles—we cannot agree to call them alligators—kept by Khán Jahán, and designated *Dhalápar* and *Kalápar*, signifying, respectively, “white side” and “black side.” These crocodiles readily come at the call of the *Fákir* and take the meat offered to them. They are pretty well fed by native married women, who desire to be in that interesting condition that ladies who love their lords are said to wish to be in; for, strange to say, crocodile’s blessings, more potent than crocodile’s tears, are reputed to ensure children to their liberal donors. We are at a loss to account for the esteem, nay, veneration, with which crocodiles are regarded by Muhamnadans, for we read that, in Panduah, a railway station between Húglí and Bardwán, there is, or was a *Fákir*, who had tame crocodiles in a tank, and that on calling one of them by name, Fateh Khán, it obeyed the summons and appeared on the surface (*vide Cal. Rev.*, vol. xxi, p. 183). Again, in Von Orlich’s *Travels*, there is mentioned a tank near Karáchi, where he saw a score and ten crocodiles issue out of the water, and, at the direction of the *Fákir*, range themselves round him in a semi-circle. The Moslems are reputed to have a horror of lizards, and it is curious that they should hold in such esteem a member of the same family, for they are after all saurians both, but this anomaly is due, we suppose, to their gross ignorance of Natural History.

Other ruins of Khan Jahán Alí are referred to, and some described, notably the mosque at Musjid Kar, or “the dug out mosque,” near Ainadi† on the Kabudak river. Some ruins ascribed to Khán Jahán, also occur near Vidyánankáti, a place within four miles of Ganj Kisabpúr, and somewhat more than a score of miles from the sadr station of Jessore. These have not been noticed by Mr. Westland, but a good account of them, and the local legends regarding them, will be found in an interesting paper by Bábu Rásvihari Bose, Deputy Magistrate, in *Mookerjee’s Magazine*, N. S., vol. ii, pp. 193-201.

Who was Khán Jahán Alí? This is a question which Mr. Westland has attempted to solve, but we fear not satisfactorily,

* There are two species of the genus crocodile in the rivers in Lower Bengal, designated by Mr. W. Theobald, Junior, *C. porosus*, Schneid, and *C. palustris*, Less., in *Jour., As. Soc.*, B., 1868, and there described as distinguished from one another by the conformation of their skulls, the former being narrow and the latter broad. But on examining a number of skulls of both species in the Cal-

cutta Zoological Museum, Mr. Wood-Mason, the acting Curator, could only distinguish them by the shape of the suture in the interior of the skulls, in one of which, if we recollect right, it is curved, and in the other angular.

† A good deal below this, on the same river, in Lot. 211, are ruins said to belong to a palace and fort.—*Vide Cal. R.*, vol. xxxi, p. 388.

nor, as far as we are aware, have others been more fortunate in this respect. Mr. Westland says that Kháh Jahán came to reclaim the lands in the Sundarban, which were at that time waste and covered with forest, because, as before stated, the Parganah in which his buildings are situated is called Khalífatábád "reclaimed on the part of the Emperor," or "by the Emperor's commands." But this would be assuming that Khán Jahán named the Parganah Khalífatábád, or that it has borne that designation only from his time, and this is quite a gratuitous assumption. Bábu Rásvihari Bose is almost of the same opinion (*Mookerjee's Magazine*, N. S., vol ii, pp. 200-201). Bábu Gaur-dása Basáka states very precisely that, "he was a chief of great piety and liberality, who was rusticated from the court of Delhi, and was sent to this place to hold the post of *Tahsildár*;" but we are wholly unable to discover any authority whatsoever for his very circumstantial statement, and we must pronounce it to be based on nothing more substantial than vague conjecture. One, who visited these ruins so far back as 1793, says,* obviously from verbal information received on the spot, that "in the time of Hossein Sháh, *Badsha* of Gour, Kishoor Khán was his *more-chulburdar* (the bearer of the peacock's tail) and being in great favor, was sent to superintend the collections of this then opulent district, having amassed great wealth, and being inclined to a religious life and easy retirement in his latter days, he was favored by a vision, wherein the Lord appeared to him, commanding that he should perform certain works and assume the more honorable name of Kunjee Wallee in future." This account is quite as circumstantial as, but altogether opposed to that of the Bábu last-named: it has, however, unfortunately an anachronism which completely shatters its basis. Khán Jahán Alí died in A. H. 863, but Husain Sháh, (the twenty-first King of Bengal) did not commence to reign till long afterwards, probably not before A. H. 899, as ascertained by Mr. Blochmann. Khán Jahán lived for some time and died in the reign of Mahmúd Sháh, (the twelfth King of Bengal), and was contemporaneous of a somewhat similar character, the warrior and saint of Rangpúr, Sháh Ismáíl Ghází, who was, curiously enough, also erroneously supposed to have lived many years later than was actually the case, for Mr. G. H. Damant, C.S., has satisfactorily proved that he died on the 14th Shrában, 878 A. H., = the 4th January 1474 A. D. And, strange to say, the legend concerning him learnt by Mr. Blochmann at Húglí, (*Pro. As. Soc.*, B, 1870, p. 117), likewise associates Ismáíl with Husain Sháh's reign. The reason for the name of Husain Sháh being frequently referred

to, is doubtless, as explained by Mr. Damant (*Jour., As. Soc., B, N. S.*, vol. xliii., p. 216), because "Bengalis almost invariably attribute any important event of which they do not know the date, to the time of that king; for he is the only king who is still remembered by name among the common people." Mr. Blochmann, in his most valuable "Contribution to the Geography and History of Bengal" (*Jour., As. Soc., B, N. S.*, vol. xlii., simply describes Khán Jahán as "the warrior saint of Khalifatábád." We venture to think the question as to the exact status held by Khán Jahán Alí to be still an open one, and would fain invite the attention to it, of those who take an interest in such enquiries, with the view of obtaining a solution.

It was at this place, Khalifatábád, some time afterwards that Nusrat Sháh, during the life-time of his farther, Aláuddin Husain Sháh, and evidently when in successful rebellion against him, erected a mint-town in the midst of the Sundarban. Mr. Westland was evidently unacquainted with this fact. We find the *facsimile* of one of the coins here manufactured in *Jour., As. Soc., B., N. S.*, vol. xlii, plate ix, No. 10, given by Mr. Blochmann. It is described as "Silver. Weight, 154·06 grains." Khalifatábád, 922 A. H. (*As. Soc. of Bengal*). Circular areas; no margin." It is $\frac{7}{8}$ ths of an inch in diameter and the legend runs thus:—

Obverse:— السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو السطفر

Translation.—The King, son of a King, Náçiruddunyá, Waddín Abul Muzaffar.

Reverse:— نمره شاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان الحسيني خلد ملكه

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Translation.—Nuçrat Sháh, the King, son of Husain Sháh, the King, the Husaini,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule. Khalifatábád, 922.

In Mr. Blochmann's "Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal," No. 2 (*Jour., As. Soc. B., N. S.*, vol. xliii, p. 309), certain coins of Nuçrat Sháh are enumerated, and No. 7, Plate xiii, seems to bear on the obverse the name of the same mint-town Khalifatábád. This coin, however, appears to be very different from the one we have just described in the preceding paragraph: it is evidently composed of silver,* weighs 163·97 grains, and is about an inch in diameter, and altogether

* Prior to 1542 A. D. (949 A. H.), silver coins were called by the Muhammadans in the Arabic *dirhen*, but in that year Sher Sháh, then on the

throne of Dilihi, introduced the silver *rupi* or *rupaya*, a silver pice, according to Abul Fazl.

in far better condition than the other, and of superior style of workmanship. It is dated 924 A H

The next ruins, referred to are those of Jessore-Iswaripúr, the ancient city of Jessore. These, though not now situate within the district, obviously could not have been passed over without a passing notice. They date from the latter part of the sixteenth century, and are on the Jabúna river, Sátkhirá division, and the Twenty-four Pargáná district. Most of these buildings were erected by Rájá Pratápádivya, and some scanty historical information about him is given by Mr. Westland, aided, it is stated, by Bábu Pratápa Chandra Ghosh, who is, we believe, the author of an able historical romance in Bengáli connected with this illustrious personage and his times ; it is entitled *Bangadwip Parajay*, and was published in Calcutta some years ago.

We shall here furnish a brief sketch of Pratápádivya's life, not confined to the particulars communicated by the author of the work under review.

In a Sanskrit work, under the title of *Kshutisha Banskvali Charitam*,* or the chronicles of the family of Rájá Krishn Chandrá, of Navadwipa, it is stated that, of the twelve Rájás—the *Bárah Bhúyas*, who then held sway over Bengal, Pratápádivya was the most powerful, and refused to pay tribute to the Emperor, and for some time successfully resisted the force sent to oppose him. At length the famous Hindu General, Mán Singh, was despatched with an army against him, and he attacked and defeated the forces of the recusant Rájá, captured his city, and took him prisoner. Pratápádivya was sent in an iron cage to Dehlí, but he died *en route* at Banáras. In his stead a cousin of his, named Kochu Rái, was appointed to govern this part of the country. It was, doubtless, from this source that Bhárat Chandra Rái obtained the historical information about Jessore contained in his charming but insidious poem of *Vidyá Sundar*, which opens with this well-known line :—

যশর নগর ধাম, প্রতাপ আদিব্য নাম, বহাভাজ বজ্র কায়স্থ ।

"In the city of Jessore there lived a great Rájá of the Bengal Káyastha caste, named Pratápádivya."

Further and more minute particulars of Pratápádivya can be obtained from "a life of Pratápádivya," who is therein curiously designated "the last King of the Sagar Island," written by Bábu Rám Bose, which is among the first works written in Bengáli prose, and one of the earliest printed in

* This work was published in Berlin in 1852, and contains besides the Sanskrit text, an English translation and notes. It was one of

the MSS. purchased by Sir Robert Chambers in India, and on his death sold by his widow in England to the King of Prussia.

that language. It sets forth that a Bengálí Káyastha, Rám Chandrá, was an *employé* in an office at Sâtgáon, and lived there with his sons, Bhavananda, Gunananda, and Sivananda. In consequence of a quarrel they parted, and the last named of the trio proceeded to Gaur, where he obtained profitable employment during the reign of Sulaiman. The son of this King, named Daud, who succeeded to the throne, refused to pay tribute to the Emperor, and an army was sent to subdue him : his troops were signally defeated, and he himself was slain. Two of Sivananda's family, Vikramáditya and Vasanta Rái, fled with their wealth to Jessore, and it is also said, carried there the valuables of the King, who wanted them to be removed to a place of security. Subsequently Vikramáditya obtained his *sanad* as Rájá of Jessore ; and is stated to have expended a couple of lákhs of *Rupis* or more in charity to the poor, and feeding Bráhmans. Large grants of land were made to Káyasthas, and the tract of country inhabited by them is mentioned as extending from Dháká to Halíshar. A son was born to Vikramáditya, whom he named Pratápáditya ; and it was predicted of him at his birth, that he would supersede his father, and this prediction was afterwards fulfilled. He was well educated and skilled in all manly exercises, and when in Dílhí, where he was sent to be trained, he obtained from the Emperor Akbar a *khelat* for his poetic effusions. He successfully intrigued to get his father ousted, and obtained the Ráj for himself. He built a new city near Jessore, at a place called Dhumghát, the gate-way of which was so lofty, we are told, that an elephant with a *howdah* could pass under it without the slightest inconvenience. He subdued the neighbouring Rájás, and became so powerful, that he presumed to set the authority of the Emperor at naught, and would not consent to do him homage and remit him the usual revenue. Several expeditions sent against him were unsuccessful, but he was finally overcome and taken captive, as before narrated.

As regards the origin of the name of the district, we learn that the last of the so-called independent Kings of Bengal, Daud, having rebelled against the Emperor of Delhi, Vikramáditya, one of the councillors of the former, fled with his wealth to this place in the Sundarban, then known as Bhátí, which he named Yashahara, "Glory depriving," signifying that Gaur had been deprived of his glory. This account, Mr. Westland says, occurs in "a popular history of Pratápáditya," but he, *i. e.*, the author, is inclined to consider it intended to convey, for reasons given, the idea of "supremely glorious."

We have somewhere read or heard that, when Vikramáditya was seeking a refuge in some inaccessible place to secure his treasures, he proceeded by boat towards the Sundarban, and

being asked where he would land, he said, জেহহর *Jeshthar*, "any city," hence the spot where he stopped was so called, and in course of time it came to assume the present designation যশহর *Yashahara*. We simply give this derivation for what it is worth, and do not in any way recommend it to our readers as the correct one.

Another version, for which we are indebted to Bábu Rásvihári Bose (*Mookerjee's Magazine*, N. S., vol. i.), derives the designation from a ferryman named যশা পাটনী *Jashá Pátní*, who used to ply his craft on the Kadamtali river, now a mere *khál*, and who at night frequently observed resplendent rays of light emerging from the depths of the stream. He reported this to Rájá Pratápáditya, who fell in *dharná* before the place. After fasting for three days he was visited by a vision, in which the goddess Káli appeared to him, and told him that her stone image evolved the shining light, and when the stream dried up she would consent to be worshipped there, and thenceforth become the guardian divinity of the family. She is said to have resided in Pratápáditya's palace to protect him from harm; but on one occasion when his cruelty stepped beyond bounds, she appeared to him in the guise of one of his daughters, and being rudely commanded to go away, she gave him a reproachful look and left him for ever. And the image of the goddess in the temple, which before that faced the south, was found to have turned its head to the east. Soon after, the tale proceeds, the army of the Emperor Jahángír, under the redoubtable Rájá Mán Singh, took the city and captured its ruler.

Rájá Pratápáditya was one, and it is stated the chief, of the twelve *Barah Bhuyas*, or the great land-holders, who then owned Bengal; and an interesting account of five of these personages, belonging to Eastern Bengal, is given by Dr. J. Wise in *Jour. As. Soc., B.*, N. S., vol. liii, pp. 197-214, where the status held by them is, evidently for the first time, clearly defined.

Jessore-Iswaripúr not being at present comprised within the Jessore district, as its limits have been considerably curtailed since 1788, Mr. Westland did not visit the place, and was, therefore, unable to furnish us with an account of the ruins there. But we ought, we think, to supply such information on the subject as we can from other sources. Bábu Rásvihári Bose's valuable papers on the "Antiquities of Jessore-Iswaripúr," which appeared in *Mookerjee's Magazine*, N. S., vol. I, furnishes us with a good many particulars on this point, and we cannot do better, we think, than very briefly note down what he has communicated thereon.

First and foremost must be noticed the temple of Jessore-Iswarí where the trunkless image of the relentless goddess Káli is placed

with a heap of clothes wrapped below its neck, lest its dilapidated state should provoke the ridicule of any irreverent spectator. To explain the cause of the image being deprived of its just proportions, the *Adhikáris*, or the priests in whose charge it is, have invented a marvellous tale, which we need not here repeat *in extenso*. Suffice it to say that Pratápáditya having seen a glorious light issue from below the ground, dug at the spot, and came upon the head of the goddess. Hence her fane is roofless, to permit of her emanations ascending uninterrupted to heaven. Formerly, it is said, pious Hindu pilgrims used to flock in vast numbers to behold this wondrous image of the dread goddess of the Bengális, the bloody Káli, and the resident priests waxed rich with their lavish offerings; but now, we are told, "family dissensions, as well as an unbelieving age, have brought them to the brink of ruin."

Originally, it would appear the local habitation of the goddess was far grander and more imposing, as about one-fourth of a mile from its present dwelling, are the remains of "a magnificent brick structure rising high in the air;" and the Bábu is, no doubt, quite right in conjecturing it to have been "a gigantic Hindu temple converted by Mussulman bigotry into a *Musjid*," for adjoining it are the tombs of the twelve Umarás, or nobles, who were sent against Pratápáditya, and who were slain by him before the advent of Mán Singh, the illustrious ancestor of the present Jaipúr chieftain.

The city was evidently fenced in, and defended by a strong and lofty wall, as the remains of it, it is stated, may be traced for a dozen miles or so, as far as Dhumghát, whither Pratápáditya removed the capital, owing to his unwillingness to disturb his father, Vikramáditya; whom he had deposed.

Not far from the walls of the city is a large tank, designated Chánd Rái, after a member of Vasanta Rái's family. Besides this there are two more tanks, called Rúp Rái and Mánik Rái, after other members of the same family.

To the west of the existing village are the ruins of one of Pratápáditya's palaces, named *Báradwari*, signifying "the mansion of twelve doors." It is said to have been a spacious dwelling, facing an immense tank, which is rapidly filling up. Close to it are the ruins of Kochu Rái's house, which no one has ventured to dismantle, nor has any one appropriated its materials, from a superstitious idea, that the spirit of the owner would arise to prevent any one molesting what was his habitation when on earth.

The Jail, or *Háfiz Kháná*, stands half mile southward, and the roof, despite the neglect of three centuries, remains almost entire. The building is said to have had three stories, two of which have sunk below the ground, but this is hardly credible.

The ruins at Mahnúdpúr, called after Mahmúd Sháh, the twelfth King of Bengal, wrongly designated by Mr. Westland Muhammádpúr,* are next noticed. They all belong to the period of Sitárái Rái, the notorious zamindár of Basnah, styled by the writer of the report, a Rájá. Mr. Westland is unable to account how the zamindári came into Sitárái's hand, but Mr. Blochmann (*Jour., As. Soc., B., N. S.*, vol. xiii, p. 229), supposes him to have been one of the descendants or successors of the equally notorious Mukund, who possessed the Sirkár of Fathábád (Farídpúr) and Pargáná Bosnah, and after whom was named Char Mukundia, a large island in the Ganges, opposite Farídpúr. His son Satrjit, in the reign of the Emperor Jahángír, would not consent to pay any revenue to the Nawáb at Dháká, and was captured during the sovereignty of Sháhjáhan, and hanged at Dháká, about, it is said, A. D. 1636.

The tale of Sitárái is related in the report thus:—Bengal was divided into twelve provinces, each one of which was held by a separate Rájá, and all of them becoming refractory, Sitárái was despatched to act against them. He succeeded so effectually, that he not only dispossessed them, but was able to appropriate to himself their holdings, when he in turn refused to pay any revenue. The Nawáb sent his son-in-law, Abu Tarab, against Sitárái, but the latter possessed a redoubtable warrior in the person of Menahatti, the invading forces were defeated, and its leader killed. Another expedition despatched to apprehend him was successful, and his General, Menahatti, having been taken prisoner and put to death, Sitárái had to succumb. He was carried as a captive to Dákhá, and he is stated to have "sucked poison from a ring, which, Hannibal-like, he kept against such emergencies, and so he died." This event occurred, Mr. Westland says, "at the very latest about 1712 or 1714 A. D."

According to Stewart,† Sitárái slew Abu Tarab, the Fouzdár of Bosnah, and the former was afterwards captured and taken to Murshidábád, where he was impaled. When this event occurred it is not precisely stated. The late well-known writer, Bábu Kisari Chánd Mitrá, in one of the series of articles on "The Territorial Aristocracy of Bengal" (*Calcutta Review*, vol. lvi), states that Dayárái, the founder of the Dighápatíá family, headed the successful expedition sent to apprehend Sitárái, and was on that account created Rái Ráyan by the Nawáb; but he, unfortunately, does not supply us with any date.

* Mr. Westland derives the name from an aged Moslem *Fakír*, Mahammad Khán, who resided on the spot, and would only consent to vacate it when requested by Sitárái to leave,

on condition that the place should be called after him.

† Vide his *History of Bengal*, Calcutta 1847, pp. 239 and 240.

As regards the date of the decease of Sitárám, it would appear from certain correspondence, inserted in Rev. J. Long's "Selections from the Records of Government," vol. i, that he died long subsequent to the time mentioned by Mr. Westland. At pp. 361 and 362 we find a letter from the Nawáb to the English Governor of Calcutta, under date the 18th November 1764, stating that—

"I have had the pleasure to receive your letter wherein you write 'that Mr. Rose, an English merchant, was going in a boat with some money and goods; that the boat people murdered him near Backergunge, seized the money and goods, and took shelter in the zemindari of Seetaram; that you enclosed me an account of the money and goods that were plundered; that I should write to the Naib of Dacca to make the zemindar refund, and to take such vigorous measures that those parts may be entirely cleared of robbers and murderers.' Sir, agreeably to your desire, I have written an order to Syed Mahomed Reza Khan, and I herewith send it open for your perusal. You will be pleased to forward it."

Again, at pp. 387, 388 and 389, in a letter from the Governor to the Nawáb, dated the 14th November 1764, Sitárám is mentioned—

"I have already, by word of mouth, represented to you that 'as Mr. Rose, an English gentleman, was travelling in a boat with some money and goods, the boat people murdered him near Backergunge and carried away the money and goods, and took shelter in the zemindary of Seetaram. In order to enquire into this affair, I sent an Englishman to the said zemindar, but he would not regard him,' etc., etc.

And strange to say the name of Dayárám also crops up in the same page, in a letter "to Mirza Eritch Cawn," Naib of Murshidábád, from the Governor, under date the 10th January 1764:—

"At this time I am informed, by a letter from Mr. Williamson at Cossimbazar Factory, that a hundred maunds of silk belonging to the Company were coming from Rampore Bholeah to the said Factory, but were stopped by Dayárám, the zemindar of Rajshaye, on the occasion of the troubles breaking out, and that one Radha Kishen, an officer of yours, has taken the said silk from the zemindar into his own possession, and has not yet sent it to the Factory."

If we are to accept the above statements regarding Sitárám as facts, then it would appear that this refractory zemindar was living up to at least the close of 1764, when he may have been captured by Dayárám and imprisoned at Nátor, as represented by Bábu Kisari Chánd Mitra. We may here add, that 1764 was exactly a year prior to the Dewáni being vested in the

Hon'ble East India Company by the Emperor of Delhi.

The report gives a graphic description of the ruins, and the principal ones would appear to be the quadrangular fort, two tanks, named respectively Rām Sāgar and Sūkh Sāgar, Sitārām's house, the *Singh Darwāzā* or the "lion gate," the *Punyaghar*, and the temples of Kālī and Lakshmi Nārāyan. The first of the two temples just named formerly bore an inscription in Sanskrit, and a transcript of it is given by Mr. Westland, and was obtained by him from the superintendent of the temples. The date is enigmatically expressed, and Mr. Westland considers it to be 1621 of the Śaka era, which starts from the birth of Saliyāhana, a mythological prince of the Dukhun, who opposed Vikramāditya, the ruler of Ujjayani; it commenced on the 1st Vaisakh, 3179 Kālī Yuga, = Monday, 4th March 78 A.D. The year given, 1621 A.S., corresponds with 1699 and 1700 of the Christian era. The other temple, that of Lakshmi Nārāyan, is also stated to have had a Sanskrit inscription, which was likewise furnished by the superintendent of the temples to the writer of the report, and the date of which is set down as 1626 A.S. = 1704-5 A.D. There is a third temple, dedicated to Krishna, which has an inscription in the Sanskrit language, but in Bengālī characters, with the date given in the usual enigmatical manner, and stated to be 1625 A.S. = 1703-4 A.D.

Sitārām bore by no means such a good character as Mr. Westland's informant would have him believe, and this is borne out by an expression sometimes used by the natives in these parts,—“He is another Sitārām,” and applied to any one who leans for support on, or appropriates the possession of, some other person.

Then follows some interesting information regarding the ruins at Mirzānagar, which was the residence of the Fouzdār of Jessore. Mr. Westland gives A. D. 1700 as the date of these ruins; but Stewart informs us* that, as far back as 1796, Nur Ali was Fouzdār of Jessore; so the ruins are evidently somewhat older than the date assigned to them.

Mirzānagar, or the “Mirzā's city,” is close to Trimohini, and the building called the Nawāb-bāri, *i.e.*, the “Nawāb's house,” is there, as well as the remains of the *Kilā-bāri*, or fort. Besides these, there are other ruins, such as the dungeon and wells; the inner sides of the latter were finely plastered and rendered quite smooth, so that the wretched prisoners who were flung into them were utterly unable to get out. No inscription appears to have been discovered. The only local tradition recorded of it is connected with the dire oppression of one Kishar Khān, which, strange to say, appears to have been the original name of Khān Jahān Ali, but Mr. Westland finds the Kishar Khān here referred to to have been a petty zemindār, from certain official correspondence of 1791.

* *History of Bengal*, p. 207.

A copy, or rather a translation, of an affecting petition is given, dated 1798, from two octogenarians, named Hidayat-ullah and Rahmat-ullah, praying for a subsistence from Government, and claiming to be the great-grandsons of Núr-ullah Khán, the Nawáb Nazim of Bengal, and foster-brother of the Emperor Aurangzeb. Mr. Westland rightly supposes that the person stated to be the Nawáb Nazim of Bengal was in reality the Fouzdár of Jessore, who displayed such pusillanimity on the rebellion of the Hindu Zamindár, Subha Sing, and the Afghán chief, Rahim Khán, and which, we may add, was seized on as a pretext by the various European nations in Bengal, the English, the French, and the Dutch, to fortify their respective factories. But the name of the Fouzdár was Nur Ali, and not, as Mr. Westland several times states, Nur-ullah.

The remaining ruins described are those of Kopilmoni, on the Kabadak river. The place derives its name from a sage or *muni* of the name of Kopil, who set up the worship of the goddess called Kopilesvari.

The origin of the worship of the goddess is neither related by the writer of the report nor was he evidently informed about it. Our information is derived from an article by Bábu Rásbihári Bose, who visited the locality in his official capacity as Sub-divisional officer of Khulná, in the early part of 1868. The account given of it is as follows :—

“One of the respectable men from Mahomedcatty stated, on the authority of an old man, who had again heard it from his grandfather, that on the day of the Baroni festival, Kopil became *Siddha*, and being anxious to test the fact by ocular demonstration, invoked his favorite goddess to grace his hermitage by her presence. The goddess came, riding on her waves, and when she departed, Kopil threw himself into her waters and died, praying that, on the anniversary of his death, she would make her appearance on the spot for an hour.”

Another version is thus clearly related by the same writer :—

“At night I received visits from a large number of respectable men of the surrounding villages. In reply to my inquiries about the origin of the fair, one of them told me that Kopil's mother, having expressed a desire to go on a pilgrimage to the Ganges at the time of the Baroni, when that sacred stream is thought to become specially sacred, Kopil said she need not take so much trouble, as he could bring the goddess herself to grace the stream flowing beneath her cottage. Accordingly, on the day of Baroni, Kopil invoked the Ganges, and the goddess testified her presence in the Kabadak by thrusting her hand out of the water, the rest of her body remaining buried under the waves. It is said that, at the request of Kopil, she agreed in future to appear at that place for an hour at the time of the

"Baroni festival, in consequence of which the stream flowing under the hermitage of Kopil became sacred on that particular day, and attracted crowds of pilgrims from the surrounding villages."

Yet another and different account was given to the Bábu by the priest in charge of the temple :—

"It was on the thirteenth day after the full moon, the day of the Baroni festival, that Kopil became *Siddh*, or had his prayers accepted in heaven, and it was to commemorate that event that he instituted the fair, which was continued on that day. * * The priest also related, that the daughter of one Bangsi Chuckerbutty one evening came to light the temple of Kopilmoni, but both the girl and the goddess thereupon disappeared from the temple. The bereaved father having searched for his child in vain, at last fell in *Dharmá* before the temple. On the third day the goddess appeared to him in his dream, and said that she had destroyed the girl for presuming to enter the temple in an impure dress, and that her own stone image, having deserted the new temple so profaned, had returned to the ancient temple built by Kopil, which was to be found beneath the waters of the Kabadak, but that she would continue to accept of offerings made to her in the former before an image made of clay."

We are unable to state at what precise period the sage or hermit Kopil lived, but he was, evidently, of some mean caste, and a few suspect that the Mohunts in charge of the temple, who are *jogis*, "weavers," are his descendants. That he did not belong to any of the three higher castes, Bráhmaṇ, Kayásthá, or Vaidya, is proved by the fact that the pilgrims who assemble there are exclusively composed of the lower classes of Hindus.

There is a well-known tank near Kopilmoni, called *Loboni-Kholona*, not referred to by Mr. Westland, which is almost perfectly dry in the cold weather, but there is a well in the centre of it, and barren women flock from the adjacent parts to bathe in it, under the impression that their disability will thereby be removed. We know not how the water of this particular tank has acquired this peculiar reputation, but there is, doubtless, some mythical tale current to account for it.

The report alludes to certain mounds at Agra, near Kopilmoni, and there are traces there of brick buildings being buried in the earth. Bábu Rasbihári Bose says on this head, "that Kopilmoni and its neighbourhood contain the ruins of a large city, whose splendour has long since passed away."

Mr. Westland does not mention a Moslem tomb at Kopilmoni which is held in great veneration by Hindus and Muhammadans alike. It is that of a *Fákir* named Jafir-ullah, who is reputed to have died three score and ten years ago, or more.

The concluding portion of the second part of the report comprises the outlines of the histories of the Rájás of Naldangá, Jessore, and Nátor.

The first of the trio above named, Naldangá, is generally considered to belong to the most ancient family in the district. The Rájás of this place claim to be descended from one Haladhar Bhattacharjya, who resided in the village of Bhabrasuba, in the district of Dháká, some four centuries back. One Vishnu Dás Hazrá, who was a descendant of the fifth generation of the afore-said Haladhar, may be said to have founded the fortunes of the family, as he acquired five villages about Naldangá from the Nawáb of Bengal, for having assisted him with supplies when hard pressed for provisions, and which simple act of hospitality has been magnified into a miracle in the local tradition current about him. He is represented as being a recluse, who resides by himself in the jungle, and had a son named Srimantá Rái, on which Mr. Westland naively remarks that "one does not see how he could have produced a son." This miraculous offspring of the hermit obtained, it is said, the *sobriquet* of Ranabhir Khán, for his remarkable strength and courage, which, the legend anent him states, stood him in good stead in expelling the Afghán zamindars, who held lands in that part of the country, and annexing their vast estates to his own comparatively slender patrimonial possessions. Of course in those days of anarchy and mis-rule, "the good old rule" and "the simple plan" was in full force :

"That they should take, who have the power,
And they should keep who can."

as Wordsworth sang over Rob Roy's grave.

The first member of the family who bore the title of Rájá is stated to have been Chandi Charn Deb Rái, who was the third in descent from Srimantá, but the date of this event is not given, nor probably known to any one. The appellation of Rájá, appears to have been assumed by the larger zamindars of their own accord, and there is no evidence, we believe, to show that this family ever obtained any authority for bearing that title from the Nawáb.

The present Rájá, Pramatha Bhusan Deb Rái, is only an adopted son of the last Rájá, Indra Bhusan Deb Rái, who was himself an adopted son of the preceding Rájá, Sasi Bhusan Deb Rái, successor of Rám Sankar, an own son of Rájá Krishna Deb Rái.*

* Mr. Westland says that the immediate predecessor of this Rájá, by name Raghu Deb Rái, having refused to obey an order of the Nawáb, he ordered Raghu's possessions to be made over to Rám Kánta, at that time (A.D. 1737) Rájá of Nátor. But, according to Bábu Kisari Chánd

Mitra (*Cul. Rev.*, vol. lvi. p. 8), Rám Kánta's father, Raja Ramjibáná, died in that year, and the Nátor estates were managed during the minority of his son by Dayáram Rái.

He held the title of Rájá by virtue of a sanad.

On the death of the latter in 1773, the estates were divided into three distinct portions, one of which, amounting to $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of the whole, comprising, what Mr. Westland terms, the " eastern circle, " is all that is left of the inheritance in the family. The other two portions are now owned by the Naráil family, which has only recently become possessed of extensive landed properties in the district, in fact, since the Permanent Settlement, which circumstance we shall have occasion to refer to more fully hereafter.

The Rájá of Jessore, *alias* Chanchrá, where the *Ráj-bári* is now located, asserts his descent from Bhaaheshwar Rái, who is said to have been one of the warriors in the train of Azim Khán, who commanded the Emperor of Delhi's army in Bengal during A. D. 1582 and 1583 ; but what authority he has for so doing we are not informed. Bhaaheshwar acquired, we are told, some of the vast possessions of Rájá Pratápáditya, and, probably, on that refractory personage being taken prisoner, assumed the title of Rájá. The next successor, Mutab Rám Rái, retained the possessions, and his successor, Kandarpa Rái, added five Parganahs, including Selimábád. Next comes Manobar Rái, who, within the space of a little more than a score of years, from A. D. 1682 to 1703, acquired possession of more than a dozen additional parganahs, large and small, including Sahos and Calcutta. Can the latter be meant for our " City of Places ? " We know not. In the time of Sukh Deb Rái, successor of Krishna Rám, son of Manobar, $\frac{1}{4}$ as., i. e., $\frac{1}{4}$ th or one-fourth, of the family property was made over to his brother, Syám Sundar, and this passed afterwards, in default of any heir male of his body, to Sálah-u-din Khán, as compensation for some lands of his near Calcutta having been taken from him by the Nāwáb and granted to the East India Company. In 1814, Hájí Muhammad Mohsin was in possession of this one-fourth share, and he, dying without heirs, bequeathed it in trust for the benefit of the *Imambára* at Húglí. This is the *Wakf*, or trust estate, in Jessore, in charge of Government, and known as the *Chár-áni* or " four-anna zamindari, " which designation became attached as a prefix to the name of one of the first Deputy Collectors in the district, the late Mr. A. T. Smith, who had the management of it, and who was thenceforth known to all, both Europeans and Natives, as *Chár-áni* Smith.

The twelve-anna share passed from Sukh Deb on his death to his son Nílkánta Rái, who was succeeded by Srikánta Rái in 1764, and it was during his time that the family became impoverished ; so much so, that on his death, which occurred in 1802, his son, Benikánta Rái, was left without any land, and dependent on the liberality of Government for support. But in 1808 he was able to recover some portion at least of his ancestral possessions, by obtaining a decree in the Supreme Court for the cancelment

of the sale of certain estates sold at the Sheriff's sale. He was succeeded in 1817 by the present Rájá, Baradá Kánta Rái, who being then a minor, the estates were for a long time under the Court of Wards.

In 1859, Lord Canning, then Governor-General, was pleased to grant to Baradá Kánta Rái a *sanad* as "Rájá Báhádur;" and the Commissioner of the division, at that time Mr. Arthur Grote, conferred on him the title at a Durbar held in Jessore expressly for that purpose.

The Rájá does not appear at any time to have taken an active interest in the management of his estates.

The last Rájá, whose history is narrated, is that of Nátor. The founder* of this family was, we learn from Bábu Kisari Chánd Mitrá, one Raghunandana; who, from the humble occupation of gatherer of flowers for the celebration of Pujás of the Patiá family, became the vakil of that Ráj at the Court of the Nawáb at Murshidábád, and subsequently occupied successively the posts of Naib Kánúngo, Rái Rayan, and Dewán, which enabled him to acquire vast territorial possessions before his death, which occurred in 1131 of the Bengali era. His brother, Rámjibana, also an able man, succeeded him, and he and his Dewán, the famous Dayáram Rái, greatly increased the grandeur and possessions of the family.

In 1737 A. D., on the death of Rámjibana without having any male issue, the estates passed to his great-grandson, Rám Kánta, who is described as a good enough man, but lacking ability and energy. His wife, Maháraní Bhabání, who married at the comparatively late age of fifteen, was a very superior woman, and on her husband's death, in 1784, she most ably conducted the management of the estates for a long period. She had no son, but her husband had granted her permission, as usual among Hindus in such cases, to adopt a son and heir.

* Maháraní Bhabání was a celebrated character, and one of the few native women who have displayed ability to rule without fear or favour; and she witnessed the extinction of the Muhammadan and inauguration of the British Government in this country. It is related that the Nawáb, the licentious Siráj-ud-daula, having heard of the surpassing beauty of her widowed daughter, Tárá, was desirous of acquiring possession of her person. This being reported to the Maháraní she under cover of night escaped with her daughter from the place, and proceeded to Banáras. She was withal a good and devout woman, and spent vast sums of money in charity and the erection of religious edifices in Banáras, Murshidábád, and, of course, Nátor.

The Mahārání on her death was succeeded by her adopted son Rám Krishna, who does not appear to have possessed any capacity for business; and he had, most unfortunately for him, as his friend and counsellor, the notorious Kálísankar, the founder of the Nárail family, who enriched himself at the expense of his master. The greatly impoverished estates descended on the demise of the Rájá to his son, Biswanáth, who from being a firm worshipper of Sakti, as were his forefathers before him, became a Vaishnava. He was succeeded by Gobinda Chandra, who was adopted by the eldest of the three wives of the deceased Rájá, Rání Krishnámáni, and he, dying after a short time, was succeeded in turn by his adopted son, Govindanáth, whose right of succession was hotly contested up to the Privy Council, but before the judgment of that august tribunal could be pronounced, both Govindanáth and Rání Krishnámáni had died. The estates, on the death of Govindanáth, came under the management of his mother, Rání Sibeswari.

Another and minor branch of this family, sprung from Sibnáth, a younger brother of Bishwanáth, holds a conspicuous position in the district of Rájsháhi. Sibnáth was succeeded by his son, Anandanáth Rái, who had the title of "Rájá Báhádur" conferred on him by Government, and was also made a C. S. I. He died in 1866, and his eldest son, Chandranáth, in 1870, received the *sanad* of "Rájá Báhádur," and for some time held an honourable post under the Government of India, as *Attaché* in the Foreign Office.

In the concluding paragraph of Part II., Mr. Westland has referred to the Dighápatíá family, which was founded by Dayáram, who commenced life as an inferior officer or *Amlah* in the Nátor Ráj, and by his consummate tact, judgment and ability rose to be Dewán, and the owner of extensive landed property in the Rájsháhi district. After his death his son, Pránáth Rái, succeeded; he was educated in the Calcutta Wards' Institution, and had the title of "Rájá Báhádur" conferred upon him in recognition of his various acts of public liberality, under a *sanad*, bearing date the 20th April 1854, and the investiture was held at Government House in the presence of several independent chiefs. Lord Dalhousie himself invested him with the *insignia* of the title, accompanied with a few kind and encouraging words. This promising native nobleman died in 1861, and his successor is his adopted son, Pramathanáth Rái, who has followed in the footsteps of the late Rájá, and was in 1871, on the recommendation of the Commissioner of the division, created "Rájá Báhádur" by Lord Mayo.

The Report states that, on the disintegration of the Nátor estates, Kálísankar Rái and Dayáram Rái, the ancestors of the Nárail and Dighápatíá families, respectively, became purchasers of large portions thereof; but Rájá Pramathanáth Rái, we believe,

takes exception to the latter part of the statement, asserting that as the Nátor estates were compact at the time of the Permanent Settlement, and Dayáram died prior to it, Mr. Westland has committed an obvious error. The Rájá cites, in proof of his assertion, the *Kabuliyats* of the then Rájá of Nátor, Rám Kántna, in the Rájsháhi Collectorate; and states that, far from his ancestor depriving the Nátor Ráj of any of its property, it was once owing to the intercession of Dayáram that the estates belonging to it were returned to the family after having been confiscated by the Nawáb. This imputation on the fair character of Dayáram, which stands very high among his countrymen, was, without doubt, unwittingly done, and no one will, perhaps, regret it more than Mr. Westland himself. We were rather surprised to find that the error, for such we believe it to be, has been repeated in the second edition.

H. JAMES RAINEY.

Khulna, Jessore.

Post Scriptum.—The above article having been written some time in March last, we had no opportunity of noticing the paper of Mr. H. Beveridge, C. S.—“Were the Sundarbans inhabited in ancient times?”—which was read and discussed at the Meeting of the *Asiatic Society of Bengal*, held on Wednesday, the 3rd May; wherein he identifies, “Chiandecan”* with “Chand Khan,” *alias* “Dhumghat,” *alias*, “Jessore-Iswaripúr.” If Mr. Beveridge has satisfactorily established the identity of “Chiandecan” with “Jessore-Iswaripúr,”—and we have only yet been able to read the very meagre *resumé* of the paper in question published in the daily newspapers,—he has afforded us a valuable contribution towards elucidating the history of the Sundarbans. We shall, probably, have occasion to refer at some length to Mr. Beveridge’s paper in one of our future articles on Jessore in this Review.

May 24th, 1876.

H. J. R.

* Purchas in his *Pilgrimage* thus incidentally alludes to this place: “Arracan, Chandican, and Siripur are, by Fernandez, placed in Ben-

“gala, as so many Kingdomes.” *Vide* p. 3, *Early Travels in India*, First Series, Calcutta: Lepage & Co., 1864.

THE EURASIANS OF CEYLON.

By W. DIGBY

1. *A Description of Ceylon, containing an Account of the Country, Inhabitants, and Natural Productions.* By the Rev. James Cordiner, M. A. (London: 1807).
- 2.—*Ceylon and the Singhalese.* By H. C. Sirr, M. A. (London: 1850).
- 3.—*An Account of the Island of Ceylon.* By Robert Percival, Esq., of H. M.'s 19th Regiment of Foot (London: 1803).
- 4.—*Minutes of Evidence (and Appendix) taken by Select Committee of the House of Commons on Ceylon Affairs,* 1849—50.
- 5.—*Ceylon Almanac,* 1846.
- 6.—*Ceylon Directory,* 1873—75.
- 7.—*The Census of Ceylon, taken in 1871.*
- 8.—*"Ceylon Observer,"* newspaper.
- 9.—*"Ceylon Examiner,"* newspaper.
- 10.—*"Madras Mail,"* newspaper.
- 11.—*Colombo Friend-in-Need Society's Reports,* 1869-1876.
- 12.—*Our Social Customs: Lecture by Mr. Advocate Eaton.*
- 13.—*Third Annual Report of the Local Government Board, (England),* 1873-74.
- 14.—*"Encyclopædia Britannica" (new edition, 1876) Vol. I., Art. "Acclimatisation."*

HE would be a bold man who, in Ceylon, should venture to use a term of scorn or reproach, in the newspapers, or publicly in any form, regarding the Eurasians of that island. They occupy a position so immensely superior, comparatively, to that of the Eurasians of the continent, that it may fairly be considered the "poor white" question has settled itself, so far as Ceylon is concerned. To some extent it has, but there is still a residuum needing Governmental or Municipal care and special control. Much commiseration is not needed for a section of people one of whom becomes, successively, Queen's Advocate (corresponding, to compare small things with great, to the post of Legal Member of the Governor-General's Council, and something more), and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; whilst during the time he wears the ermine in the latter capacity, he has, as his senior colleague, a gentleman of great ability, also of "mixed"

parentage. Thus, two out of the three judges of the Supreme Court of Ceylon in 1875 were Eurasians, (or, to adopt and continue throughout this paper the term used in Ceylon, Burghers), which is as if two-thirds of the Calcutta High Court, or the Madras Chief Bench Judges, were of the class referred to. To state this fact is to show at once how vastly in advance of India, socially, is the large island to the south-east of the continent. This fact becomes the more plainly apparent when it is asserted that, amongst the ablest and hardest-working District Judges, a Burgher has pre-eminence; that the leaders of the Metropolitan Bar in the Supreme and District Courts owe their parentage and training to the island; that the same thing is true of Provincial Courts; that some of the ablest subordinate administrative officers in out-stations are of this class; that the clerical branch of the Public Service is mainly in the hands of Burghers, Europeans only being at the Heads of Departments; and that, of the Ceylonese youths now studying in Calcutta (for medicine) and at the English and Scotch Universities for the Civil Service and the Bar, a large proportion is of Burgher origin. As will be seen in the sequel, this eminence has been obtained in the face of great obstacles, and without those educational aids which wealthy cities like Calcutta or Madras are able to provide, or which free institutions, like those of England and America, so richly develop. In social life the Burghers take their place and worthily hold their own; and, save in certain qualities, such, for instance, as perseverance and persistence, do not display any marked inferiority to the dominant race, the British. Looked at in various aspects, the history of this people may not be altogether without service to India in regard to the treatment of her "poor whites," a small and feeble folk among her mighty populations, but destined, unless properly treated, to work great mischief.

I.THE ORIGIN OF THE BURGER SECTION OF THE
CEYLONESE COMMUNITY.

• It is not certain that Albuquerque, the Portuguese commander, who "won Goa by hard fighting," and whose subsequent policy it was "to promote marriages between the Portuguese and Indian women," ever visited Ceylon, but certainly the policy ascribed to him whilst ruler of the western coast of India was carried out by his countrymen on the seaboard of Ceylon. However, it did not need that any "policy" should be decided upon in this respect by the leaders of Portuguese expeditions. Nature would have taken the matter in hand if Albuquerque had not. The localities where the Portuguese were "permitted to trade" were looked upon

by them from the first as destined to be retained as colonies of their most Christian King. Where they landed, there they meant to stay. They brought no females with them in the crowded, almost fetid, clumsily-built ships, in which they struggled past the Cape of Storms, afterwards to be the Cape "of Good Hope," and sailed ever northward and eastward* till they anchored off Indian, Ceylonese, or Sumatran ports. Consequently, it was but natural that it seemed "good in their eyes" that they should take unto themselves wives of the women of the country where they were, and they did so. In India this was done largely, as of deliberate policy, so that too continual a drain should not be made upon the little Kingdom which faces the broad Atlantic, and which was the mother of these bold maritime adventurers. In Ceylon, undoubtedly, the same cause contributed to the intermarriages which took place between the Portuguese and Singhalese. The spirit which had led these bold and daring spirits to cross (hitherto) trackless oceans, found vent when on shore and settled down—(we are confining ourselves now to the doings of the Portuguese in Ceylon, though a similar story is told of India)—in the practice of great and terrible cruelties towards the natives, with the result that fifteen years after first landing, and two after commencing to build a fort, so exasperated were the people, a people who, from their inoffensiveness, have been termed "the women of the human race," at the treatment they had received, that the strangers were besieged and shut up in the fort for seven months. Of their wanton barbarity generally and everywhere, Mr. Cordier says (vol. ii., page 37):—"The coasts of Ceylon have been laid waste by a second race of invaders [the Muhammadans were the first]. To the fury and fanaticism with which the Portuguese pulled down every monument of the Hindu religion, and the cruelty with which they persecuted those who professed it, may, in a great measure, be ascribed the still conspicuous barrenness of this part of the coast" (the north-western). Ruled from Goa, rather than from Lisbon, every effort was made by the Portuguese by intrigue,—which reached so far as to baptize and give a Christian name to a Singhalese Queen, dominant in the low-country, whose Court was held a few miles inland from Colombo;—and by force, to obtain possession of the whole island. On one occasion, 132 years after their arrival, that is in 1637, an army consisting of 1,300 Europeans and mestices and 6000 Kaffirs, penetrated to Kandy, only to be surrounded, all put to the sword, and their heads cut off and piled in a pyramid. Never-

* It is stated, though I am not able at this moment to give the authority save that I think it occurs in the account given by Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador from James I. to the great

Mogul, that vessels from Europe to India, in the early part of the seventeenth century, used to make the Island of Socotra, thence sailing eastward,

theless, in spite of the antagonism raised by duplicity and by open force, the Portuguese, as half-castes, grew and multiplied largely in the land, that is in the maritime districts. To a casual observer in Ceylon, as in India, the Portuguese seemed in larger numbers than they actually were : this was owing to the practice they introduced of giving "Christian" names to children of wealthy natives, on the occasion of their baptism while infants. India, with her mighty indigenous population, has swept away or absorbed nearly every vestige of the practice ; Ceylon, insular and comparatively small, exhibits the characteristic now as prominently as ever. So much so that, during the recent visit of the Prince of Wales to Ceylon, several members of His Royal Highness's suite were curious to know how it was that the fine-looking, distinctly native, Singhalese Maha Mudaliyar, was called John Perera ! His proper family name is Wijesekere Gunawardana, but centuries ago the name of Perera was given to his forefathers, and it has remained a patronymic. A glance at the portion of the Ceylon Directory devoted to the names of the principal residents in Ceylon, shows whole pages of Pereira, Perera, Bartholomeuz, Dias, and others of that ilk, the possessors of a great many of which are purely Singhalese. It was mainly with the Singhalese women that Portuguese intermarriages took place ; Tamils then formed but a small proportion of the population of the western coast, and not many of the European intruders settled down in Jaffna and the north, where, of necessity, their mates would be of Dravidian origin, as those in the Colombo region were Aryan.

Unfortunately, the figures are not available which would show how many Porto-Singhalese inhabitants were in Ceylon when the Dutch conquered and took possession. De Rebeiyro (translation by George Lee, Colombo, 1847), writing of a period some considerable time before the Dutch become possessors of Ceylon, says (page 46) :—"There were more than 900 noble families resident in the town of Colombo, and upwards of 1,500 families of persons attached to the courts of justice, merchants, and substantial citizens. There were two parishes named Our Lady's and St. Lawrence's. . . . Outside the walls there were seven parishes. All the inhabitants were enlisted into militia companies, some being exclusively Portuguese, others exclusively native. . . . When a company composed of Portuguese mounted guard, although it consisted generally but of eighty or ninety men, they appeared more than 200, as no Portuguese ever went without one attendant at least" All this, however, about the large number of noble and other families must be taken *cum grano salis*, for when Colombo capitulated on the 10th of May, 1656, according to Rebeiyro's own confession, (p. 139), and he was present during the siege, the whole garrison

consisted of but sixty-three men. Bearing in mind the small bodies of Europeans who left home in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for conquest under tropic skies and in orient and southern seas, Cortes' and Pizarro's expeditions in America for instance, there is greater semblance of truth in the narration as to the number who left Colombo after the capitulation than there is in the statement as to the thousands alleged to be residing in the parishes of Our Lady and St. Lawrence. Whatever the actual number may have been, certainly no Portuguese left the island, with the exception of a few soldiers, when the arrangements concerning the capitulation were completed. There are other causes, which will be subsequently noted, to account for this race being preserved and still able to propagate "after its kind;" but here the suggestion may be ventured as to why in the progeny of Portuguese fathers and Singhalese mothers, through successive generations, while the European element must necessarily be growing fainter, the facial characteristics of the male original parent should be maintained. There is a curious resemblance between the features of a poor Ceylonese "mechanic" of the present day and the well-known Portuguese type of face as it appears in the likeness of men of ancient renown, and some of the Ceylon Portuguese are not much darker in complexion than dwellers in fair Lusitania. Can the reason be that the Portuguese were so much more, inherently, a *strong* race, that even now, when eight or ten generations, under a tropical sky, have been diluting the vital force, the original dominance is yet seen and felt? Certain it is that in most of the Portuguese inhabitants of Ceylon, the European features, and, to some extent physique, are maintained. Far otherwise would it appear to be in India. T. C. Plowden, Esq., of Tipperah, Bengal, as quoted in the *Calcutta Review* for 1851, writing in 1821, says that "the Christian population residing in Tipperah are the descendants of the Portuguese who settled at Chittagong a century ago; that many of the families are so entirely incorporated with the natives of the country as hardly to bear a distinguishing mark, except in the names of *Feringhis* or Christians; they are of the lowest of the people; are extremely poor,"* &c. All through the Dutch period in Ceylon, from 1656 to 1795, and the English rule from 1796 to the present time, the Porto-Singhalese have remained a distinct people in the body politic. What their present position is will be better told later on.

* Percival, writing in 1801, (p. 144) says:—"The present Portuguese of Ceylon are a mixture of the spurious descendants of the several European possessors of that Island by native women, joined to a number of Moors and Malabars. A colour more approaching to black than white, with a particular mode of dress, half Indian and half European, is all that is necessary to procure the appellation of a Portuguese."

It might be anticipated, from the known phlegmatic tendencies of the Dutch, their adherence to the Reformed religion, and other causes, that, during their residence in Ceylon, there would not be a free mixing with the natives such as had marked the history of the semi-tropical Portuguese. Nevertheless, there was almost unrestricted intercourse, and not altogether on the part of the common soldiers. Fairly frequent communication with the home country and with Java, it is true, was kept up, but even the higher military and civil officers were, with few exceptions, unable to bring wives with them to the East. The great majority had not this privilege, could not have it under the circumstances under which Dutch conquest and colonization were carried on in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The story is told by old Burgher residents, who heard it from their parents, these latter living in Dutch times, that no European ladies whatsoever came to Ceylon save the Governor's wife; that the means of the civil and military servants of this thrifty nation would not permit of their bringing to Ceylon wives of their own countrywomen. Further, accommodation was not provided on board the East Indian traders for women, and, stronger still, as corroborative evidence, the Singhalese were in the habit of speaking of the Governor's lady as "*Nona d' Hollande*," ("*The Lady of Holland*!"), and it is the firm belief of many of the Burghers that there is not a single Dutch family in Ceylon which is entirely free from native connection.* It is also believed that a great many persons from the respectable and well-to-do portion of the Dutch community left the island for Batavia after the capitulation of Colombo in 1796. As regards European wives for Far East military officers or civilians in the eighteenth century, even the Indian servants of John Company had not, in the majority of cases, the opportunity of taking such with them from England; and it was an open and undisguised matter in those days, to have, as part of the ordinary household, a connection which at the present time is not openly tolerated. The intercourse of the Dutch in Ceylon with the natives was purer and infinitely higher than had been that of their predecessors. Scarcely anything can be conceived which could be worse than the sensual sloth, vileness, and cruelty which marked the Portuguese of Western India, Ceylon, and those resident near the mouths of the Ganges. Of their lawlessness and recklessness in the last-named locality, the tiger-haunted Sunderbuns, where once stood busy and flourishing cities, are an abiding proof. So far as a European people and Government, carried out on the Colonist principle of the Hollanders,

* Percival, in 1803 (at page 144) any women leave Holland to come says:—"The Dutchmen allege that to India except those who are already the cause of those intermarriages ready married." being so prevalent, is that scarcely *

viz., that the mother-country shall pecuniarily benefit from the connection, would permit, the Dutch in Ceylon were a civilizing force. But this force extended only in two directions,—one stable, the other essentially false and insecure. Through their dealings in cinnamon, the cultivation of which they kept a close monopoly, they engrafted upon the people of the low country some European habits of order and thrift. By making it a *sine qua non* that holders of office, however mean and low in the official scale, should be baptized and professing Christians, they veneered a population with apparent goodness whilst they honeycombed it with hypocrisy. The essential instability of their mode of Christianizing was seen in the fact that, in 1790, there were hundreds of thousands of so-called native Christians; in 1800, four years after the capitulation, when this qualification was not demanded by the British rulers, there were, so to speak, no native Christians at all. The class which thus melted away like a shower of hail-stones in an Indian summer, were known by the significant appellation of "Government Christians." This, however, is apart from our present theme, which is the origin of the Burgher population of Ceylon. On the assumption of the British to possession and power in Ceylon, in the closing years of the past century, as has been said, they found no inconsiderable portion of the people either wholly half-castes, like the Portuguese, or with some admixture of native blood, like the Dutch. Some few, very few of these latter, it is asserted, were purely Dutch, and at the present day there are several families which claim to be still "untainted"* as the word goes, though the present writer sees no reason why the expression should be used as a term of reproach. Unfortunately, the subject is felt to be one of peculiar social concern, and the valuable conclusions which might be drawn as regards the acclimatization of a European people within the confines of the Himalayas on the one side, and Dondra Head in Ceylon on the other, cannot be fully considered, for want of particulars, application for which would be resented as an insult. Some details will be given further on, but respect for the feelings of many worthy and estimable people warn us off from full enquiry. In and through the Dutch portion of this section of the half-dozen races of Ceylon, a comparatively small number of this class being Anglo-Asians,—a term that will denote one side of their parentage,—the British Government have been able to partially solve one of the vital questions of the Eastern possessions of Great Britain, *e. g.*,

* In noticing the Census Returns of 1871, as they affect "European descendants in Colombo," to be referred to hereafter, the Editor of the *Ceylon Observer* says: "If there are

four real Dutchmen and two pure Portuguese in the city (born in Holland and Portugal respectively), that must be the utmost."

bringing a whole people of diverse races into perfect accord, and so uplifting them and fostering the idea of self-government, the genius for which already existed, as to have brought the entire nation to the threshold of representative and quasi-responsible government. How this has been done an attempt will subsequently be made to show.

II.

THE BURGHER COMMUNITY UNDER BRITISH RULE: ITS DEVELOPMENT, ITS CHARACTERISTICS, AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE COUNTRY, PARTICULARLY ON THE NATIVES.

The Dutch called their Portuguese subjects, and certain of the native inhabitants of the sea-coast towns, "Burgbers," though their privileges as burgesses were *nil*, whilst the restrictions they had to submit to were neither few nor easy to bear; many of these were particularly irksome, and life regulated by Dutch proclamations could have been little better than social slavery. The designation the Dutch gave to others was subsequently made to include themselves also. At first it was felt as a stigma, but gradually this feeling has been removed, and now, in their newspaper, the *Examiner*, they openly and invariably speak of themselves as forming the Burgher community, and are not slow to act as though they were quite abreast with the British residents and decidedly much in advance of the natives, a course of action and an assumption with which the educated natives do not cordially agree. An early historian of Ceylon, after the British became the ruling race, the Rev. James Cordiner, Chaplain to the Garrison of Colombo, gives a description of the Dutch and Portuguese in 1804, which may be taken as a starting point for our review of their career to the present time. He says:—

The Dutch inhabitants in Ceylon are about nine hundred in number, and, excepting a few families, are reduced to circumstances of great indigence: but by rigid and meritorious economy, and some of the lesser labours of industry, they maintain an appearance, in the eyes of the world, sometimes affluent and gay, always decent and respectable.

They are chiefly composed of officers (prisoners of war) with their families, and widows and daughters of deceased civil and military servants of the Dutch East India Company. The greater part of them are proprietors of houses, which they let, with considerable advantage, to the English inhabitants. If a poor family should possess only one good house, they retire into a smaller or less convenient one, and enjoy the benefit of the overplus of the rent, which they receive by relinquishing a more comfortable dwelling.

The Dutch inhabitants are allowed the undisturbed exercise of their religion; and the clergymen receive from Government an allowance equal to one-half of their former stipends. All the private soldiers capable of bearing arms, who fell into our hands on the capture of

the Island, were sent to Madras, where the greater part of them enlisted into His Majesty's service.

There is still a large body of inhabitants at Colombo and the other settlements in Ceylon, known by the name of Portuguese. They probably amount to the number of five thousand: they are, however, completely degenerated, and exhibit complexions of a blacker hue than any of the original natives. Yet they retain a considerable portion of the pride of their ancestors: wear the European dress, profess the religion of the Church of Rome; and think themselves far superior to the lower classes of the Singhalese. The greater part of them were admitted by the Dutch to all the privileges of citizens under the denomination of Burghers.

There were not many Englishmen disposed to speak so favourably of the Dutch, or the natives either, for the matter of that, as Mr. Cordiner does in the foregoing paragraphs, and elsewhere in his work. There was not much association between the different sections of the community; each misunderstood the other, as they do to the present day, though the greatest share of the misconception, it must be confessed, is on the side of the English. In early times, the very earliest English era, Sir Frederick North, Governor, initiated a state of social good feeling, that it would have been better for the advancement of the island if his successors had imitated. The Honorable James Alwis, M.L.C., a Singhalese scholar of high repute, in a "History of Ceylon," now preparing for the press, indicates this in a very interesting chapter. Amongst other things, he says:—"The colonists had easy access to the Governor,—a privilege without which an Oriental people is not easily reconciled to a new *régime*. Two days in the week he especially devoted to seeing them. Every New Year's Day his house was open to those who attended in large bodies to pay their respects to the representative of the King. His hospitality extended to all classes of the community. If the Dutch ladies took offence at a character given of them in a work published by an English officer, and refused to visit North, he was not long before he secured their good will towards himself and the English nation." Instead of this kind of thing continuing, as it well might and ought in so small a community as that of Ceylon, social barricades were erected and the gulf widened, so that the strongest feelings of contempt and disdain came to be engendered and expressed of the Burgher and native people by English officials and writers. Two brief quotations will serve to show this, and whilst accepted as one side of the shield, impressions in the last case evidently being made by a cursory acquaintance with Portuguese mechanics, ignorant and drunken, it must be borne in mind, as will subsequently be shown, at the very time when the most supreme contempt was being expressed for the mixed population, some of the Dutch Burghers were displaying a degree of public spirit not

far behind that which had been manifested in England a short time previously by the Corn Law Repealers, when their proposal for the entire abolition of corn duties was unfashionable and derided by "cautious" politicians. The most unpopular Governor Ceylon has ever had was Lord Torrington. His own blundering accounts for his unpopularity. How greatly he could blunder is apparent from the fact that he thoughtlessly roused the bitterest animosity against himself amongst the Burghers by maligning them in a despatch to Earl Grey, then Secretary of State for the Colonies. In one place he said: "Efforts were made by one or two turbulent Europeans, supported and assisted by many of the peculiar class of people called Burghers, to kindle dissatisfaction in the minds of the Singhalese natives. . . . " Again, "I shall repel with the most vigorous determination all the efforts of the Burgher community (a class which I am not aware to be found elsewhere) to make use of the native Singhalese inhabitants, to promote their own selfish purposes." Further, with scorn and contempt, he described them as "the half-bred descendants of the Dutch and Portuguese inhabitants." Very shortly after the time when Lord Torrington was thus rudely insulting a portion of the people he governed, a retired barrister, Mr. H. C. Sirr, M.A., formerly Deputy Queen's Advocate for the Southern Provinces, brought out a work on "Ceylon and the Singhalese," in which, at page 40, vol. ii., he says:—"The half-castes of Ceylon, or Burghers as they are called in the Island, adopt the European costume. We allude only to the males, the women blending in their dress a strange mixture of the European and native attire. The male half-castes are far below the Singhalese both in physical power, stature, personal appearance, and mental capabilities; their complexions are less clear, their features ill-formed, and the expression of their countenances is heavy and sensual, being as deficient in corporeal attractions as they are destitute of moral rectitude and probity. . . . It is most extraordinary, but all those who have been in the East frankly admit that among the half-castes is to be found every vice that disgraces humanity, and nowhere is this axiom more strikingly exemplified than in the male and female Burghers of Ceylon. In making this statement we do not mean to assert that ALL* are destitute of good feeling, as we have known two or three men who possessed kindly feelings and cultivated minds, but, unfortunately, such are exceptions to the general rule." There are Englishmen in Ceylon at the present time, knowing little or nothing of the Burghers, save as inferior assistants in business, who would say that this description of Mr. Sirr's is still true, though really a grosser

* The small capitals are Mr. Sirr's, not the present writer's.

libel was hardly ever perpetrated on any community. Mr. Sirr evidently made the not uncommon mistake of "lumping" the Portuguese burghers and the Dutch burghers. The former, who had been long in the East, had, by indulgence in vice, sunk below the Singhalese amongst whom their lot was cast; and to those acquainted with the lower classes of this race, Mr. Sirr's picture is recognized as having some elements of truth, but every word of that description is false if intended to apply to the Dutch burghers. Particular care ought to be taken to draw a distinct line between the two sections of burghers. No Portuguese burgher has yet risen to anything beyond a master tailor, and it is principally among the members of this class that the sole ground for direct Government assistance lies. An endeavour may here be made to show the position (1) *Socially* and (2) *Politically* of the burghers, premising that what is stated is intended to apply mainly to the descendants of the Hollanders and Englishmen.

(1) *Socially*.—Only a few years ago, when the burghers of Colombo (and what is said of these will apply also to those in out-stations) lived within easy walking distance of each other, and had not erected for themselves villa residences in suburban localities, many old Dutch customs, on which had been engrafted some Singhalese practices, were in vogue amongst them in full force and vigour. These have been garnered, in the form of a lecture, by one of their number, a practising Advocate, and, taking a compatriot from the cradle to the grave, he tells of the quaint doings which marked various stages of ordinary life. One thing was not brought from Holland, *viz.*, the desire for a fair complexion, which all the burghers have in greater or less degree. The wish crops up in the remark made about the infant, a few hours' old, by a visitor desirous to pay a compliment, who says, "I think it will be a *fair* child," to which all present assent with murmuring approval. The English maxim is reversed, and we have here "the ruling passion strong at birth." The birth itself had been signalised by the continuous striking of a brass pan, the reason alleged being to "drown the cries of the infant lest evil spirits should be attracted to the spot." And so on, further rejoicings and distinctive ceremonies marked the appearance of the first tooth, the first shaving of the young man's beard, the arranging for a marriage when the young people had become "smitten" with each other's charms, the ceremonies at the wedding, the celebration of silver wedding and golden wedding, the funeral whereat was "great lamentation and weeping, and mourning"—these events in the most commonplace of lives, and many others, were made the occasion for social intercourse and pleasant meeting. A widely-diffused neighbourliness was the result. The head of the household in which these things took place was, very probably, chief clerk in a

Government office, or book-keeper to a mercantile firm. Very trustworthy were the old burghers said to be in this capacity, so at least remark those whose reminiscences of bygone times are becoming of a roseate hue, chiefly because the times are far off; and who, in addition, are presently plagued with clerks not remarkable for steadiness or assiduity to business.

* The type of the old burgher clerk is described in the story of the book-keeper, who made it a matter of religion that his ledger should balance, and who never ventured to strike that balance on a week day. Instead of that, on each Saturday evening the office peon took the firm's ledger to the book-keeper's house. On Sunday morning it was taken in hand, *prayed over*, and the totals set one against the other. If they were found to agree the book-keeper would be a worshipper at the morning service at Wolvendahl (Dutch Presbyterian) Church, or at the Baptist Chapel, but if otherwise—neither legend nor record existeth to indicate what then happened.

As a class, the burghers are thought by most Englishmen to be given to dressy display and ornamentation of the person, a practice leading to chronic indebtedness to Moor traders, who mainly do the shop-keeping business of the island. In this respect the community are said to be getting worse than they were hitherto wont to be. A defence of them, however, has been made to the writer in the following remarks, which, however, leaves the matter pretty much as stated above:—"The clerks who constitute the great body of Dutch burghers, are miserably underpaid; they marry early, and are, of necessity, in a chronic state of indebtedness, and this in the effort to procure the bare necessities of life. One new bonnet at Christmas, and a few muslin dresses during the year, are all the average Burgher wife aspires to. The thrift and economy with which they strive, and often succeed, in 'making both ends meet' is deserving of all praise."

The professions the burghers most take to are those which may be styled genteel, which is a consequence of the lack of energetic physical force which marks them as a rule. In the medical profession and before a desk they are *facile principes*. The greatest ambition of all, however, that is cherished by the burgher lad, is to get into Government service. Not only because there are prizes there, such as the First Assistant Colonial Secretaryship and Assistant-Auditor Generalship, both at this time in very worthy burgher hands, but also because of the pension secured by a length of service, and a certain aroma of undefined respectability which hangs about Government employ, attractive to semi-orientals as much as to indigenous Easterns; indeed, this has a fascination for the ablest among them, which is hard to be understood. Consequently, the "volunteer" clerk has been known to fill up his

spare time, and time that was not "spare," but which ought to have been otherwise occupied, in covering whole sheets of foolscap by conceiving possible bliss, which takes the shape of writing his name thus—

F. JNO. BROHIER ALBUQUERQUE, C. C. S.

in all imaginable forms, the variations, however, being generally played upon the three capital letters at the end, which are written in many forms and in diverse ways. This, however, does not so much refer to the class whose education and ability would fit them for the Civil Service proper; the "C. C. S." of such aspirants refers more to the Chief Clerical Service than to the charmed covenanted circle, which can now only be entered by a writer who has had an English training. The great body of young clerks and proctors in Colombo, some of the most pronounced natural ability, were not a few of them unable to finish their scholastic career from want of means. Paterfamilias had a large family, the younger brothers and sisters required schooling and clothing, and the young men had reluctantly to leave school and take to "quill-driving" in Government, legal, or mercantile offices, not because of a particular fascination about pen-work, as from the fact that there was no other career open to him. Not many of them have taken to coffee-planting. This has frequently been quoted against them as a cause for reproach, but it is hardly fair to look upon the fact in this light. That calling exhibits so many charms for Englishmen of character and wealth, that the comparatively physically and financially poor burgher, has no chance in the struggle which, in coffee-planting as in all things else, ends only in the "survival of the fittest." One burgher, and one only, has made money out of this pursuit, and he has retired at middle age, in the flower of life, with a fortune estimated at two and a half lakhs of rupees.

The individual burgher is a very law-abiding peaceful citizen. Youthful vivacity and mischief bubbles over and finds vent in cutting a neighbour's tats, much as the watch used to be assaulted and knockers wrenched off doors by the *jeunesse dorée* of England, three-quarters of a century since or less. Their strong home-loving tendencies, affection for kindred, and general tenderness probably account, to some extent, for this mild phase of character. The burgher is not martial nor given to fighting; nothing has yet occurred in the history of Ceylon to call forth such qualities. Save by invasion, unless he leaves his country, the burgher is never likely to have an idea of what war means in its present and most terrible form. There is a virulent side to the burgher character, it must be confessed, which finds vent in the use of foul words expressed in a Portuguese *patois*, and sometimes in anonymous letters. He loves to sip wine, and can repeat with much glibness the argument for

moderate drinking ; as to habitual drunkenness, though it is not a habit, it is by no means unknown. To an Englishman who has witnessed this vice, as it only can be seen in Christian England, the burghers are a sober people. The burgher reads novels, and is *au fait* with all that Dickens and Bulwer Lytton have written, whilst he swears by the *Saturday Review*. The library copy of this publication is much thumbed, and always engaged : consequently a large number of the members of the institution are amongst the regular subscribers to this journal. That paper's *nil admirari* style of criticism is speedily adopted, the more easily because it is negative, pulling down rather than building up. The consequence of a continual study of *Saturday Sadness*, as Mr. Peter Bayne once termed the teachings of this paper (*Saturday Reviling* was John Bright's opinion of what it wrote) on the not too firmly balanced mind of the imperfectly educated burgher, is not so satisfactory as to lead the friends of the community to view the operation with unmixed pleasure. It is a necessary consequence of the present miserably inadequate educational arrangements of the island that there should be more of veneer and polish than good, sound, solid, acquired learning, but for this the authorities are to blame. The conduct of the Government in this respect has been little short of culpable; this, however, is not the place to adequately animadvert upon it. A few details from the Colombo Police Court for 1874 will show the general freedom from crime and wrong-doing of the burghers. It should be premised, that in Colombo at least, one-half of the burgher population of Ceylon is congregated. Out of 11,600 persons charged with crime and misdemeanour, 180 only were burghers, while there were 113 Europeans summoned or in custody ; 5,010 persons were charged with assault : of these 90 were burghers ;—of theft, 1,550 : burghers 13 ;—and of drunkenness 574 : burghers 12, while Europeans to the proportion of nearly three to one were arrested for this misdemeanour. When it is remembered that many of the burghers are very poor and are in debt, it is in the highest degree creditable to the community that only thirteen persons out of seven thousand should have been charged with theft ; less than '002 per thousand.

It is as a social force, as a medium of civilization, if the expression may be used without offence, that the burgher element of the national life has been particularly fruitful for good. They have exhibited many of the advantages and peculiar privileges of intellectual and political life to the natives, in a way and manner which Englishmen could not have done, which would be absolutely impossible of performance by the high-caste of civil servants through whom, mainly, the affairs of Ceylon are

administered. One of the English civil servants said to the writer, not long since, when a great outcry had arisen from unthinking European planters, because one of their number had been imprisoned for tying up and beating a Chetty, "I look upon the civil servants as being the best friends and protectors the natives have." In a sense the civil servants may be protectors, but the burghers have been more than that; they have been *helpers upwards*, and through them the natives have been brought into closer contact with Europeans, and have been taught to bend their shoulders and take a share of the burden of social and municipal life. Unfortunately, there is yet a great gulf between Europeans and natives, even in Ceylon, of which country, however, Anglo-Indians say that, in this respect, it is half-a-century ahead of the Indian Presidencies. In the discussion which took place in India in the autumn of 1875, on the subject of the Eurasian people, the *Madras Mail*, with that incisiveness and force which invariably marks its utterances, said :—

At present we seem to look on the Eurasians as untimely fruit, and as if India would be the better for a wholesale deportation of them; but we should fully recognize what the Eurasians are in this country. The ship, without ballast or with little ballast, sails steadily enough as long as the breeze is light and fair; let a storm spring up, then is she indeed in danger of foundering; and the Captain thinks remorsefully of the time when, in harbour, he could have had ballast for the asking. The Eurasians are a portion of the ballast of the ship *British India*, and woe betide the English Captain, Officers, and crew should they neglect that ballast! India's ballast is human, sprung from English sires, from England's soldiers, aye, and from her officers too in but too many cases, and it is this ballast that we must either allow to sink to the lowest level of the natives of the country, or banish to unaccustomed and therefore unprofitable labour in a strange land. What though the Eurasians have sprung on their mother's side from the varied races of Hindustan, on the father's side at least they belong to, and have something in common, with Europeans. Is it nothing to claim paternity from the English race? Is it nothing to claim paternity of a civilized, powerful Christian people?

Ballast, and vastly more beside, have the burghers of Ceylon been to the country of their birth. The life of the late Sir Richard Morgan is loud-voiced and emphatic on this point. For many years Chief Law Adviser to the Crown, he became Acting Chief Justice, and was offered the refusal of the permanent occupancy of that exalted post: his career is a striking instance of what sterling merit and hard work can attain unto, even in a Crown Colony, where the majority of executive officers of the first rank are sent from England; yet throughout, and in it all he showed how it was possible to be the hearty friend of all the races in the land. The writer happened to be in the Supreme Court the day after Sir Richard's decease, when a tribute to his memory was paid by the other Judges. In the wide portico of the building he saw on the features of influential and wealthy natives of different

races tokens of deep-felt anguish, and listened to the most heart-broken testimonies to the departed man's worth as a guide, counsellor and friend. Before the native had finished his tribute to departed worth, the voices of Englishmen were heard in equally loud praise of the same qualities as those which had captivated the affections of Singhalese, Tamils and Moors alike, whilst those of his own race felt themselves most bereaved of all. The same evening at the funeral it is hard to say which of the five races in the island was the more largely represented at the open grave, to pay the last token of respect to the memory of a man who was pre-eminently a binder together of diverse races, having the blood of both the "stranger within the gates" and the "son of the soil" in his veins, and able to "put himself in the place" of each, that essential requisite of a peace-maker. Certainly in the concluding words of "Enoch Arden," slightly varied :—

"The town had never looked upon a worthier burial."

This record of one man is but typical of the influence attainable by all the best among the burghers. They have been, and are, a civilizing and leavening influence, which, instead of "causing degradation to an economic standard," has been an uplifting force to a higher social strata. Ceylon, as one of its characteristics, has a large number of small towns, where every one is known to his neighbour, and where any influence that has living power within it is calculated to TELL. In every such provincial centre are burghers of the stamp referred to be found, though also there are undeniably exceptions, particularly where they are lawyers more anxious for fees than for the peaceable settlement of quarrels. On the whole, however, the tendency of their influence has been for the advancement of civilization, the spread of kindly feelings, the breaking down of race barriers, and the consolidation of British rule in such a way, that self-government and independence, peculiarly English qualities, have been transmitted throughout the body politic, until physical force, save that of the policeman, seems a superfluity. One proof of this drawing together of burghers and natives is seen in the fact that the burgher newspaper, the *Examiner*, looks upon itself as the champion of the natives, as well as of the class to which its Editor and conductors belong. Correspondence has recently found a place in its columns, in which it was proposed that distinctive names,—such as Burgher, Singhalese, Tamil, &c.,—should be dropped, and the term Ceylonese be adopted by all. Inter-marriages, it is argued, take place, and the sooner race-names drop from the lips, the better for the well-being of the whole community. Certain it is, that in miscegenation European physique and characteristics are not absorbed; whether they will

be eventually, there is not yet evidence enough to give a definite affirmative answer, and it would be rash to reply in the negative. In any case, up to this point in their history, it may be claimed for the Eurasians of Ceylon, that they have greatly helped and aided that ingraft of Western civilization on their country, which England seems destined to be the means of injecting into the veins of the moribund life of the East, and thereby to cause its peoples to start into newness of life. Why it is that the Eurasians of India have not done similarly, this writer must leave Indian social philanthropists to say.

(2). *Politically.*—The burghers of Ceylon have a history of which no enlightened nation of the West would need to be ashamed. It is true that for the inception of great reforms Englishmen were the chief instruments, and that in carrying them into action, educated and patriotic natives rendered great assistance. Much praise should be given to both classes of helpers, but this is not the place for doing that. Whilst, however, the initiating hand has been mainly British, the material to work these reforms, to make them practicable, that they may not prove either abortions which lived only to reach the Statute Book and then died, or unworkable proposals which necessitated speedy withdrawal, has been for the greater part burgher. Not merely has this class been the means by which improvements and changes were made workable, but widened ideas have dropped as good seed in productive soil, bringing forth no insignificant crop of self-reliant, earnest men, who have in a struggle for citizen rights, exhibited qualities which call for their being entrusted with yet further and fuller freedom. These qualities have been displayed in spite of a system which has denied to them nearly all political freedom, and augurs that very great good would result from giving them greater privileges, entailing a corresponding measure of responsibility. If such things are done when limbs are swathed in swaddling clothes, what may not be anticipated when those limbs are loosed and the strength of an unbound man is free for exercise? England had worthy and patriotic sons before the First Reform Bill; she has had a much larger number since, and they have mostly come from a stratum in the population hitherto supposed to be incapable of yielding results that would compensate for the labour of working it.

One sign of political manhood is the determination of an individual or class, when aspersed, to indignantly defend itself. This the burghers of Ceylon displayed early in their history. It took more than a full generation from the time of the British occupation, for this people to feel that they had the rights of free-born citizens, but once it was understood that rights and privileges were theirs, and who more tenacious than they to

maintain them inviolate? Attention has been drawn to the remarks made upon the burghers by Lord Torrington. In spite of the great and abounding influence of Government in an oriental land, increased under the despotism of "Crown" rule, and altogether regardless as to how their action might tell upon their future career in the professions they were members of, the burghers of Colombo refused to remain quiet under such a stigma. A public meeting was convened, resolutions passed, and a memorial sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in which the rebutting passages appear. After reciting some of Lord Torrington's strongest remarks, the memorialists say:—"In one of his despatches to your Lordship the burghers are described, without the least necessity for the description, as 'the half-bred descendants of the Dutch and Portuguese inhabitants.' Not ashamed of the condition in which some of your memorialists (for to many of the burghers the offensive expression is inapplicable) have been placed by their Maker, still, surely, the unnecessary and ungracious allusion to the natural condition of some of your memorialists, which is employed by the term 'half-bred,' must be repugnant to the fine and manly feelings of Englishmen." Fully disproving the charge of having "kindled dissatisfaction," they proceed:—

"The burghers, my Lord, form a large portion of the inhabitants of this island; some of them hold high and respectable offices under Government. Many are employed as clerks in the public offices; and there are others among them independent of Government, possessed of much property, in the security of which they are naturally interested. What interest, what 'selfish purpose,' can such men have, my Lord, to 'kindle dissatisfaction amongst the natives?' Other Governors have spoken of them in the highest terms of commendation; but it was left to Lord Torrington, after so short a sojourn in the island, to traduce them."

The burghers, were, at the time they prepared this memorial, acting under the leadership of Englishmen, but when it is remembered that they were not insensible to that undue reverence for "the Raj" which is a melancholy fact of oriental life, inasmuch as that they, in a sense, were natives, the fact that they defied and braved the powers—that be so manfully, is proof of capacity for the higher duties of citizenship, highly creditable to the community to which they belonged.

A political society, called "The Friends of Ceylon," had been established, and great courage was displayed in resisting what were felt to be infringements of citizen rights. Especially in regard to what stands out prominently in modern Ceylonese history as the "Verandahs Question," when the authorities tried to forcibly dispossess the people of alleged encroachments which the possessors could prove they had occupied "from time immemorial" (in the Law Courts' sense of the term), did they act with

great boldness. Defeated in the island, they carried their cause to the House of Commons, where the late Joseph Hume and Mr. Baillie championed their cause. A Select Committee followed, much evidence was taken, and from the vantage-ground then gained, much indirect benefit has resulted.

Later on, when the Ceylon League was established, to throw off the great burden of military expenditure incurred for imperial purposes, and to reform the Legislative Council by adding to the number of unofficial members, none were more active or bold than certain burgher members of the League. When, again, municipal institutions were established, the practical working of them fell principally into the hands of this class, and when Government officialism (which, unfortunately, is part and parcel of Ceylon municipal institutions, and, therefore, greatly detracts from possible usefulness) was not too strong, very good work was done, a due sense of responsibility being felt. The management of the Colombo Municipality, with a revenue much larger than that of some West India islands, which have a Government and a Legislature to themselves, was in the hands of a burgher gentleman, whose administrative action called forth much praise, and led to his being appointed Justice of the Peace for the island in recognition thereof. It is to a burgher Queen's Advocate that the natives owe the great communal powers which were given them in 1871, when it was arranged that the ancient *Gausabharwa* (village councils and tribunals) should be revived. This gives to the *goyiya* (ryot) the exercise of powers, in the way of abating nuisances, such as gambling, cock-fighting, opium selling, &c., which is vainly pleaded for year by year in the House of Commons by Sir Wilfred Lawson, when his Permissive Bill is brought up for a second reading, which it has never yet obtained. Small Cause Courts, with trained presidents, assisted by assessors, under this ordinance, bring cheap and facile means for the settlement of disputes, within the reach of all.

Throughout the land the burghers are the people most acquainted with the administration of the law and the conduct of Government, for they are most frequently the instruments employed in the carrying out of both. Natives, it is not to be denied, are employed in large numbers; but that employment, to a very great extent, takes the shape of headmenships, perpetuating the old authority which chiefs and others possessed under Kandyan Kings and Singhalese low-country monarchs. Themselves interpenetrated with European civilization, the burghers, as has been said, are the interpreters of the ever-changing, shifting English race—(statistics prove that the English population of Ceylon is changed every ten years) to the people of the country,

and are lifting these latter to a higher level than the intermittent efforts of the strangers could do. To the native sensible of and desirous for advancement,—social, and political,—the remark may be made, “The burghers ye have always with you: in and through and with them ye may walk forward.”

The Ceylon Legislative Council is composed of nine officials, aided by six unofficial members, nominated by the Governor. The present ruler, Sir William H. Gregory, when a vacancy takes place by the retirement of some of the unofficials, if it be they of the planting and mercantile communities, applies to the Planter's Association and the Chamber of Commerce respectively, to nominate two or more gentlemen having the confidence of the members, for him to select a representative from. The burghers and the natives have no such institution to which appeal could be made. Nevertheless, when, in March of this year, the burgher seat became vacant, so strongly was the political feeling of the class aroused, that a keen contest between two gentlemen, informally nominated, took place, a public meeting was called, a majority obtained in favour of one of the candidates, and the Governor was so far amenable to this display of public feeling, that he conferred the post upon the popularly chosen man. Even without free representative institutions the burghers are a political power in the State, with independence of feeling and action which augers well for the due preservation of rights once acquired, so far as they are concerned, when self-government is granted to Ceylon, as granted it must be ere long.

III

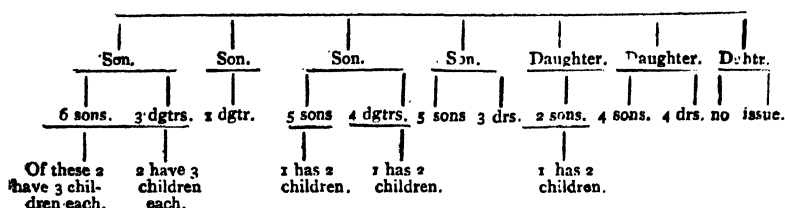
THE NUMBERS AND PRESENT POSITION OF THE BURGHERS.

Unfortunately, as has been already remarked, the full data are not available upon which an opinion might be founded as regards the acclimatization of Portuguese and Dutch in Ceylon, nor is the extent to which native blood has become mingled with the European venous and arterial fluid, to be easily arrived at. Certain it is that the burgher section is increasing in numbers. When the British made their first enumeration of the people, confessedly imperfect as regarded the natives, but nearly exact with respect to Europeans and European descendants, there were fewer than one thousand Dutch burghers, and from four to five thousand Portuguese. This was in 1803. In 1846 there were nearly seven thousand; Dutch largely predominating, Portuguese becoming fewer. When the Census of 1871 was completed, it was found that multiplication of species had so progressed that the numbers were now nearly fifteen thousand. The figures of

1846 can scarcely be looked upon as trustworthy; otherwise there would be the very uncommon instance of a generation of years sufficing for the doubling of a section of the population. Yet this may have been, if the following facts, which have been courteously supplied to the writer, are applicable in a large measure, as they are said to be. How many of the marriages took place with educated natives, or whether all, of both sexes, were burghers, the writer was not informed. Nevertheless, the facts as they stand are interesting:—

A. B. died in 1860, aged 71, leaving four sons and three daughters. In 1876 the issue is as follows:—

A. B.



So that there are now living fifty-five souls descended from A. B., who was born in 1790.

M. N. is a man of about 50, and has a sister a year or two younger; he has *fifteen* children; four of these are married and have six, five, four, and three children each respectively. M. N. has been married thirty years. In addition to his fifteen children, there are eighteen grand-children, a progeny of thirty-three in less than so many years. One good old lady has been heard to boast that she has four grand-children presented to her every year. Again of the E. F. family, there are alive sixty-four souls, descendants of one man, who settled in Ceylon early in the present century it is believed.

To a larger extent, in the period from 1846 to 1876, than from 1796 to 1846, the burgher ranks have been recruited by a contingent which, for identification sake, has already, in this paper, been termed Anglo-Asian. The number of Englishmen in the Colony has been large, until within recent years, very few, save in the towns, were married to Englishwomen. The consequence is obvious: It is a mere guess which places the fruit of these unions at from seven hundred to a thousand souls, but the guess is not altogether empirical. Even with this allowance it will be seen that the Dutch burghers are so far prolific, that there is no present fear of the race dying

out, especially as it is likely to be largely recruited by the natives, and to a somewhat slighter extent by Europeans.

The Census Returns, in which, of course, the description of an individual's nationality is given by himself, exhibit the burgher class as made up of many diverse elements, as will appear from the following summarised table:—

	Males	Fmils.	Total		Males	Fmils.	Total
Anglo-Indian.....	0	2	2	Half-Cast	14	8	22
Burgher	3028	2743	5771	Indo-Briton	29	28	57
Ceylonese	79	97	176	Indo-Dutch	2	0	2
Dutch	4078	1178	2256	Indo-Portuguese ...	2	1	3
Dutch descendants	390	393	783	Irish descendants...	4	7	11
East Indian	43	22	65	Polish do.	1	0	1
English descendants	43	40	83	Portuguese	630	599	1229
Eurasian	1736	1695	3431	Portuguese descen-			
Euro-African	0	1	1	dants	31	29	60
European descen-				Prussian do.	2	0	2
dants.	84	83	167	Scotch do.	2	2	4
French do	13	16	29				
German do	17	7	24				
Goanese	2	0	2				
					7238	6951	14581

Evidently, if the statement of Cordiner can be relied upon, that there were from 4,000 to 5,000 "Portuguese" in Ceylon soon after the Dutch capitulation, there can be no doubt this class is dying out; that, too, very fast, and as a separate people should soon be unknown. It may be that they are being absorbed into the Singhalese race, but certainly personal observation of the large families some of them have, and other circumstances, would lead to the opinion that "rigour and vigour" have not yet left them. As a rule, the burghers generally are not robust, and a great many of the young men grow up narrow-chested and consumptive, and die before reaching their twenty-third year, whilst others are very fine specimens of the *genus homo*. The best amongst them, however, easily succumb to fever, not in a sickness unto death, but sufficient to lead to enforced idleness for a short period; while it does not seem to require much extra-exertion to induce a complaint of "side-pain," which is an excuse for absence from work which they share with the natives; this complaint, it is said, is attributable to enlargement of the spleen.

As has been already remarked, the Government service contains the largest number of burghers. Sir Henry Ward, Governor of Ceylon, 1855-60, said of them that they were "the brazen wheels which, hidden from sight, kept the golden hands of Government in motion," an apt simile, and as often quoted by them as in the remark respecting the coffee planters alluded to by Europeans, *viz.*, that they are "the backbone of the prosperity of the island." Others as Advocates and Proctors and in corresponding social positions, rise to competence, though not often to affluence.

Government employ is, to the educated burgher, almost what the Army and Navy, and the Established Church are to the scions of "good families" in England, whose hands must not be soiled with manual toil. It casts a glamour over them to a degree which Colonial Englishmen cannot always understand: these have been much puzzled lately at seeing a burgher of great attainments, leader of the Supreme Court Bar, give up his high unofficial position to become Deputy Queen's Advocate for the island. It must be confessed the burghers are often unfairly condemned on account of a *penchant* for Government and clerical service generally. If, with half-a-dozen other careers open before them, they nevertheless manifested this preference, cause for censure would exist. But, in Ceylon, no other career is to be found, save the medical, and their high position in it has been described. There are no manufactories for the uneducated and poor to earn daily wages from, and to find employment for the educated in higher directing spheres, as foremen, &c. Would the burghers go into trade? They have to face keen competition from the shop-keeping and itinerant Moor and Hindu traders. Would they strive to succeed as merchants? The British, with command of more capital and with home connections, shut them out on the one side, while the Chetty, dealing in rice and Manchester cotton goods, one of a large confraternity, settled on the Indian coast, whose individual expenses are almost *nil*, crowds the burgher altogether out of the field. They cannot even become large land-owners and tillers of soil, because the land in the low-country is mainly in the hands of natives, the law of inheritance being such that the soil and its produce are often infinitesimally divided.* Consequently, it may be said, without any disrespect or implying censure of any kind upon the burghers, that this state of things has caused the development of a class of human beings exactly fitted for such duties as have been described as specially affected by them. Nature is not wasteful of her gifts, and does not endow her children with qualities they are never likely to call into active exercise. She adapts means to ends. The energetic Englishman finds the type, superinduced by circumstances just detailed, very defective, and so it is from his stand-point. But he himself only represents one phase of life; that exhibited by the burghers of Ceylon is another, equally necessary to

* The law of inheritance in Ceylon is the Roman Dutch law, which gives the children, in the event of there being no will, an equal share in the property. So, if Appuhami (a Singhalese man) is entitled to the planting share, *i.e.*, half of one Jack-tree,

his four sons and three daughters each get one-seventh of half, *i.e.*, one fourteenth of a Jack-tree. This is no fancy sketch. The records of any district Court in the island would give many illustrative incidents.

round off a complete state of society, and particularly adapted to the requirements of the social life of which they form a part. All that is wanted is that there should be woven into the incontestably intellectual, kindly, social nature of the burgher, the threads of persistency and perseverance, which bind together and make, with the other threads, a texture useful for sustained and prolonged usefulness as well as for daily wear. One could not honestly say of them, without many deductions, what the dying Sheikh-Patriarch in Egypt said, prophetically, of his eldest son, "Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel," but unfortunately, instability is *one* of the defects, perhaps the greatest defect of character, which has to be mourned over by the sincerest friends of the burghers.

Generally prosperous, though seldom realising wealth, there is nevertheless not a little poverty and suffering amongst them. Cases of distress are to be found through want of employment and so on, but not greater than exists in an ordinary town in England. There is no poor-law by virtue of which the poverty-stricken may "demand" relief as in Great Britain, no workhouse for orphaned children, and it often happens that a struggling clerk or compositor, with a rising family of his own, will take over, support, and set agoing in the world, the family of a deceased brother or sister. In 1869 the Friend-in-Need Society of Colombo had on its books, either as permanent or temporary recipients of relief, 87 burghers, out of a total of 382, to whom assistance was granted. In 1875, 140 burghers were relieved out of 494 recipients, which shows that whilst the total distress had only increased 25 per cent., the distress amongst the burghers was 75 per cent. greater than it was seven years previously. This, however, partly finds explanation in the dullness of trade in 1875, owing to a short coffee crop and the failure of several mercantile houses connected with those London firms which Messrs. Alex. Collie and Co. brought down with a rush. The amounts which are paid by the Friend-in-Need Society barely suffice to keep body and soul together, ranging as they do from Rs. 1-2 to Rs. 3-12 per mensem, with as a maximum to a European widow, Rs. 7-8. The number of children under twelve years of age, dependent upon parents receiving these pittances, is about 190. Here it is that the Government, especially a paternal one like that in Ceylon, should step in and prevent further degradation. Were there free and representative institutions in the island, the people themselves might be depended upon to take the necessary action. That action should be in the form of a Central Industrial Training School, of the kind similar to those the (English) Local Government Board have in large numbers in the Metropolitan district, and to which children should be

compelled to go, their widowed mothers being still relieved, as now, by voluntary contributions, which would not be lacking. Detailed description of the work to be done by such an institution cannot be given here, owing to the exigencies of space, but it may be stated that one such large Training School at Colombo would suffice for the accommodation of the destitute children of all races in the island, at present within the scope of relief given by the various Friend-in-Need Societies. Only by Government can such a project be successfully initiated, and the comparatively small expenditure could be easily raised by an absurdly light tax on the produce of absentee and other proprietors, which is now shipped untaxed from the island, and from the proceeds of which they live in comfort in Europe or in Ceylon. As regards the burghers generally, the supply of labour of the kind they are most fitted for, has not outstripped the demand, nor is it likely to do so yet awhile, in view of the increasing commercial prosperity of the island. Certainly public meetings do not have to be called in the island as they have been in Calcutta, Madras, and Allahabad, to enquire what shall be done for our "poor whites." The Eurasian of the large cities of India, living in the native bazars, and degrading the European character in the eyes of the natives, if not altogether, is comparatively unknown in Ceylon. Drunken and "loafing" Englishmen, a few here and there, do the work of degradation in Ceylon more effectually. Neither in the questions asked, nor the pictures drawn by the *South India Post* (April, 1875) in the following extract, are such as the Ceylon public are unduly familiar with; when such sights are witnessed it is only with regard to Portuguese mechanics, and a few others, some of whom are dependents upon the Friend-in-Need Society, the remedy for which state of things has been already alluded to. The *South India Post* says:—

What then is the young Anglo-Indian lad of respectable parentage, but limited means, to do? Every day the crowds of young men who hang about our streets, and swarm to every place where there is a vacancy of ever so humble a description; who inundate the higher classes of officials, merchants, coffee planters and other heads of offices, with petitions for employment—every day this crowd of idlers in all our presidencies and large towns is increasing, and these young men, many of them carefully educated and respectably brought up, instead of growing up useful members of society are—be the fact disguised as it may—fast drifting downward to ruin. They are daily to be met with in all the various stages of that poverty which is the sure offspring of idleness—from shabby genteel, to shoeless out-at-elbows tatterdom—some with only the half-scared downcast look which betokens the earlier stages of a hard struggle for life; others who have passed through successive downward steps until their clothes have become threadbare and hang loosely on the enfeebled frame of premature old age; others again, with the gaunt, hang-dog, starved appearance of utter destitution, when hope, respectability and energy all have fled, and the unfortunate outcast slouches along, lost alike to shame and sorrow—bearing as it were the mark of Cain—

with only the bitterest feelings of hatred against his more fortunate fellow-men to feed upon and sustain him.

Christians (Protestant and Romanists) in faith, fairly, assiduous in their attendance on public worship and in their practice of Christian virtues; as citizens, law-abiding; as members of the general community, not defrauded of their share of gain for labour performed; treated by honourable and high-minded Englishmen as equals, the burghers of Ceylon are a source of safety to the nation, and, when better understood and more generously trusted, are likely to become still more powerful for good than they have hitherto been.

IV.

THE FUTURE OF THE BURGHERS.

We have already considered, incidentally, and to some extent answered in the negative, the question, "Will the burgher race in Ceylon die out?" Were the Dutch families intermarrying only among people who had come from Holland and their descendants unmarried to natives, but marrying entirely among themselves, the question of the acclimatization of the European race in India, and its possibility or impossibility might arise. As it is, the burghers will probably not prove to be the class from whose experience the question will receive confirmation or disapproval. So much have they become identified with the natives, that marriages with the latter have largely taken place and are likely to increase: vigour will be introduced into the race on that side, whilst from another quarter European energy and force is imparted. Many burgher young men, educated in Edinburgh and Aberdeen, have taken to themselves bonnie Scotch lasses for wives, and have strong, healthy families. Europeans employed on railways and elsewhere, and even those in higher stations, marry burgher or native women, and scarcely a case has come within the cognizance of the writer where such a marriage has been unhappy, or whence untoward results seem likely to flow. Generally law-abiding, steady, and often religious, these people would be a guarantee for moral order and the up-holding of British rule, were it not that the natives of Ceylon are so thoroughly identified with their English rulers and the English race, that they would neither desire to see them depart from the island, nor would they raise a hand to speed them forth. Consequently, the "poor white" question in Ceylon is robbed of those political perils which make it such a menace to the British occupation of India.

Circumstances which have recently occurred would seem to

indicate that longevity is not to be a characteristic of the class ; but this conclusion seems mocked and robbed of its significance in face of the fact of many aged burghers being still alive. Looking at the careers of the most notable amongst them, it would seem as if the brilliant talents which marked their early years sufficed to push them rapidly to the front, adding lustre upon lustre to the achievements recorded until the fortieth or fiftieth year was reached—just when Englishmen are in their prime,—when they suddenly collapsed and passed away,—exhibiting, not complete and rounded-off lives, but magnificent careers cut short ere promise had ripened into fulfilment. Unlike many English political and professional men they do not out-live their public lives and exist upon the memories of a past, but, dying in the full possession of their powers, the gap they leave is the greater, and the more splendid do their achievements seem in the eyes of their countrymen. Perhaps the ablest Ceylonese of his generation was Mr. Charles A. Lorenz, Prussian on his grandfather's side, and he died at the early age of 42 years, after exhibiting magnificent powers. James Stewart, Scotch paternally, had he been spared beyond his 31st year, would have done great things in the Government service, for he already stood on the highest steps of the legal ladder of local fame. Sir Richard Morgan, first of Her Majesty's Eurasian subjects to be knighted, only recently died at the age of fifty-four. His was a life rich in earnest endeavour ; Smiles's "Self-Help" does not tell of many Englishmen whose lives are more worthy of imitation than was Richard Morgan's. Left fatherless in infantile years, he worked his way upwards, through a bold vigorous early manhood spent in battling with authorities alien to the country, and intent mainly upon their own aggrandisement, to the chief seat of justice, and a place among the Knights of the British Empire. Others there are who have not died, but they have been withdrawn from the conflict of life, the delicate and subtle machinery of the mind giving way. It would not be proper to reason from the few conspicuous cases of early decease, to some of which prominence has been given, that the burgher race is likely to be a short-lived one : particular causes have intervened here which would not apply generally, and many cases might be cited on the other side, showing great longevity. It is urged that the reason for these early deaths is easily explainable. One man living the lives and doing the work of two or three men, cannot expect to exist long in a tropical climate. The zeal of the individuals mentioned was so great, that they forgot what they owed to themselves and to their families, and worked themselves to death.

The stratum from which such men as those who have been named were produced is not yet worked out, and the widening

necessities of the times demand that a succession of such should be fostered if the position of the race is to be maintained. To this end there is scope for the exercise of effort on the part of the authorities. It is not desired, for one moment, that this class should be pampered at the expense of any other section, or the whole of the community. What is demanded for them is sought for all, and in a fair field, with Tamil, Singhalese, and Moorman, they have no need to fear. As regards education, in which in a country like Ceylon, the initiative must rest with the Government, nothing whatever has been done to provide teaching one whit in advance of that which was taught in an English grammar school at the beginning of the present century, when science, instead of being widely diffused and honoured as it is now, was being barely tolerated in Franklin, and shamefully persecuted in the person of Priestley. The consequence of this lack of suitable teaching, is that in the higher branches of the scientific departments, burghers are conspicuous by their absence. And it is only in these departments that there is any lack of them. This cannot arise from the absence of faculties likely to respond to such tuition as is required, for in acquisition of medical knowledge and legal lore, demanding close attention and application, they yield place to their European compeers only in extent and value of practice, and that owing to prejudice. The faculties for good and exact work are there; they only want calling into action. The contest for the burgher seat in the Legislative Council, to which allusion has been made, was signalized by the publication of a political cartoon by the burgher newspaper, the *Examiner*, which, in the exactness of the human features and the happiness of the idea depicted, was surpassed by none of "Caro's" most successful drawings on the stone, when that artist brought short-lived popularity to the *Indian Figaro*, and laid bare the working, and exhibited to all India the *personnel* of the Baroda Court. Further, previous sketches by the same artist received high commendation from the (London), *Athenæum*. In the broadening social and mercantile life of the Colony, ample scope would be found for the energies of the people in art and in strictly scientific pursuits, were the Government, of what is now one of the most prosperous colonies under British rule, alive to the duty it owes to the subjects it avowedly governs "paternally."

The reference to the "paternal" rule of Ceylon opens up a question far too large to be dealt with at the close of a paper like the present, but in regard to the future of the burghers it is of vital and pressing interest. That question is—Whether or not the time has come when a representative Government should be established, and the people entrusted with the franchise. The writer thinks it has. Reasons in favour of this being conferred

might be multiplied.* We can now only look at some of the reasons in the aspect they bear to the class with whom we are now concerned. In an early number of this *Review*, we hope to be able to show the fitness of the natives for the franchise, and the good its conferment upon them would do; the advancement of the whole island, which would certainly follow. In his work on Representative Government, Mr. John Stuart Mill enumerates qualities which ought to be possessed by those to whom the franchise is to be entrusted. Every one of them finds a place in the burgher character, individually or collectively, and if voting power and governing scope were granted, would lead to such an upliftment of the national life as would ensure prosperity to the country. Purely native and burgher interests have not been so intelligently considered in the Legislature as they might and ought to have been, to make sure of the prosperity of "sons of the soil" proceeding side by side with that of the colonist European, merchant and planter, which has been great. Without neglecting large mercantile and planting interests, the claims of the people of the country might be considered and acknowledged, enriching the national life by the increased manliness given to the individual; the opening-up of hitherto neglected and peculiarly native parts of the country; putting upon every man's shoulder a share of the burden of government, and arousing an interest in what is going on in the country. Even on the lower principle that "taxation without representation is tyranny," the franchise should be granted for every able-bodied man in Ceylon between the ages of sixteen and sixty,—soldiers, immigrant coolies, and Buddhist priests alone excepted,—the villager as well as the resident in towns, ryot and artisan, merchant and clerk, pay a direct tax for the up-keep of roads every year. Direct taxation, in the shape of the income-tax, was swept away in India because of the tumult and discontent it caused: in Ceylon the commonest cooly pays his annual quota in hard cash, representing four days' labour, and no disturbance is ever thought of. One great wrong connected with this system is that the man whose salary is Rs. 20,000 per annum, and who probably possesses two or three carriages pays no more, but exactly the same, as his cooly, to whom he pays Rs. 10 per mensem, and who is innocent of any means of locomotion save by his own feet.

An eminently conservative project would be the conferment

* The word "conferred" may sound strangely to Anglo-Indian ears in such a connection, but it is not inappropriate; for in the chief arena of politics, the Legislative Council, by clause XXIII of Her Majesty's Instructions, the members are absolutely prohibited from opening their lips in that Chamber on the subject of the constitution of the Government.

of the franchise upon the burghers and natives (in common with British colonists) as it would place a certain measure of power in the hands of those whose home the country is, and whose lives are to be spent within its borders. The coffee enterprise is often brought forward as an illustration of the great good European capital and enterprise have done to the country. Undoubtedly it has been of immense benefit, but the indirect good it has conferred upon the natives is not the only light in which the subject should be looked at. The enterprise was not undertaken for the benefit of the people of the land, but for the enrichment of the colonist. Consequently, though the people have received a great deal of benefit from coffee planting, that pursuit also represents a great deal of wealth, taken from the island to help to enrich another country, *viz.*, England. The number of *absentee landlords*, all living in comfort, some in affluence, in other lands, and directly contributing nothing to the revenues of the country, is a matter which demands some attention from the authorities. If the incomes of non-residents could be taxed, and the proceeds applied to the elevation of the natives, educationally or otherwise, it would be only fair. The number of coffee estates owned by people wholly residing in England, and the shares held in Companies paying a large dividend out of the produce drawn from the island, are very great indeed. An approximation could be given, but as it would not be absolutely correct, it had better be withheld. The main object (and no great shame to them in one sense!) of English merchants, planters, and Civil servants in Ceylon, is to make money to be enjoyed at leisure in (to them) a better land. Some few there are who have made the island their permanent home and have identified themselves with its fortunes, but they bear no quotable ratio to those who strive to lay up to themselves treasure to scatter elsewhere. Only in so far as the progress of the island means their particular advantage, can they naturally be expected to take an interest in its advancement. Let there come a time of adversity, and they, so far as they were able, would withdraw to more lucrative scenes of traffic and labour. With the burghers as with the natives, it is far otherwise,—Ceylon is their home, and through good report and evil report they must remain in the land. Possessing, as we have seen that they do, public spirit and a desire for enlightenment, and bearing in mind the fact that with Representative Institutions the island would still be a part of the British Empire; that Englishmen would have a large share in its administration; that British trade would necessarily expand because it would be increasingly profitable; that the hill-sides of the mountainous interior would continue to be cultivated with coffee, tea, and chinchona, occupations peculiarly suited to the active Briton; surely it would be

but wisdom on the part of the chief island officials, and those members of the Colonial Office in Downing Street who virtually govern (sometimes mis-govern) the colony from a distance of six thousand miles, to relax their hold of power, and share some portion of it with those whose stake in the country, and whose intelligence would guarantee their right and proper use of it. This, from a strictly utilitarian point of view, and leaving out of consideration the right of duly-qualified British subjects to self-governing institutions.

These granted, a nobler generation than the present would necessarily arise. The Reform Bill of 1832, rendering possible Abolition of Corn Laws, Repeal of Navigation Laws, experiments in improved tilling of the soil, and a national system of education, has widened the horizon of the average Englishman's life, and rendered the attainment of a higher ideal, not only possible and realizable, but actually and already possessed, by the lower orders of the English population. Precisely the same results would follow from the adoption of a similar course in regard to the people of Ceylon. Ceylon is becoming Anglicized at a greater rapidity and to a much larger extent than many people imagine. "How very English!" was the remark frequently on the lips of members of the suite of the Prince of Wales on the occasion of the Royal visit to the island in December 1875. Especially was the forward state of the native population marked by Sir Bartle Frere, Bart., familiar with the more backward state of things in India. As allies of the British, always on the spot, and their influence persistently *telling* upon the natives in their close neighbourhood, it is the burgher community who have been the main civilizing element. Referring to the refusal of the Government of India to do anything for the poor European and Eurasian community of India, as stated in the letter of Mr. Howell, dated 15th April 1875, the *Madras Mail* says:—"The 'poor white' is loosening our hold upon India." As strong a link as any in the chain that binds Ceylon to England, is a precisely similar class which, across the "silver streak," partly spanned by Adam's bridge, is looked upon as a source of much weakness. What has been proved to be practicable in the one country is surely not unattainable in the other. Not, perhaps, exactly in the same way, for the circumstances of continent and island, mild despotism and *quasi* freedom, are vastly different, but in some way or other, surely the reproach of the "poor white" difficulty may be removed from the path of India's progress.

So far forward has the burgher community of Ceylon pressed, that they have more than the foundations of a national life of their own, and have not altogether to rely upon the incitements of English biography to stir them up to deeds of patience and of

social "derring do." This is a great step for any people, and particularly so for such a community as this. The example of well-doing in the face of great obstacles, of successful passing through great shoals of difficulty, stirs the blood of the ardent youth, whomsoever may be the hero whose deeds are contemplated, and whatsoever land may claim the hero as its own. But blood is thicker than aught else. To the French boy Napoleon's devotion to *la gloire* is infinitely more spirit-stirring and potent than Wellington's deification of duty, so fully and fearlessly carried out, that

"Whatever record leaped to light
He never could be shamed."

Similarly, the English lad will never think so much of, nor be so strongly impressed by M. de Lesseps' wedding Eastern and Western seas, as he will gloat over and try to imitate the persevering qualities of Richard Arkwright and George Stephenson. So, again, all these combined will be as nothing to the Ceylonese lad,—whether Burgher, Tamil, Singhalese, Moorman, or Malay,—as will a record of the way in which one whom they had gazed upon "struggled upwards," not amongst difficulties to which they are strangers, but face to face with the same sort of trials as those which are now testing their young efforts and checking their hopeful aspirations. On the bead-roll of those who have "ceased from their labours" among the mixed races of Ceylon, there are those who "being dead yet speak" in strains which only need collecting and harmonising with loving sympathy to make a music that shall prove a charm against evil indolence—the great vice of the East—and call to nobler life of citizen duty. The elements for this exist, but they have not yet been manipulated: may they soon be.

As an uplifting and civilizing force the burghers of Ceylon have been referred to. There is one aspect of their influence, in possibly far-reaching, which may not unworthily detain us for a moment. Mr. Grant Duff, in his "Notes of an Indian Journey," expresses his opinion that the English language is to become the common tongue of Hindustan. With one tongue, and that the English, will there also be a merging of the Indian past into the English past, an absorption of Hindu and Muhammadan national life and history into English history and British stored up experience? Such a thing has occurred in the United States and elsewhere, in places where the Anglo-Saxon race has proved itself so strong as to assimilate other nationalities without losing its own peculiarities, or becoming degraded in the operation. This fact is well brought out in the following extract:—

In addition to the great advantages above mentioned, our race has another peculiar to itself—so peculiar, indeed, as to be a phenomenon in history—it has the power of swelling its numbers faster than by its own

natural increase, yet by entirely peaceful processes, at the expense of other races. In the United States the children and grand-children of Germans, Italians, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Swedes are not a foreign element in the population ; in the third generation, indeed, they have not the slightest connection or association with the foreign element. If they speak the language of their grandfathers at all, they speak it with an English accent. Their sympathies, prejudices, and principles go with the language to which they are born. They become citizens, and valuable citizens, of the English-speaking world ; they regard the countrymen of their own forefathers as foreigners, they talk of themselves as "Anglo-Saxons," and they study the history of England as the land of their ancestors. This last is an almost ludicrous fact on paper, but it is the literal truth. This curious power which our race happens to have of swelling its own numbers by depleting other races, is at work also, to a certain extent, in all the huge provinces of the British Empire, as well as in the United States. In all parts of the world the process is likely to continue with increasing activity for many years to come, as the prestige of the race advances and its resources develop.*

It may be argued that the case of the United States, with its originally large English population, bears no analogy to that of India, where Europeans are, among its many peoples, but like scattered snow-flakes on a vast mountain slope. True ; yet in Ceylon, not altogether unlike India, what is described as having happened in the United States, is occurring there also. The English colonists are but few, yet the burghers first, and the natives close behind them, even now consider England as their home. The large majority of Dutch burghers in the island count themselves as Britons, and when their means permit of a trip to Europe,—England, and not Holland, is looked upon as the chief country which they will visit. They think as English subjects, and regard English institutions as their institutions. Queen Victoria is their Queen, and the English Parliament their Parliament. The same thing is generally true of the mixed population of Mauritius and its French descendants, as it is also on a larger scale with the French Canadians. The native inhabitants of Ceylon, and of India also, have no literature of the kind necessary for the life which the exact sciences have rendered alone possible for those people who are to continue, and not melt away before the advance of the Western Aryan. This literature is being, and will continue to be, obtained by India from England. It yet remains to be seen whether, having drank at this fount, the people of India will not become, in all their tastes, wishes, desires, Englishmen. In Ceylon the process, which can have no other end but this, is going on. The educated native, who is not a Christian, thinks the thoughts of John Stuart Mill, and talks the language of those Englishmen who boast that they have never felt the "need" of a higher than themselves to rest upon. Comparatively rapid is this change taking place in Ceylon, and in bringing it about, the burghers

* Letters of "An American" in the *Pall Mall Budget*.

are not to be counted as a small or unimportant factor. Further, the natives of Ceylon are brought into direct contact with Britons, through the increase of trade, and the wide extension of coffee, tea, and chinchona cultivation. Thus engaged (exclusive of military, but inclusive of women and children,—not a large proportion) there are between four and five thousand English, which is, to institute a comparison, as if in India there were nearly four hundred thousand unofficial English people, not wholly congregated in large cities, emporiums of trade, but scattered throughout every part of the continent, with, as allies, over a million Eurasians, generally of good character and with some degree of education. These remarks, however, merely play with the fringes of a great subject, and are suggested by the perusal of an article on a subject, kindred to the one considered in this paper, *viz.*, “The Eurasian Future;”^{*} they are, nevertheless, remarks which are warranted by the tendency of events as exhibited in the history of the burghers of Ceylon.

One word more: the facts gathered together in this paper exhibit a great anomaly, for they show that what in one land has been a source of weakness, is, within range of almost precisely the same influences, a “tower of strength.” There is no reason, whatever, why the Eurasians of India, instead of being degraded in the eyes of the natives, should not be, to the Hindus of all races, “elder brethren,” guiding, helping, and uplifting. In Ceylon this has come about in the ordinary course of things. In India there has been neglect which must be atoned for, a certain degree of humiliation undergone, and not a little effort put forth before the higher plane shall be reached, whereafter may be left to the ordinary current of life to keep good that which has been made good. To accomplish this India needs not a few men amongst her highest officials, and many more amongst the lower-placed men in office, and in the unofficial community generally, whose bowels, in the first case, shall not be made of red-tape and move in sympathy only by routine; or, in the other, who love the people of India more than a seat at the Board of Revenue and a large pension; or, in the last-mentioned case, those who prefer to aid their fellow-men more than to strive for the mere acquisition of wealth and early retirement to England. And, alas! India does not seem to have enough of them to solve the problem. Consequently, and again alas! the problem is being left to find a solution for itself, which it is doing—in misery, pain, and sorrow.

WM. DIGBY.

^{*} *The Eurasian Future.* By Surgeon-Major W. J. Moore, L.R.C.P. Indian Annals of Medical Science,

No. XXXII, for January 1874. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co.

ANCIENT INDIAN METAPHYSICS.

BY PROFESSOR A. E. GOUGH, M. A.

FEW if any of our readers will have failed to mark the tendency among scholars to direct their efforts more and more to the investigation of the stages of opinion, usage, inquiry, and social inter-relation, through which mankind have passed. Their task is the construction of scientific history. The study of masterpieces gives way to inquiry what facts have co-existed in each state of the past, how each later has arisen out of each earlier stage of human culture. That man may be known as he is, he is to be known as he has been, through generation after generation. Stages of life, hitherto neglected by the inquirer as unworthy of his powers, are now seen to have the earliest claim upon his attention. The growth of the intellect, the expansion of the sympathies, are to be watched from the outset. It will be found that while much is variable, something is constant, through the successive ages, and that in the fixed order of things it is but slowly that many of the convictions of the higher man have risen into clear and distinct consciousness. First truths have been the latest to manifest themselves. The structure of our thoughts is to be studied in the race, not only in the individual. History as supplementary to introspection is to equip men for the fulfilment of their calling, to know themselves that they may remake themselves.

This, or something like this, is the ideal by which students are more or less consciously actuated. A new fabric of knowledge is in erection. No material requisite to this, be it precious metal, stone, wood, hay, or stubble, shall be rejected. No regard shall be had to the attractive or the unattractive. The work must proceed as it may, and at the last its beauty will come out from the symmetry of the whole. Such is the apology for many a life of irksome labour, unprofitable in the view of the ordinary spectator. At present the inquirer must be contented to look to the future, and work on with little appreciable result.

These views and these feelings are so far prevalent, that a picture, suggestive and tentative as such a picture must at present be, of ancient Indian speculation, will be not without interest for general readers. It is true that there is little that is attractive in the "holy jungle" of Indian metaphysics. Its highest representatives, Sankarāchārya and Mādhavāchārya will be seen to be at best but acute schoolmen, subtle expositors. Still the Indian systems, rude as they are, exhibit the intellect at work under peculiar conditions, and will take their place, whenever they shall have been thought out and clothed in European

terms in the future histories of philosophy. To every man, and to every generation, the same questions have presented themselves : What am I ? What is all around me ? what, if anything, lies beyond those surroundings ? what is the explanation of the whole ? Or, in other words, with what conception of the totality of things shall the curiosity be quieted or silenced ? These questions have been asked in India as in Europe. Let us look at the answers which have been given to them in India. In this paper we shall look chiefly at the outcome of the earliest discussions, the Upanishads, in the Aupanishidi Mīmāṃsā or Vedānta.

In every age men have had some image or other of the totality of things to pacify their moments of reflection. In early times this image is impressed from without rather than constructed from within. It enters, bringing with it a mass of beliefs rude and incoherent, which spread abroad and are handed down unscrutinised. These are purely customary and sentimental products of general, not of individual, interpretation. By them, and partly by the necessities of social order, the earliest prescriptive custom is shaped out. The poet and the priest are they that add to their colour and form. Philosophy first emerges in the attempt to purify and to systematise these beliefs and to adjust them to a higher state of popular sentiment. And this is at first the work of the bolder or more gifted priests and poets.

To the early Aryans or semi-Aryans of India the powers of nature presented themselves as so many personal agents. Volitional activity was the only mode of unexpected or imposing change thinkable or expressible in language. Their representation and interpretation of all that took place around them was anthropomorphic. This was not a poetical fashion of talking, but the conception and the language necessitated to them. "Man's" early tendencies" are constantly leading to a wide and vague application of his whole nature, to see himself in everything, to recognise his will, and even his sensations, in the inanimate universe. This blind analogy is almost the first hypothesis of childhood. The child translates the external world by himself. He perceives, for example, successions under the law of casuality, but he adds to this casuality his own consciousness of voluntary effort. He perceives objects under the law of extension, but he has little conception of an extension which should overpass his own power of traversing it. The child personifies the stone that hurts him ; the childhood of superstition (whose genius is multiplicity), personifies the laws of nature as gods ; the childhood of philosophy (whose

* Archer Butler : Lectures on the History of Ancient Philosophy, p. 194.

genius is unity) made the world itself a living breathing animal, whose body Nature was, and God the soul."

Thus was it that to the ancient Indian a multitude of personalities manifested themselves in rain, in fire, in wind, in storms, and in the sun. In ever-varying aspects they stood above or round about mankind, ready to befriend or to injure them.

Sky and earth are the father and mother of gods and of men, Aditi, the unlimited visible expanse, is the mother of chiefs, and of heroes. Mitra, presiding over the day, calls upon men to bestir themselves, and watches all things with unwinking eye. Varuna, ruling the night, gives a cool place of rest to all that move, prepares a path for the sun, sends his spies through both the worlds, knows every wink of men's eyes, cherishes truth, and hates falsehood, seizes the evil-doers with his noose, is besought to have mercy on the sinner. The As'vins youthful, lustrous, and beautiful, go out in their golden car before the dawn, bringing health and riches to men. Ushas, the daughter of the sky, untouched with age, but bringing age to men, dispels the darkness, drives away the lurking enemies, comes to every house, wakes the sleepers, sends men to their work afield, makes the birds to fly aloft. Agony, variously generated, the offspring of the fire-drills, fed with butter, carries the offering to the gods, brings the deities to the sacrifice, is internunciary between gods and men. Sūrya proceeds through the sky in his chariot drawn by seven mares, seeing all things, looking upon the good and evil works of men. Indra, ruling the firmament, overthrows Vritra, the demon that obstructs the brightness of the sky, splits the cloud with his thunder-bolt, dashes the water to the earth, restores the sun to the heavens, protects the Aryan colour, and destroys the dark and degraded Dasyus, godless, prayerless, neglectful of sacrificial rites. Parjanya, the thundering rain-god, scatters showers from his water-skin and fills the earth and sky with fatness. "The winds blow, the lightnings play, the plants spring up, the sky fructifies, the earth teems for the good of all, when Parjanya visits the earth with moisture." The Maruts, or storm-gods, armed with lightning, clothed with rain, make darkness in the day, water the earth, and avert the heat. Soma, the mountain-growing milk-weed, invigorates the gods, exhilarates men, clothes the naked, heals the sick, gives eyes to the blind. With Yama, the regent of the dead, departed spirits abide in happiness amidst the fore-fathers of mankind.

Such and many others were the bright beings around them. It was well to flatter them with hymns, to feed them with butter, to intoxicate them with the juice of the moon-plant. Thus dealt

with they would become friendly and fatherly, and would send rain, food, cattle, children, and length of life.

All this has been told a hundred times. What concerns us here is that in all this vivid imagery and childlike belief there is little or nothing of moral or spiritual significance. A sinner is one that withholds prayer and praise and sacrifice from the gods, the robber, demon, or savage who infests the Aryan settlements. The pious man is he who flatters, and feeds, and bribes the gods.

δώρα θεοῖς πείθει, δῶρ αἰδοίους βασιλῆας.

The gods eat the offerings, and give in return the good things of life, rain, food, cattle, chariots, wealth, offspring, health, prosperity, a hundred years of life. Pleasures are to be enjoyed again in the after-life in the body in the realm of Yama.

As among other primitive races the sacrifices were offered as gifts, as compensation for mistakes or transgressions, that is, for dues withheld, and as necessary sustenance. The spirit of the Vedic sacrificer is that of the Maori feeding the wind :—

“ Lift up his offering,
To Uenga a te Rangi his offering,
Eat, O invisible one, listen to me,
Let that food bring you down from the sky.”

How much of this spirit went down to later times the Bhagavadgîtâ may testify :—

“ Prajâpati of old, after creating beings with the rite of sacrifice, said : By this shall you propagate yourselves : be this to you the cow of plenty. Sustain with this the gods and let the gods sustain you : sustaining each the other you shall attain the greatest happiness. Fed with the sacrifice, the gods shall give the food that you desire. He that without giving to them eats the food they give is a thief indeed. The good who eat what is left from the sacrifice are loosed from all their guilt, but they eat sin who cook for themselves alone. Living things are made of food ; the food proceeds from rain ; the rain proceeds from sacrifice ; the sacrifice from ritual.”

In the age of the Rishis the Indian tribes had reached a certain degree of order and prosperity. They were gathered together into villages and fenced cities, in houses of mud and of stone, under chiefs and princes. They tilled the soil, irrigated their fields with water-courses, tended flocks and herds, and following their individual aptitudes, worked as blacksmiths, wheelwrights, boatmakers, weavers, leeches, warriors, poets, priests. They fed on their flocks, drank soma and wine, and amused their leisure with games and spectacles.

With tranquillity and leisure as usual came uneasiness and inquiry. The poets began to speculate about the origin of the heavens and the earth. Sometimes they thought them made by the gods, or by one or other of the gods, after the manner of a human artisan. Sometimes they thought them generated by the

gods after the analogy of human parentage. Of earth and sky one of the Rishis inquires : " Which of these was first, and which was last ? How came they into being ? Sages, who among you knows ? " * " What was the forest ? " asks another, " what the tree from which they cut out the sky and the earth, abiding, not wearing out, while the days and many dawns have worn away ? " In one hymn they are the work of Visvakarman. In another it is Hiranya-garbha that arose in the beginning, the lord of existent things, that establishes the sky and the earth, that gives life and breath. In another it is Varuna, either alone, or associated with Mitra, that fixes the heavens, metes out the earth and dwells in all the worlds as ruler. Agni, sometimes the son of heaven and earth, is at other times said to have stretched out the earth and sky, to have inlaid the sky with stars, and to have made all that flies, or walks, or stands, or moves. In other places it is Indra that has generated the sun, the sky, the dawn ; that sets up the luminaries in the heavens, that upholds the two worlds, the waters, the plains, the mountains, and the sky. Elsewhere it is Soma that generates the earth and sky, that puts light into the sun, and stretches out the atmosphere. In another hymn Aditi, the illimitable visible expanse, is all that is : " Aditi is the sky, Aditi is the air, Aditi is the mother, and father, and son. Aditi is all the gods, and the five tribes of men. Aditi is whatever has been born, Aditi is whatever shall be born." The five tribes are Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, Sūdras, and Nishādas.

In the celebrated Nāsadiya-sūkta, Rig-veda X, 129, the universe arises out of darkness and chaos :—

" Nonentity was not, nor was entity. No air was then, no sky above. What shrouded all ? Where ? In the receptacle of what ? Was it water, the deep abyss ? Death was not then, nor immortality. There was no distinction of day and night. That one breathed stillly, self-determined : other than or beyond it there was naught. Darkness there was wrapped up in darkness. All this was undifferented water. That one that was void, covered with nothingness, developed itself by the power of rigorous contemplation. Desire first rose in it, which was the primal germ ; this sages seeking with the intellect have found in the heart to be the tie of entity to nonentity. The ray stretched out across these, was it above or was it below ? There were generating forces, there were mighty powers, a self-determined entity on this side, an energy beyond. Who, indeed, knows, who can declare whence it issued, whence this creation ? The gods are on this

* *Rig-veda* x, 31.7. This question is answered in the *Taittiriya-brahmana* ii, 8.9 : Absolute self was the forest, absolute self the tree, from

which they cut out the sky and the earth. See Muir : *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. V, p. 32.

side of its creation : Who then knows whence it came into existence ? This creation, whether if any made it, or whether any made it not ? He, who is the overseer in the highest heaven, he indeed knows, or haply knows not."

It will be seen below how this hymn is explained by the Indian schoolmen to contain implicitly the cosmology and theology of the Vedānta. Their interpretation may be strained, but it is likely to be nearer to the design of the ancient Rishi than any we can put upon it, with our thoughts determined as they are by wholly irrelevant antecedents. In examining Sanskrit literature we cannot be too cautious of being guided by our hereditary preconceptions. The poet appears to suppose a state of things in which the one undifferented being, spoken of under spiritual predicates, and therefore to be conceived as absolute self, exists side by side with some inscrutable principle spoken of as darkness, undifferented water, nothingness, neither entity nor nonentity. Thus associated the one undifferented passes into plurality and difference. If this construction be approximately correct, we certainly have in this hymn the rude materials of the absolute Egoism of the Upanishads, and the illusionism of the Vedānta, a doctrine branded by Vijnāna-bhikshu in the Sāṅkhya-pravachana-bhāṣya as the modern invention of crypto-Buddhists and false professors of the Vedānta. It will, however, soon appear that it may be questioned whether this illusionism or something like it be not the earliest philosophy of India, and whether Buddhism itself be not the acceptance of this philosophy, coupled with the rejection of the transcendent self as underlying the cosmical illusion, the knowledge of which the Brāhmanas arrogated to themselves as their exclusive right, and the substitution for it of a void or blank. Buddhism, as it is well known, originating among the non-Brāhmanic classes, offered itself to mankind as a catholic religion. However this may be, in this hymn we are brought to the dim and misty twilight that foreruns the dawn of Indian philosophy. As yet everything is confused and indistinct, but personalities are giving way to abstractions in the interpretation of the outer world. Philosophy can only be said fairly to exist when men begin to strive to shape for themselves a clear, distinct, and consecutive conception of the totality of things.

In Rig-veda X., 72-2 we read : " Brāhmanas-pati has forged these births (of the gods), as a blacksmith blows his flame : in the primal age of the gods entity came forth out of nonentity."

In the Puruṣa-Sūkta, Rig-veda X., 90, the fabrication of the world, the genesis of the Rik, the Sāman, and the Yajush, of the Brāhman, Rājanya, Vaisya and Sūdra, is from the sacrifice of Puruṣa by the gods, the Sādhyas, and the Rishis. " Puruṣa

has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet. He, compassing the earth on every side, stands ten fingers' breadth beyond. Purusha is all this, that which has been and that which is to be: the lord also of immortality; that which grows up with food. Such is his greatness, and more than this is Purusha: a quarter of him is all existing things, three-quarters that which is immortal in the sky." The Vedic hymns belong to widely different periods, and this is regarded as one of the latest. The exposition of Sāyana, or as he is otherwise called Mādhavāchārya, in the language of the Vedānta, will be detailed below.

The hymns made in generation after generation by the Rishis, who describe themselves as fashioning them as a wheelwright fashions a chariot, or as begetting them, or as sending them forth, or as having received as fabricated or generated by the gods, were handed down orally from age to age, till they came to be regarded as of inscrutable origin and authority. They were denied to be of personal invention.

* The Rishis had seen them. An elaborate sacrificial system had grown up, and ritual and legendary commentaries were constructed in the several Vedic schools. In these are further indications of an after-life and of retributions after death. Of these certain portions to be read in the solitude of the forests were styled Aranyakas. And from the Aranyakas proceeded the Upanishads, the treatises from which emanated the later Indian philosophy and theosophy.

The ancient Aryan tribes had become more and more assimilated to, and absorbed into, the earlier and ruder populations. "† The old Sanskrit literature proves that the Aryan population of India came in from the North-West at least three thousand years ago. And in the Veda these people portray themselves in characters which might have fitted the Gauls, the Germans, or the Goths. Unfortunately there is no evidence whether they were fair-haired or not. India was already peopled by a dark-complexioned people, more like the Australians than anyone else, and speaking a group of languages called Dravidian. They were fenced in on the north by the barrier of the Himalayas; but the Aryans poured from the plains of Central Asia over the Himalayas, into the great river basins of the Indus and the Ganges, where they have been in the main, absorbed into the pre-existing population, leaving as evidence of their immigration an extensive modification of the physical characters of the population,—a language, and a literature." It was apparently in consequence of this intermixture that they took up the doctrine of metempsychosis, as they adopted the cult of S'iva, and

* *Rishi* = *mantradrashtri*, Sāyana. Texts, Vol. II, page 285. Cf. Carpenter : Human Physiology, page 894
† Prof. Huxley, in Muir's Sanskrit

reinstated the usage of widow-burning. *S'iva or Mahadeva is thought to have been introduced as an entirely new divinity from the mountains of the north, and to have been grafted in upon the ancient religion by an identification with Rudra, the howling-god of tempests, the father of the Maruts. "The sacrifice of widows prohibited in fact, and retained in symbol, in the Vedic funeral rites, prevailed originally among all the Aryan tribes."† It appears to be not a new invention by the later Hindu priesthood, but the revival, under congenial influences, of an ancient Aryan rite belonging originally to a period earlier even than the Veda.

The doctrine of transmigration appears to be another mark of degradation from intermixture with the earlier and lower races. The ancient poets had looked forward to a second life of pleasure in the body among the fathers of mankind under the rule of Yama. As to punishment in a future state they are silent. ‡In later days a passage of the Satapatha-brāhmana relates how Bhrigu, the son of Varuna, visiting the four extremities of the world, saw men cut into pieces and eaten by others. These being asked by Bhrigu what this meant, said that they were revenging upon their victims the injuries they had suffered in the former world. Thus, in the later Vedic period, the Hindus had begun to "§coin their own hopes and fears, their own æsthetic preferences and repugnances, their own ethical aspiration to distribute rewards and punishments among the characters around them—into affirmative prophecies respecting an unknowable future, where neither verification nor elenchus was accessible." A work, which they carried out into minute and revolting detail, when they had come to accept the theory of metempsychosis.

Personality and exertive power, such as that of which they

* Muir: Sanskrit Texts, vol. iv. pp. 393 sqq.

† Tylor: Primitive Culture, vol. i. p. 420. Cf. 419: "The Aryan race gives striking examples of the rite of funeral human sacrifice in its sternest shape, whether in history or in myth that represents as truly as history the manners of old days. The episodes of the Trojan captives laid with the horses and hounds on the funeral pile of Patroklos, and of Evadne throwing herself into the funeral pile of her husband, and Pausanias's narrative of the suicide of the three Messenian widows, are among its Greek representatives. In Scandinavian myth, Baldr is burnt with his dwarf, foot-page, his horse

and saddle: Brynhild lies on the pile by her beloved Sigurd, and men and maids follow them after on the hell-way. Old mentions of slavonic heathendom describe the burning of the dead with clothing and weapons, horses and hounds, and above all, with wives. Thus St. Boniface says that "the Wends keep matrimonial love with so great zeal, that the wife may refuse to survive her husband, and she is held praiseworthy among women who slays herself with her own hand, that she may be burnt on one pyre with her lord."

‡ Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. v. p. 322.

§ Grote: *Plato*, vol. ii. p. 205.

are conscious in themselves is, by the lower races, associated with the figures of the dead seen in dreams, or in those life-like visions with which, from their long fastings and their use of narcotic drugs, they are so familiar. These figures are to them the surviving souls of the departed. They make no such distinction as the higher races make between the souls of men and the souls of inferior creatures. In their dreams and visions they see the figures of both alike before them, and in their every-day experience they find in both alike the manifestations of life and death, of discrimination, and of preference and repugnance passing into outward energy. "Savages talk quite seriously to beasts alive or dead, as they would to men alive or dead, offer them homage, ask pardon, when it is their painful duty to hunt and kill them." Plants and trees also, like animals and men, thrive and grow, or wither and decay. They, too, have some kind of soul or principle of life. But the savage faith in surrounding personalities stretches far beyond the limits of the organic world, and takes in a conception much more alien to the modern mind. Certain high savage races distinctly hold, and a large proportion of other savage and barbarian races make a more or less close approach to a theory of separable or surviving souls or spirits, belonging to stocks and stones, weapons, boats, food, clothes and ornaments, which to us are not merely soulless but lifeless." Even Rāma is presented with such animated weapons:—

†Facing the east, the glorious saint
Pure 'from all spot of earthly taint,
To Rāma, with delighted mind,
That noble host of spells consigned.
He taught the arms, whose lore is won
Hardly by gods, to Raghu's son.
He muttered low the spell, whose call
Summons those arms and rules them all ;
And, each invisible form and frame,
Before the monarch's son they came,
They stood and spoke in reverent guise
To Rāma with exulting cries ;
O noblest child of Raghu see,
Thy ministers and thralls are we.

‡ " Among the North American Indians, we hear of the Powhatans refraining from doing harm to certain small wood-birds, which received the souls of their chiefs ; of Huron souls turning into turtle-doves, after the burial of their bones at the feast of the dead ; of that pathetic funeral rite of the Iroquois, the setting-free of a bird on the evening of burial, to carry away the soul. In Mexico the Tlascalans thought that after death the souls

* Tylor : *Primitive Culture*, vol. i, p. 258. ‡ Tylor : *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii, p. 6.

† Griffith : *Rāmāyṇ*, vol. i, p. 145.

of nobles would animate beautiful singing birds, while plebians passed into weasels and beetles and such-like vile creatures. In Brazil the Tecunas are said to have believed in the transmigration after death into man or brute ; the Icannas say that the souls of the brave will become beautiful birds feeding on pleasant fruits, but cowards will be turned into reptiles. In Africa, again, mention is made of the Maravi thinking that the souls of bad men become jackals, and those of good men snakes. The Zulus, while admitting that a man may turn into a wasp or lizard, work out in the fullest way the idea of the dead becoming snakes, a creature whose change of skin has so often been associated with the thoughts of resurrection and immortality." The belief in transmigration appears again in ancient Egypt. It comes before us in the philosophy of Empedocles, in the teachings of Pythagoras ; and as a possible explanation of the pre-existence and post-existence of the soul, and of the inequalities of life, in the tentative and sceptical dialectics of Plato. To the Platonic Socrates, in the *Phædo*, as to the Hindu and Buddhist, philosophy is the only method of disengaging the soul from its successive embodiments. The souls of rapacious men and despots are to pass into the bodies of wolves or kites, those of men of uninquiring, unreflective social goodness, into the bodies of bees or ants ; it is philosophy alone that purifies the soul, detaches it from the body, and raises it to communion with the eternal and unchanging forms. In the vision of the future at the close of the Republic, bodies are chosen by souls after their periods of purification in the turns they draw by lot. The spirit of Orpheus chooses the life of a swan ; that of Thamyras, the life of a nightingale ; that of the Telamonian Ajax, the life of a lion. The doctrine seems to have been derived by the earlier Greek philosophers from Egypt or from India, and to have been taken up by Plato for suggestive illustration and imaginative embellishment. It was adopted by the Jewish Cabalists in the *Gilgul neshâmôth*, or revolution of spirits, till their re-entrance into divine substance ; and lingered long in Europe in the heresy of the Manichæans and of the sectaries that succeeded them. In the nineteenth century it reappears in the speculations of Fourier and Jean Reynaud.

The doctrine took a firmer hold upon the ancient Indian thinkers from its apparent explanation of the vicissitudes of life and the unequal allotment of earthly good and evil. *It

* " Nos âmes, avant d'apparaître, sur cette terre, ont vécu déjà dans d'autres mondes : car comment rendre compte autrement du mal physique et du mal moral ? Comment expliquer autrement que les hommes naissent dans des conditions si inégales, avec des prédispositions et des inclinations

si diverses ? Tout se comprend, au contraire, si l'on admet que nos âmes sont arrivées ici-bas chargées des fautes d'une vie antérieure : en ce sens nous avons tous commis le péché d'Adam, et nous l'expions tous." E. Poitou : *Les Philosophes Français contemporains*, p. 46 (J. Reynaud).

cleared the Demiurgus or supreme constructive intelligence from any charge of partiality and cruelty. If the strict follower of prescriptive custom is seen to suffer like other men, or even to suffer evils worse than others suffer, he is only eating the fruit of his actions in a former embodiment. These, or their abiding influences, cling unseen to the tenuous involucrum, the *linga-sarīra*, the invisible transmigrating body, which made up of the vital, sensitive and intellective organism, is associated with the untransmigrating transcendent self, and passes through the series of visible and tangible bodies.

It was yet further strengthened by the conviction that self was the only thing which could be neither made nor unmade, the one reality, ingenerable and indissoluble. The distinction had been early taken between the permanent and the fluctuating, the real and the phenomenal. "The notion of being, as distinguished from phenomenon, corresponds in its original signification with that which the mind conceives as permanent and unchangeable, in opposition to that which is regarded as transitory and fluctuating." Henceforth two principles continued to rule the whole metaphysics of India. Firstly, that what is, has not ever not been, nor can it ever cease to be, the real is eternal, *ab ante et à post: Nāsato vidyate bhāvo nābhāvo vidyate satah: Οὐδέν οὐδέ γίνεσθαι οὐδέ φθίρεισθαι τῶν ὄντων.*

† "In the world of permanence there is and can be no change, otherwise the permanent would not be permanent; in the world of being there is and can be no change. All change is the cessation, or putting off, or not being, of one state or determination, and the putting on, or being, of another state or determination. But in the world of being there can be no not-being of any state or determination, because this is the sphere of pure unmixed being, and not-being is absolutely excluded from it. And, therefore, inasmuch as not-being is absolutely excluded from this sphere, and inasmuch as not-being is essential to constitute change, it follows that all change is necessarily excluded from this sphere. In other words in the world of being there is no change, no creation, no becoming; that is, no coming into being and no going out of being; here is a mere dead unvarying uniformity." Secondly, that what is not constant, or eternal, is generable, mutable, dissoluble, has had a beginning and shall have an end, *παντί γ' εὐομένῳ φθοράν εἶναι.* "If the world of change included being, it would include the permanent, because being and the permanent are identical; but the permanent is excluded from the changeable by the very terms of the conception; therefore being is excluded from the world of change; in other words, in the world of change there is no being." Now, self was the one

* Mansel: Metaphysics, p. 8.

vol. 1., p. 106, p. 108.

† Ferrier: Lectures and Remains,

constant and abiding fact in every act of knowledge, amidst all the fluctuation of the things known. Self then had had no beginning and should have no end. As it is known, it is associated with body, but to assume this body to have been the first to which it was allied, would be a wholly arbitrary proceeding.

* "Aristotle tells us that the ancient philosophers were afraid of nothing more than this one thing, that anything should have been made out of nothing pre-existent; and therefore they must needs conclude, that the souls of all animals pre-existed before their generations. And, indeed, it is a thing very well known that, according to the sense of these philosophers, these two things were always included together in that one opinion of the soul's immortality, namely, its pre-existence as well as its post-existence. And therefore the assertors of the soul's immortality commonly began here; first, to prove its pre-existence, proceeding thence afterward to establish its permanency after death. This is the method used in Plato: our soul was somewhere before it came to exist in this present human form, and from thence it appears to be immortal, and such as will subsist after death. And the chief demonstration of the soul's existence to the ancients before Plato was this, because it is an entity really distinct from body as matter and the modifications of it; and no real substantial entity can either spring of itself out of nothing, or be made out of any other substance distinct from it, because nothing can be made.

ἐκ κενεὸς ἐνυπάρχοντος ἢ προϋπαρχόντος.

The apparent connection of the self with an organism and an extra-organic environment of objects ultimately resolvable into pleasure, pain, and indifference has proceeded from all eternity. Pleasure, pain, and indifference are the three *primordia rerum* of the Indian philosophers, the triple rope which confines the personal self to transmigratory experiences. They seem to have been equally facile in admitting the possibility of sensations apart from sentient beings and sensible things, with the most thorough-going modern experientialist. On the one side stands the absolute self, neither knowing, nor feeling, nor acting, nor suffering. On the other, pleasure, pain, indifference and all that emanates from them. And between them mediate certain common sensories or intellects, *per se* unconscious, and emanations from the unconscious *primordia*. It is only when the absolute self shines upon, or irradiates these intermediary intellects that consciousness and conscious activity come to light. The absolute self is not cognitive in our sense of the word cognitive, but illuminative.* By its light all

* Cudworth : Intellectual System of the Universe, vol. I., p. 70.

this world shines forth ; *tasya bhāsā sarvam idam vibhāti*. Consciousness and conscious activity arise in this manner, and continue only so long as the intellect, the senses, the vital breath, the body, are illusorily identified with the transcendent self. Identifying these with self, the transmigrating soul is actuated by desire and aversion, activity begets merit and demerit, merit and demerit necessitate further embodiments for the experience of the inevitable sequel of pleasures and pains. Births from works and works from births have proceeded in a recurring series from all eternity, like plants from seeds and seeds from plants, *vijānkuranyāyena*. The object world or sphere of fruition of merits is co-eternal with the transmigrating souls. It exists only that they may eat in it the fruits of their past actions, and that they may strive to extricate themselves from it. Action uneaten dwindles not away in thousands of millions of æons : *nābhuktam kshīyate karma kalpa-koti-satair api*.

This sphere of fruition or environment of transmigrating souls is generable, changeable, dissoluble ; it is projected from, sustained by, retracted into its emanatory cause. It rolls like a wheel unceasingly :

* Nec perit in tanto quicquam, mihi credite, mundo,
Sed variat, faciemque novat ; nascique vocatur
Incipere esse aliud, quam quod fuit ante, morique
Desinere illud idem : cum sint hac forsitan illa,
Hæc translata-illuc : summâ tamen omnia constant.

"One is born, another dies, one passes beyond his troubles, another comes into an evil plight, uncompanioned ; for father, mother, brother, son, and spiritual guide, his relatives, connections, friends, weep for a little space, then leave the lifeless body as it were a block, a clod, and depart with averted faces. Merit, and merit only, follows the body they forsake. Let men, therefore, still seek righteousness for their fellow-traveller. Brought on its way by merit, the soul shall rise to a high elysian state. Accompanied by demerit, it shall pass to a place of torment. Therefore, the wise should seek merit by riches rightly earned ; for merit is the only fellow-sojourner in a further life."

To the earliest Indians, as painted in the Vedic hymns, life was satisfying and pleasurable enough. They besought the gods for their full hundred years of it, and for an after-life in the whole body. With the belief in transmigration came discontent and despondency. What had they to look forward to but grief and pain, broken it might be with intervals of pleasure, itself empty and unsatisfying, the loss of those they loved, sickness, decay, and death, through an endless succession of embodiments. Each

present suffering, intolerable as itself might be, must be expected again and again. Even the merit that gained a sojourn in elysium, or the rank of a deity, must sooner or later be exhausted, and the soul descend to some lower sphere of experience. The pleasures of a paradise are tainted with the fear of their expiry, and with the disparity of conditions even there. " * As the station*attained by works in this world fails, even so fails the sphere won by sacred observances in a further state." "† Surveying the spheres won by merit, the Brāhman should attain to exemption from desire." A sojourn in a paradise is the highest reward offered to the observer of Brāhmanic ritual and prescriptive custom, but paradises and purgatories alike are but halting-places in the never ending journey. Merits, equally with demerits, are to be shunned ; both alike necessitate further transmigration. ‡ Merits and demerits are alike sin to the aspirant to the highest end of man, extrication from metempsychosis, the final cessation of pain, the isolation of self from all cognition, feeling, and action, the attainment of a state of pure indetermination, retraction into undifferented existence.

§ " Leaving undone the Vedic ritual, and doing that which he is forbidden to do, his spirit deluded by the things of sense, a man goes to a place of pain. Fulfilling the rites ordained and shunning that which is forbidden to him, a man shall pass into a pleasure-giving body in elysium and higher spheres. Not in these ordinances shall he find spiritual isolation with its exemption from all further embodiments ; for the reward of ordinances is generable and therefore transitory.

" Thus all the rites, the Jyotishtoma and the rest, have no power to carry a man to the further shore of this sea of metempsychosis. Skiffs for fishing at sea, little and unsteady, cannot cross to the land beyond, but fretted by the curling waves, fill with water, rock from side to side, seem about to sink, and fill those within with fear. So is it with these boats of sacrificial ordinances, drifting out upon the transmigratory sea, tremulous to the waves of lust and wrath, frail, and fitted only for the fishery of happiness in paradise and higher spheres. The rowers of those are the sacrificer and his wife, and the sixteen priests, the Adhvaryu and his fellows. No steersman is there, no self-mortifying spiritual guide in those boats of ritual upon the sea of transigrations, no favourable wind. Who would enter upon that sea trusting to boats so frail and every moment ready to founder of themselves ? Let none in quest

* Chhândogya Upanishad, viii. 1.

† Mundaka Upanishad, I, 2, 12.

‡ *Tarati pāpmanam harmāhar.*

mākhyaṃ : Śaṅkarāchārya, on Mundaka

Upanishad, iii. 2, 9.

§ *Atmapurāṇa*, xvi. 68-95.

of real felicity seek to cross in these the sea of transmigrations, fitted as they are only for fishing for elysian joys. They that take them and joyously abide in them reach not to that further shore. Their skiff is overset by the waves of lust and anger, they rise and sink upon the waters of decay and death, undergoing countless sorrows, urged with unceasing weariness of these fleeting lives. Still upon the sea of transitory embodiments,* upon the waters of illusion, like fishermen, they spend their days in giving pain to living things. Foolish, and wise, in their own conceit, doing evil to themselves and others, they drift to and fro upon that ocean of illusion. They know not that which they should do, they know not their own selves : by thousands they are *like the blind led by the blind. Led by the liturgist, so these that know not their own selves, and that yearn after paradise, are upon that dreadful sea of passing states, upon the waters of illusion. Or of themselves ever the thralls of lust and wrath, like wretched beings possessed of evil spirits, they know not their own misery. Little-minded they think that they have all they can desire, and laugh and sing like evil things under the fatality of works. Infatuated by this fatality they find their highest image of felicity in the body, that haunted tree infested by the evil spirit of concupiscence.. Rejoicing in the ruin of their enemies and in the prosperity of their friends, held fast by unconcern as by a monster of the sea, they know not that bliss that is the essence of their own souls. Thinking ordinances the highest good, engrossed in their passing lives, these all reap the fruit of their merits, till that, failing at the last, they fall from bliss with pain and sorrow. At the hour of death the rich with their children around them, are filled with anguish ; such is the sorrow of those in paradise upon the expiry of their merits. At the hour of death great is the anguish of a thriving prince : such is the sorrow of those in paradise upon the expiry of their merits. In paradise itself they are dependent and helpless. As in this world is the sorrow of the rich at the loss of their riches, such is the sorrow of the celestial sojourners at the loss of paradise. In the performance of the rites there is pain, in reaping the reward of the rites there is pain, at the exhaustion of the recompense there is the direful pain of being born again into the world. For into what shall the living soul pass upon its return from paradise, into a high, a middle, or a low embodiment, or shall it be born into a region of punishment ?”

The early Indians had, as we have seen, searched for some

* This simile is taken, like that of fall into a pit, or amidst thorns and the boat, from the Mundaka Upanishad. briers.” Sankarāchārya, Mundakopani-
“ Like the blind led by the blind they nishadbhāshya, 1, 2, 8.

explanation, that is for some satisfying conception, of the origin of things, under the impulse of curiosity. The belief in transmigration gave a sharper stimulus to the search, that some escape might be found from that continuous succession of painful states, from the imagination of which they shrank with so much horror. How to extricate himself from further transmigration became henceforth the great concern of the wise man.

In seeking for an *āpxī*, a principle on which the mind could rest as having found unity in the infinitude of things, they had laid hold of that distinction between the one and the many, the real and the apparent, the permanent and fluctuating, which was to determine all their future efforts. The one, the real, and the permanent, they identified with that which as unmanifested lies beneath the manifested, as infinite and unrelated, lies beyond the finite and related, necessitated to negative thought and withheld from positive conception.

In the world around them they found that everything was in ceaseless change and fluctuation, everything was generable and corruptible. And all these things were, they declared, ultimately resolvable into pleasure, pain, and indifference. That of which the environment of transmigrating souls was made, must be something of which these three, the cords which bound those souls were the constituents. With the Sāṅkhyas, accordingly, the *āpxī* is an emanatory principle consisting of pleasure, pain, and indifference in a state of co-equality *gunatraya sāmāyāvasthārupā prakritih*. With the Vedāntins the world is made of an illusion-projected illusion, an unreal unreality, pleasure, pain, and indifference in a state of co-equality, illusorily overspread upon the impersonal self from time without beginning. This fictitious illusion or unreal unreality is *avidyā trigunātmikā māyā gunatraya sāmāyam māyātattvam*.

* But looking inwards they found something one and continuous amidst all the variety and fluctuation of phenomena. There they found not only modifications, but that which underlay the modifications, not only a plurality, but a unity in which that plurality was contained and summed up. They declared, therefore, that the one, the real, was self, the impersonal or transcendent self, *ātman*, *Brāhman*, *puruṣa*. To the Vedāntins its unity was absolute. It was "one only without a second." * "This self is absolute, there is nought before it, nor after it, nor within it, nor without it." To the Sāṅkhyas its unity, which as certified in *Sruti*, the inscrutable revelation, they could not refuse, was community: there was a plurality of transcendent selves co-ordinate, but not co-identical. † "Self or *me* is the common

* Chhandogya Upanishad.

† Ferrier : *Institutes of Metaphysic*, p 75.

centre, the continually known rallying-point, in which all our cognitions meet and agree. It is the *ens unum et semper cognitum in omnibus notitiis*. Beside the *ego* or oneself, there is no other identical quality in our cognitions—as any one may convince himself upon reflection. He will find that he cannot lay his finger upon anything except *himself* and say—“This article of cognition, I must know along with whatever I know.” The *ātman* or self of the Indian philosophers is, however, not the *ego* of which we are conscious, but the *ego* identified with the unmanifested, transcending consciousness.

Self, as real, is ingenerable and uncorruptible without beginning and without end. It is not modified in cognition, feeling and volition, for it is as real, unmodifiable. * Transcending the relation of subject and object, it is a † mass of objectless cognition. It is existent, intelligence, and beatitude: existent as the one and only imperishable being; intelligence as self-luminous, as giving light to all things, making to appear all that does appear; beatitude ‡ as exempt from all evil, pain, and sorrow. Ever pure, intelligent and free: pure as § without desire and passionless, or as apart from illusory limitations, *nirupādhikā*; intelligent as irradiating all things; free as || unaffected by all transmigratory conditions. It abides apart from and beyond pleasure, pain, and indifference, the factors of all experience.

“It is not born, it never dies, it knows all, it proceeds from none, and none proceeds from it, unborn, eternal, undecaying, it perishes not when the body perishes.”

Self as unmodifiable, neither knows, nor feels, nor desires, nor wills, nor acts, nor suffers. All the cognitions, feelings, and exertions, which the uninitiated attribute to the self, belong in truth to their *per se* unconscious intellects or common sensories. These intellects or internal organs are emanations from *prakṛiti* or *avidyā*. They are dark, or as we should say, unconscious, until the light of the transcendent self is cast upon them. It is by reflexion upon, or juxtaposition to these that the one impersonal self passes, unreally and in appearance only, into the many personal selves of this world of every-day experience. By the light of the transcendent self, which, be it ever remembered, is not cognitive, but illuminative, the modifications of the common sensories, in themselves dark or unconscious, become luminous or conscious modifications. Self is the light of lights, beyond the darkness. ¶ “To it the sun gives no light, nor the moon and

* *Jñātrijneya bhārātrikta.*

† *Nityam nirvishayan jñānam,*
Upadesas'ahadri.

‡ Kena Upanishad, II. 18, partly
re-produced in Bhagavadgītā, II. 20.

§ *Sarvāndrthaduhkhāydsapranakī,*
Mundakopanishadbhāṣya.

|| *Kāmādidoshavarjita,* Padayojanikā.

¶ *Sarva sansara dharmaarahita.*

stars, nor the lightning, how then should fire? That as it shines, all the world shines after, by the light of that all this world shines forth."

Individual souls or personal selves are the universal or impersonal self, the absolute *ego*, as in juxtaposition to, or mirrored upon, that is illusively identified with, the common sensories, or internal organs, so called as inclosed in the bodies of animated creatures. These internal or common sensories belong not to the real self, not to the absolute *ego*, but to the object world, or environment of transmigrating souls. You, I, and others, are only the one impersonal self illusorily limited to this, that, or the other common sensory, and passing with the tenuous *involucra* from body to body. The absolute *ego*, the transcendent self illusorily limited by illusion, unreally conditioned by unreality, by that *māyā* that is co-eternal with itself, passes into innumerable personal *egos*, through the fatal operation of works, from time without beginning, in æon after æon. God is self,—not self *per se*, but illusion-limited self. * "He should know that the emanatory *principium* is illusion, and that the illuded is God, and that by the portions of that illuded one all this world is occupied." Diffused through the vital, sensitive, cognitive, and active organisms, which collectively make up the tenuous *involucra* the invisible integuments, *lingas'arīra*, of transmigrating souls, the illusion-conditioned self is Purusha, or Hiranya-garbha so-called either as contained within, or as containing, the mundane egg, or shell of the starry universe, *brahmānda*. Entering the gross or visible bodies of all sentiencies the illusion-limited self is Virāt. Hiranya-garbha is also called the thread-souls, *sūtrātman*, as passing through all tenuous *involucra* like a thread. Thus, then, the absolute self passes into consciousness only in the totality of sentient beings, or personal selves. God, as some of the Hegelians would say, is the universe in its higher manifestations.

To illustrate all this with the imagery of the Upanishads. The innumerable personal selves are to the one impersonal self, the absolute *ego*, like the many suns mirrored upon the ruffled surface of a sheet of water; like the many waters of the same stream; like the many rivers that rise from the sea to return to the sea again, their springs being constantly renewed with the waters, which rise by evaporation from the ocean; like the many sparks, which rise from, and disappear into, the same fire; like the ether occupying many water jars, which, when the jars are broken, passes beyond its apparent limitations into union with the ether indivisible and infinite.†

* Mundaka Upanishad, II, 2,—10, and Katha Upanishad, v. 15.

† S'vetā, vāra Upanishad, iv. 10.

Illusorily associated with illusion self-imagined the absolute ego is that which differentiates into name and colour, the audible and visible, *nāmurūpavyākārtri*. From self thus illusorily-limited emanate all things like and unlike itself as sparks and smoke, like and unlike, proceed from fire; as things movable and immovable proceed from earth, as nails and hair insentient grow from sentient man. Upon the transcendent self the whole flow of transmigratory states, the whole world of experience, is illusorily superposed by that indefinable illusion, which has imagined itself from all eternity. “*Illusion neither entity nor nonentity, nor both in one, inexplicable as real or unreal, fictitiously existent from and to all eternity.” All that presents itself to the personal self in its series of embodiments lies unreal above the real, like the blueness of the sky, which we see there, though there it is not, like the waters of a mirage, like the visions of the dreaming phantasy, like the airy fabric of a reverie, like a bubble on the surface of a stream, like the silver seen on the shell of the pearl-oyster, like the snake that the belated wayfarer sees in a piece of rope, like the gloom that encircles the owl amidst the noonday glare. The soul lies pent with the body as in a prison, illusion-bound. All the stir of daily life is like the gliding of the trees upon the river bank past the listless spectator in a boat that floats down the stream. All that is known, and done, and suffered, in life after life is the phantasmagory of a waking dream.

The silver seen upon the shell is, according to the Vedāntins, actually *seen* there, it is an object of presentative consciousness. Unreal silver has come into being. It is made of illusion, the mental representation of silver formerly perceived being merely a concurrent condition of its genesis. Its apparent existence is terminable by knowledge, by the recognition of the shell which is its illusory support. This termination of an unreal precept by knowledge is technically called its sublation, *bādha*. The doctrine of unreal production is technically called *asatkhyāti*, cognition of the unreal. It is opposed to the doctrine of the Naiyāyikas styled *anyathākhyāti*, cognition of a thing otherwise than as it is, the cognition of a thing under other modes or attributes than those which it really possesses. All the objects of our every-day experience are terminable by knowledge, like the silver on the shell, like the snake in the rope. They, too, have been illusorily superposed upon the real, the one and only impersonal self. They

* *Nāsad rūpā na sadrūpā māyā naivobhayātmikā, sādāsadbhāyām anirvachyā, mithyābhūtā sanātani: Sān khyāpravachanabhāshya*, compare the kind of being allowed in the Platonic philosophy to the fluctuating parti-

culars of sense apart from the eternal forms of the reason: τὰ τῶν πολλῶν πολλὰ νόμιμα καλῶν τό περί και τῶν ἄλλων μεταξύ πον κυλινδεῖται τοῦ τεμῆ ὄντος και τοῦ ὄντος εἰλικριῶς.

are to be sublated by knowledge. The illusion from which they issue is relative to the unity of all personal souls in the absolute *ego*. They are to be sublated, the whole series of transmigratory states is to be brought to a close, for this or that personal soul, by the knowlege of the unity of all personal selves in the one transcendent self. The existence of the silver on the shell, of the snake in the rope, of the waters in the mirage, is merely apparent, which may be sublated by every-day knowledge, *prātibhāsikā sattā*; the existence of the things about which we are conversant in our daily life is a conventional existence, an existence allowed by commonsense, which may be sublated by transcendent knowledge, *vyāvahārikī sattā*; the existence of the one and only real, of the impersonal self, or absolute *ego*, which cannot be sublated, is real existence, *pāramarthikā sattā*. From the higher point of view the existence of the silver on the shell, and of the silver of the coin, which passes from hand to hand, is alike fictitious.

Here, then, is the *fons et origo mali*, the root of pain, the source of metempsychosis. Self has been illusorily associated from all eternity with an inexplicable illusion, the real has been unreally overspread with unreality. Thus illuded self, through the retributive fatality of merits and demerits, from time without beginning has identified itself with that which is not self, with the body, with the senses, with the intellect. Hence it has been implicated, as innumerable personal selves, in unreal cognition, action, and passion, through life after life. * "From death to death, he goes who looks on this as manifold." And the disparate allotment of all this apparent experience has been determined by the retributive fatality of works; births from works, and works from births from time without beginning, as plant from seed and seed from plant. The process of the creation, or evolution of this world, or place of fruition of merits for transmigrating souls, is as follows:—From the illusorily determined impersonal self first emanates ether, from ether air, from air light, from light water, from water earth. From these in their imperceptible state, the subtile elements, emanate the tenuous *involutra* of transmigrating souls, made up of the five cognitive and five active organs, the intellect, the cogitant principle *manas*, and the five vital airs. The intellect, together with the cognitive organs, is the sensational wrapper, *vijnānamayakosa*. The cogitant principle, together with the five active organs, is the sensorial wrapper, *manomayakosa*. The five vital airs, together with the active organs, make up the vital wrapper, *prānamayakosa*. These three wrappers together make up the tenuous *involutrum* of the transmigrating spirit, which accompanies it through all its

* *Mṛityoh sa mṛityam eti ya iha naneva paśyati.*

wanderings. * The individual soul is the absolute self illusorily limited to this or that subtle frame to which adhere illusion, and its resultant desires, actions, and merits and demerits. The totality of these subtle bodies is the tenuous *involucrum* of Hiranya-garbha. From the subtle elements, emanate with successive degrees of complexity, the gross or perceptible elements ; from ether, with the quality of sound, air, with the qualities of sound and tangibility ; from air light, with the qualities of sound, tangibility and colour ; from light water, with the qualities of sound, tangibility, colour, and taste ; from water earth, with the qualities of sound, tangibility, colour, taste, and smell. Each later element contains in it portions of each earlier element, in the series, and the progressive complication is technically called quintuplication, *panchi-karana*. From these gross elements emanate the spheres of fruition of deserts for transmigrating souls, and the mundane egg, or shell of the starry universe, *brahmānda* and the bodies of the various sentiences that people it. The absolute Ego as illusorily limited to the totality of visible bodies, or gross integuments of the transmigrating, personal selves, is the spirit of humanity, Vaisvānara, so called as illusorily identifying itself with the totality of the souls of mankind ; and also styled Virāt. These visible bodies are the nutritive wrapper of the transmigrating soul, its "muddy vesture of decay."

From metempsychosis there is but one mode of extrication. Illusion, with its enveloping and projective powers, has hidden from the self its real, and impersonal unity, and spread out that world of painful experiences, through which it passes in bondage, through the fatality of works. Merits, as we have seen, equally with demerits, serve but to prolong its slavery, the series of its embodiments, except in so far as they effect that purification of the intellect which is requisite in the aspirant to liberation. The fulfilment of revealed and traditional ordinances is relative to the states of fruition. † It leaves the curtain which veils the absolute still unlifted. The personal self can be delivered only by a knowledge of its own transcendent reality, a knowledge of the unity of all individual souls in the universal self that is for ever absolved from all transmigratory experiences. Knowledge of the absolute Ego is the only means of liberation. "He passes beyond sorrow that knows the transcendent self," ‡ "he that knows the absolute becomes the absolute," "being the absolute he goes to the absolute." Even this highest of cognitions, this intuition, of the absolute self, is but a modification of the purified intellect,

* *Avidyākūṣṇmakarma vāsanānām
asraya lingam upadhir yasyātmanah
sa jīvah. Ananda-giri.*

† *Vedāntachinmouss passim.*
‡ *Tarati sokam ātmavit. Brahma-
vid brahmaiva bhavati.*

which must itself pass away, as the finite souls attain to isolation, to pure indetermination, to retractation, into undifferentiated existence. On the side of this cognition all works but those in actual operation, those that determine the present embodiment, are burnt up in the fire of transcendent knowledge. * "There is no purification equal to that of knowledge." The aspirant liberated while yet living *jivan-mukta*, must wait a little till his present body perishes, to enter into the one and only being.

The *karmavidya* or knowledge of ordinances is requisite to the purification of the intellect of the aspirant to liberation. It is prerequisite to the *brahma-vidya* or knowledge of the impersonal self, the only means of extrication from metempsychosis. "Brahmā," says the Mundaka Upanishad, "emanated first of all the deities, the maker of the universe, the sustainer of the world. He declared the knowledge of the absolute *ego*, the cognition that contains all cognitions, to his eldest son, Atharvan. The knowledge of the impersonal soul which Brahmā had declared to Atharvan, Atharvan declared of old to Angis. He delivered to Satyavāha the Bhāradvāja, and Satyavāha to Angiras that knowledge of the highest and the lowest. S'aunāka, the great householder, approached Angiras with all prescriptive formality, and inquired: *What, holy Sir, must be known that ALL this may be known?* To him S'unaka said: Two sciences, they that know the Veda tell us, must be known, the inferior and the superior. Of these the inferior is the Rig-veda, the Yajurveda, the Sāmaveda, the Atharvaveda, the phonetics, ritual, grammar, etymology, prosody, and astronomy. The superior is that by which the undecaying is attained. That which none can see, and none can handle, that which has no family, and no colour, that which has neither eyes, nor ears, nor hands, nor feet, infinitely diversified, everywhere present, altogether imperceptible, that is the imperishable which sages behold as the source of all. As the spider projects and retracts its threads, as plants spring up upon the earth, as from the living man grow the hairs of the head and body, so from the imperishable emanates this universe. With self-coercion the impersonal self begins to germinate. Thence nutriment emanates; from nutriment the vital air, the thinking organ, the elements, the spheres, and upon works the never-dying principle. From that knowing all and knowing everything, of which the self-coercion is knowledge, emanates Brahmā and name and form, and the undeveloped."

What must be known, that all this may be known? What, as Sankārācharya explains the question, is the one emanatory

* *Brahmaiva san brahmaiva bhavati Nasti jnanasamam pavitram.*

principle from which all the diversity in the world proceeds? by knowing what we should know all things, as in the existing order of things, all individuals, individual pieces of gold, for example, are known, if we know the universals under which they are contained, the nature of gold and the like? The all-explaining principle must be the highest universal, the *summum genus*, and this is pure being, undifferentiated existence; identified with the transcendent self. * "The very conception of reducing the diversified exuberance, the infinite plenitude of Nature, to the unity of one principle, showed a speculative boldness, which proved that a new intellectual era was dawning on mankind. To perceive that truth was to be found in the one, and not in the many, was no insignificant discovery. To be convinced that a thread of simplicity ran through all the complex phenomena of the universe was the inauguration of a new epoch—was a great step taken in advance of all that had gone before—was, in fact, the very first movement which gave birth to science among men." "To set forth being as the universal, as that in which all things are identical, to declare that being is the truth of the universe; this, to us who live in these latter times, may seem to be a very trivial and uninformative dogma. But we have to remember that we, as soon as we were born, have entered on an inheritance of thoughts and of words, from which these early thinkers were altogether cut off. They had to think out and to devise what we find already thought out and devised to our hand."

† The inferior science is conversant about the conditions and results of merit and demerit, it is a knowledge of works, *karmavidyā*. This is set out in the Rig-veda, the Yajurveda, the Sāmaveda, the Atharvaveda and the Vedāṅgas. It has to do only with injunctions and prohibitions, and has no power to put a stop to illusion and the other imperfections from which transmigration results. The superior science is the knowledge of the impersonal self, to be received from a traditional spiritual director, and requiring as a preliminary indifference to all objects, to all means and ends. It is set out in the Upanishads, which are so called as annulling all further birth, decay, sickness, and other miseries in those that apply themselves with all their soul to the knowledge of the transcendent self; or as bringing individual souls into union with the universal soul; or as abolishing illusion, or one or other of the other causes of metempsychosis.

With self-coercion the impersonal self begins to germinate. The self-coercion of the absolute *ego* is a cognition, a contemplation of the things to be brought into being, that the personal

* Ferrier : Lectures and Remains, *śhādbhāṣya*.

Vol. I, page. 40, and page 92.

Sankārāchārya : Mundakopanis-

† *Gw'uprasāda-lābhyā*.

selves, into which under its illusory limitations the absolute *ego* passes may have fruition of their good and evil works, Thence nutriment emanates. Nutriment is the pabulum of transmigrating souls, the pleasure or pain of which they are to have fruition through the retributive fatality of works. It is the undeveloped matter of the various states to be assigned to the personal selves in their successive embodiments. This nutriment, the undeveloped, the *rudis indegestaque moles* of the forthcoming environments of individual souls, emanates from the impersonal *ego* passing into manifestation through knowledge and the power of projecting, sustaining, and retracting all sentiencies and their surroundings. "Out of this undeveloped or undifferenced, about to be differenced, and from the absolute *ego*, emanates Hiranya-garbha, the soul of the universe, presiding with knowledge, activity and power over all the environments of transmigrating souls, the germinating seed of the totality of things existent through illusion, desire, and retributive fatality."

This undeveloped or as yet formless state of things, is illusion in its state of retraction into the undifferenced self *pralayā-vasthāpannāvidyā*. It is the later interpretation of the chaos the Nāsadiya-sūkta, in which "nonentity was not, nor entity." It is treated of in detail with special reference, as the scholiast says, to that hymn, in the sixteenth chapter of the Atma-purāṇa: "This was darkness, unperceived, characterless, unthinkable, unspeakable, dormant everywhere. Nonentity was not that which is now called non-existence, nor was entity that which is now styled existence. This covering of darkness was not the darkness which is exclusive of light. Before the creation or evolution of things, ether and the other elements did not exist, nor day, nor night, nor the morning and evening twilights, nor the sun and other luminaries, nor the four kinds of living creatures. The emanatory *principium* was then a mass of darkness, neither like death, nor deathless, nor as yet illuding its own self. The material of name and form in the transmigratory environments, the undeveloped, the uncaused cause, knowable only from sacred institutes, was uncharacterised as yet. The material which has a *quasi* existence, but no real being, which is an entity without beginning, yet terminable by knowledge of the absolute *ego*; the material of the implication and actuation of the unimplicated and inactive self, dependent and unconscious, and marked with other unthinkable characters:—From that, from the near proximity of the impersonal self, emanated Hiranya-garbha, supreme among personal selves, proclaimed to be the totality of individual spirits. This supreme soul dwells in the eleven organs, the vital air, and the five subtile elements. From that emanated the five gross elements, and the supreme illusorily identifying himself with them is Virāt.

Residing in these gross elements the Creator of the world desired the mundane egg for his envelopment ; and, through the efficacy of his desire, emanated that egg resting upon the waters, golden, brilliant as ten million suns, containing within it the seven worlds containing time. The primeval Brāhma himself, the progenitor of the worlds, arose within that golden egg from Meru, the bud of the earth-lotus."

A translation and analysis of the Nāsadiya-sūkta, Rigveda, x. 129, according to the exposition of Sāyana, will further serve to show how the later Indian theosophy grew out of, or was grafted upon, the speculations of the ancient Rishis. It will serve at the same time as a further elucidation of the doctrines of the Vedānta. It must be premised that the environment of transmigrating souls being, like those souls, and the blind and fatal retribution of their works from all eternity, the world* has passed through creation or evolution, sustentation and resolution, or retraction into undifferentiated existence, through an infinite progress of æons. Sāyana tells us that the Nāsadiya-Sūkta first exhibits the state of things in which a former world has been dissolved, and a later world not yet evolved, the state of retraction, *nirasta-samasta-prapanchā pralayāvasthā*. Nonentity was not, nor entity, no worlds were there, no sky above. What covered? Where? In the receptacle of what? Was it water, the deep abyss? The primary material, *mūla kārana*, of the transmigratory environment was not in that state of retraction a nonentity. It was not a purely chimerical thing, an absurdity, such as the horns of a hair. From such a principle the existing world could not have emanated. It was not entity : it was not a reality like the absolute Ego. The primary material was neither nonentity nor entity, but inexplicable, a thing of which nothing can be intelligibly predicated. No denial of *all* real existence is intended, it being said further on : That one breathed without afflation. Real existence, is denied not of the impersonal self, but of the mundane illusion, *māyā* conventional or commonsense existence is next denied of the world in that

* Cf. Herbert Spencer : *First Principles*, p. 537.

"Apparently the universally co-existent forces of attraction and repulsion, which, as we have seen, necessitate rhythm in all the minor changes throughout the universe, also necessitate rhythm in the totality of its changes—produce now an immeasurable period, during which the attractive forces predominating, cause universal concentration, and then an immeasurable period, during which

the repulsive forces predominating, cause universal diffusion—alternate eras of evolution and dissolution. And thus, there is suggested, the conception of a past, during which there have been successive evolutions analogous to that which is now going on ; and a future during which successive other such evolutions may go on—ever the same in principle, but never the same in concrete result."

state of retraction. No worlds were there: the seven lower places of fruition, from the nethermost up to the world in which we live then were not. No sky above: the seven higher places of fruition from the space between the earth and the sun up to the place of Brahmā then were not. The mundane egg, the shell of the starry universe, had not emanated from the illusorily limited absolute self. The elements had not come into existence to cover or illusorily overspread the transcendent self. In the receptacle of what? There were no personal or transmigrating selves in the pleasurable and painful experience of which those overspreading elements could reside. Creation or evolution is for the fruition of merits by transmigrating souls. It is only in the state of evolution that the elements illusorily overspread the spheres of fruition, but in the state of dissolution, now under description, all personal souls had been merged into the one impersonal, through the retraction of their illusory adjuncts. There were then no places of fruition, no souls passing through pleasures and pains. There was no water, no fathomless abyss of misery. The text is relative to an intermediate state of universal dissolution.

“Death was not then no immortality, no distinction between night and day. That one breathed without afflation by the self-supported; other than that there was naught, beyond it nothing.” In the state of universal retraction the retractator, here spoken of, death, did not exist. All the merits and demerits of all transmigrating souls, which by their ripening had determined in those souls experience of pleasure and pain, having been exhausted by fruition, there was no longer any end for which the world of transmigration conditions should exist. There had, therefore, arisen in the mind, the illusory adjunct, of the Creator, the purpose of retracting it. He accordingly retracts the world, his illusory adjunct is retracted, and he is no longer the retractator, but pure indifferenced existence. Time itself in which all things are contained, no longer existed: there was no distinction of day and night. There was neither sun, nor moon, nor day, nor night, nor month, nor year. That one breathed without afflation. Apart from its illusory adjunct the absolute *ego* has no breath, as the text says: Without vital air, without cogitant organ, pure. Breathing is literally predicable only of the personal or illusion limited *ego*. When, therefore, breathing is attributed to that principle, set out in all the Upanishads, it is added that its breathing was without afflation. The absolute *ego* had not as yet passed into innumerable personal souls. The words by the self-supported are added, lest it should be urged that the absolute *ego*, as apart from illusory adjuncts, can have no connection with illusion, and that, therefore, an independently existing emanative principle, such as that

the Sāṅkhyas contend for must be supposed. * The self-supporting is illusion, as self-positing, self-contained. With that self-positing illusion, the absolute *ego* is in a state of non-separation. It is not *really* associated with illusion, but an unreal connection with illusion is illusorily superposed upon the absolute *ego*, in the same manner as unreal silver is illusorily superposed upon the shell of the pearl-oyster in the familiar illustration. There is an *appearance* of union between the cosmical illusion and the transcendent reality, but this is only for the unreflective, a fact of common sense or unrectified experience. To the reflective, the illusion is unintelligible. the transcendent self is real. † There was nothing else than it or beyond it : there was no world of elements and elemental things anterior to the illusion-associated transcendent self.

“Darkness there was wrapped in darkness ; in the beginning all this was undistinguishable water : that which was full of unreality, that one by the power of contemplation came into being.” Before its evolution this world was involved in darkness, as all things at night are covered with darkness. Entitative illusion, *māyā*, is here called darkness, because it overspreads and conceals the absolute *ego*. ‡ The evolution of the universe is its emersion out of this darkness or illusion under name and form. The world has thus pre-existed in its material cause, and the teaching of the Nāiyāyikas and Vaiseshikas, that, in the genesis of things a hitherto non-existent thing is brought into existence, is thus discountenanced. All things have pre-existed from everlasting in their causes, yet there were in the state of universal dissolution, no worlds ; there was darkness, that is, there was entitative illusion called darkness, the emanatory principle, with which its emanatory effects were then identical. All this was undistinguishable, the world was not distinctly cognisable under name and form, as it is in its state of conventional existence, the state that is, in which, as at present, it has an existence sufficient for the transactions of every-day life. Water, *salila*, means either that things were then refunded into their causes, or that there was nothing to which they could be likened. The world was undistinguishable from the darkness or illusion, as water mixed with a certain proportion of milk, is undistinguishable from milk. It was full of unreality, over-spread with illusorily projected illusion, neither entity nor nonentity. That one, the totality of things as yet residing unified in their cause, emanated by the power of contemplation, through the efficacy of the survey of the things about to be created by the creative spirit.

* *Srasman dhīyate, dhriyate, āsritya nāsti.*
varata itī svadhū māyā.

‡ *Achchhādakatvāt tasmāt tamaso*
nāma upāohyam yadāvīrbhavanam
kinchana bhūtabhantikāmakam jagan tad eva tasya janmety uchyate.

That the self-coercion ascribed to the illusorily-limited absolute self, is a contemplation of things, is revealed in another text : Who knows all, who knows everything ; whose self-coercion is contemplation."

"Desire arose in the beginning thereof; the first germ of the mind from which it came into being : sages having searched with the intellect in the heart have found this the tie which binds entity to nonentity." In the state of universal dissolution antecedent to the evolution of the world, desire, the creative volition, arose in the mind of the Creator, the illusorily-limited absolute *ego*. The first germ of the mind, the good and evil actions of a past æon, still in their residues resided in the common sensories of transmigrating souls, re-absorbed as those common sensories had been into illusion, and these were the germ of the evolution now to take place. This was the motive from which the creative purpose arose in the mind of the Creator, it being He who assigns to transmigrating souls their several kinds of fruition, who is the universal witness, and who presides over the retributive fatality of works. As soon as the creative purpose had arisen, he contemplated that which had to be created, and proceeded to project the universe, the whole series, that is to say, of environments of transmigrating spirits. Sages, mystics, who know all things past, present, and to come, having searched with the intellect fixed by abstraction upon the heart,* in which the transcendent self has its site, have discovered that the works of transmigrating souls in a former æon are the tie, the casual nexus that binds the world which we now know to exist, to the non-existent, to its unreal emanatory cause as yet undeveloped.

"The ray which was stretched out, was it across these, was it above, or was it below ? There were generative beings, there were mighty things, the nutriment below, the energising love above." Illusion, volition, and retributive fatality, have been pointed out as the concurrent causes of the evolution of the series of transmigratory conditions called the universe. The rapidity of their casual action is next indicated. The totality of created things, ether and all the succeeding emanations, diffused themselves instantaneously, as the rays of the rising sun spread in a moment through all space. These followed one another, and filled all space like a flash of lightning. Hence the question whether their first position was above, below or intermediate. Of these emanations some were generative beings, the individuated souls that create and experience that retributive fatality which is the germ of things ; others were objects, the vast principles, ether and the rest, which make up the environments of transmi-

* The absolute *ego* is said in the Upanishads to reside in the interior cavity of the heart.

grating souls. It was in this manner that the supreme spirit, associated with illusion, projected the world, and himself passing into it, created the difference of souls and their objects of fruition. Of these souls and these objects, the nutriment or pabulum of transmigrating spirits, the object world, was below, that is, inferior; the energising soul, the spirits transmigrating for the fruition of their works, above, that is, superior. The world of things was created as a supplementation to the world of souls.

"Who truly knows, who here shall declare whence it emanated, whence this diversified creation? The gods are later than this evolution. Therefore, who knows whence it emanated?" The evolution is, the Rishi says, hard to trace, and for this reason is not described in greater detail. Who knows, who can state, in detail, from what emanatory, and from what operative cause, this visible universe emanated, with all its diversity of elements and elemental things, of transmigrating souls and their environments of pleasure and pain? The deities themselves are subsequent to this emanation of things, and can neither know nor describe the evolution of a world anterior to their own creation. If the gods have not this knowledge, what human being knows the emanatory principle of all this universe?

"This various creation, whence it came into being, whether He upholds or upholds it not, who knows? He, who is its overseer in the highest heaven, He truly knows, none other knows." As the illusion-limited absolute self, the deity, is the illusive emanatory cause of the universe and all its rich diversity of forms, so is He alone its sustainer. Perhaps the Rishi is further setting out the difficulty of conceiving the creation. Who knows whence this various creation sprang? No man knows. Some have erroneously supposed that the universe has never been otherwise than it now is. Who knows that supreme spirit, from which, as its illusory emanative cause, the universe proceeded? No man knows it. Hence, in their error, the Sāṅkhyas ascribe its genesis to the plastic principle, *Prakriti*, and the Naiyāyikas to ultimate particles or atoms. That that supreme spirit, the illusory emanative cause, himself created it, as its operative cause, who knows, or whether he created it not? Who knows him? Not knowing him the Sāṅkhyas have taught that the world, or series of environments of transmigrating souls, emanated of itself from their unconscious ultimate principle *Pradhāna*. That that supreme spirit was its illusive emanatory cause, who knows? No man knows it. The Naiyāyikas have taught that a Demiurgus, standing apart from and other than its emanatory cause, has fabricated the universe. It will be asked: If the genesis of things is so incomprehensible, how shall it be known at all? The Rishi states that the Veda is the instrument

of knowledge in this matter. He that is the overseer of this universe, the Lord, or illusorily-limited absolute *ego*, in the highest heaven, * in self-luminousness, pure as ethereal space, or in his essence of beatitude unsurpassable, or in the expanse unlimited by time, space, and things, or in himself as determinate cognition, he knows it, or perhaps he knows it not. The Lord alone, the illusorily-limited impersonal self, omniscient, knows the creation of things, and none else knows it.

Such is Mādhavachārya's exposition of this obscure hymn. It is with little violence interpreted in the language of the fully systematised Vedānta. It appears to contain, if it does not very explicitly announce, the cosmical conception unfolded in the Upanishads. To cite the Chhândogya Upanishad (VI. 2): "Existent only, fair youth, was this in the beginning, one only, without a second. Some indeed have said: Non-existent only was this in the beginning: from that non-existent the existent proceeded. But how, I pray, fair youth, should it be so? How could the existent proceed from the non-existent? Existent only, then, was this in the beginning, one only without a second. That desired: Let me become many, let me pass into becoming. That evolved heat, that heat desired: Let me become many, let me pass into becoming. It evolved water, therefore wherever and whenever a man is heated or sweats, moisture proceeds from that heat. The waters desired: Let us become many, let us pass into becoming. So desiring they evolved aliment. Therefore wherever and whenever it rains, much aliment is produced." "This, which is now the universe," says Sankarāchārya, "was before its creation to be known only under the name and notion of pure being; for prior to its evolution a thing cannot be cognised as having name and form. The condition of things was like that of one who sleeps without dreaming, for when he wakes up he is cognisant of a foregone state of undifferented existence, cognisant that he was pure being. This pre-existence of things as undifferented entity may be illustrated by a familiar example. A man in the morning sees a potter at work upon a lump of clay with the purpose of making it into pots and pans. He proceeds on his way to another village, and returns in the afternoon. On seeing in the same place a variety of pots and pans, he pronounces that they were earlier in the day all alike clay. This was one only: there was nothing else in existence as an effect emanative from it. This was one only, without a second: there were no other causes co-operative with pure being and ulterior to it, such as the potter in the familiar example, who is the operative

* φῶς οἰκῶν ἀπρόσιτον

"Thy throne is darkness in the abyss of light.
A blaze of glory that forbids the sight."

cause moulding the clay into the form of the jar or other product. We are not like the logicians, the Naiyāyikas and Vaiseshikas, who imagine that over and above pure being there are other entities, and that these have no existence before their production and after their dissolution. We do not allow any predicate or anything predicable at any time, or in any place, except pure being. Whatever predication is made, is made of undifferentenced existence. Whatever is predicated of it is predicated under some illusory conception, as under illusory conceptions, snake is predicated of rope, and lump or jar is predicated of clay; but the name and notion of the illusory educt cease for those that know its indifference from real being, just as in every-day life the name and notion of snake cease for any one that recognises the rope, and the name and notion of jar cease for any one that recognises the clay. Thus the texts from which words turn back with the mind, not reaching it, ineffable, unlocalised, &c."

We may now pass to Mādhava's explanation of the Purusha-sūkta, the hymn mentioned above, which ascribes the genesis of things to the sacrifice of Purusha by the gods, the Sādhyas, and the Rishis. Purusha, says Mādhava, is the conscious, that is, the self-luminous, illuminant principle, distinct from the undeveloped, from intellect, and the rest; and naught else exists but Purusha.

"A thousand heads has Purusha, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet; he, compassing the earth on every side, stood ten fingers' breadth beyond it." Purusha is Virāt, otherwise Vaisvānara, the spirit of humanity, the totality of all transmigrating souls, whose body is the whole round of mundane things. * He has innumerable heads, the heads of all living creatures forming part of his body, and being therefore his. Thus also it is that he has a thousand eyes, a thousand feet. This Purusha encircled the whole round of things, and stood two hand-breadths beyond it, filled, that is to say, all space outside the spherical cosmos. "Purusha only is all this, which has been, which is to be; the lord also of immortality, since he grows up with nutriment." All this present world, and every past and future world, is Purusha, and Purusha only. As in this æon, so in past and future æons, the bodies of all transmigrating spirits are portions of Purusha. He is the lord of immortality, or of divine nature, inasmuch as this world is not his real nature. He grows up with food, that is, he passes out of his condition as emanatory *principium* into his visible condition as the world, on the occasion of nutriment, the pabulum of pleasure and pain to be distributed to transmigrating souls. He assumes the form of the universe only that they may have fruition of their works. It is not his real nature.

* The reader may compare with this the picture prefixed to Hobbes' Leviathan.

"Such is his greatness, and greater than this is Purusha : a quarter of him is all existing things, three-quarters that which is immortal in the sky" All environments of transmigrating souls, past, present, and to come, are the greatness, the power of Purusha, not his real essence. In his real nature Purusha immeasurably transcends all these. All sentiences in all time are but a quarter of him : the remaining three-quarters are that which is immortal, indissoluble, real in the sky, in his self-luminous essence. Portions, quarters, cannot be literally ascribed to the impartite transcendent self, the "true knowledge, infinite, absolute." They are attributed to Purusha only to indicate the insignificance of all worlds in comparison with the real essence of the impersonal *ego*." "With three quarters he rose upwards, a quarter of him was here ; thence he went out in all directions into the sentient and insentient." Purusha, in three portions identical with the essence of the absolute *ego*, and exempt from transmigratory conditions, rose upwards, remained outside the universe, outside the environments of transmigrating souls ; untouched by the qualities and imperfections of this world. A quarter, a particle of him, was here, was implicated in illusion, engaged again and again in the projection and retraction of the world. Thus entering into illusion he went forth or filled all space, in his various forms, as gods, as men, as animals, and as all other things. He passed into plurality, and there arose the two orders of sentiences engaged in the apparent matters of daily life, and insentient things, as mountains, rivers, and other objects.

"From him emanated Virāt,—Purusha is above Virāt : having become Virāt, he multiplied himself, creating the earth and then bodies." From the primeval spirit Purusha emanated Virāt, the universal soul of which the whole round world is the body, so-called because it is in him that shine all the various things that are. Purusha was above Virāt ; he illusorily identified himself with the body of Virāt, and became a living soul. The selfsame supreme spirit proclaimed in the Vedāntas or Upanishads, of himself and with his own illusion, projected the round of things, the body of Virāt entered into it as personal self, became the divine soul that illusorily identifies itself with the whole round of things. Having become Virāt, Purusha multiplied himself, passed into the form of gods, men, animals, and the rest. After becoming the personal selves of gods and other transmigrating souls, he created the earth, and after the earth, the bodies to be tenanted by those personal selves.

"When the gods performed sacrifice with Purusha as the oblation spring was its clarified butter, summer its fuel and autumn the sacrificial cake." After bodies had been created, the gods, in order to accomplish the further evolution of things, external objects not having yet come into being, proceeded to

offer mental sacrifice with Purusha as the oblation. The sacrifice could not be made without an oblation, and they represented the essence of Purusha in their thoughts as the oblation. They imaged the spring as the sacrificial butter, summer as the fuel, autumn as the cake. They first mentally offered up Purusha as the total oblation, then spring, summer, and autumn, as the constituents of the oblation.

"This victim, Purusha, born in the beginning, they sacrificed; with him the gods, the Sādhyas, and the Rishis made their sacrifice." This Purusha notionally presented as the victim bound to the sacrificial stake, they immolated in mental sacrifice. Their victim was Purusha, who had come into being before all creation. The sacrificers were the gods, the Sādhyas Prājāpati and others so-called as able to create, *srishṭi-sādhanayogya*, and the Rishis, they that saw the hymns.

"From that universal sacrifice were produced curds and clarified butter. He formed the aerial creatures, and the animals wild and domesticated." The universal sacrifice was that in which was sacrificed Purusha identical with the totality of things. From that mental offering were produced curds and clarified butter, and all other edible things. Aerial creatures are those of the transmigratory environments presided over by the wind-gods. That living creatures are through the middle air presided over by the wind-gods is revealed in the Yajur-brāhmaṇa. Wild animals are antelopes and the like; domesticated animals are cattle and the like. "From that universal sacrifice proceeded the hymns called Rik and Sāman, the metres, and the Yajush. From it proceeded horses, and all animals that have two rows of teeth, and cows, and goats, and sheep. When they cut up Purusha, into how many parts did they dismember him? What was his mouth? What were his arms? What, were called his thighs and feet? The Brāhman was his mouth, the Rājanya was made his arms, the Vaisya was his thighs, the Sūdra sprang from his feet. The moon was produced from his soul, the sun from his eye, Indra and Agni from his mouth, and Vāyu from his breath. From his navel came the atmosphere; from his head arose the sky; from his feet the earth; from his ears the regions: so they fashioned the worlds. Seven were the wooden frames around, thrice seven the pieces of fuel, when the gods laying out the sacrifice bound Purusha as the victim. With sacrifice the gods worshipped the victim. Those were the first rites. Those great beings attain the heaven, where the ancient Sādhyas, the gods abide." Thus the gods, the vital breath of Prājāpati, worshipped the victim Prājāpati with mental sacrifice. From that worship proceeded those first, those highest rites, which uphold the changing manifestations, which constitute the states of

transmigratory experience. Those great beings, the votaries of Virāt, attain that heaven in which the ancient worshippers of Virāt reside.

It seems evident enough that the traditional explication of these earliest specimens of Indian speculation represents nothing else than the results into which they ripened, and is to that extent the legitimate expression of the conceptions, which they embody. The absolute *egoism* of the Upanishads, and of the systematised Vedānta, is really the natural outgrowth of these uncouth and barbarous utterances. These utterances are again the natural outgrowth of the primitive worship of the elemental deities. The Vedānta has a prescriptive right to the first place among the Indian systems. * "The question in debate regarded nothing less than the origin and subsequent revolutions of things :—and the effort, doubtless, of these sages, was to supply to the speculative mind something answering to the vague affirmations of the popular creed. Hence they perpetually kept these superstitions in view, and made it a constant aim to harmonise their physics with the public theology,—to make their cosmogonies an explanation of the theogonies of the poetical faith."

Self, absolute self, in association with some unintelligible principle neither existent, nor non-existent, was to the earliest Indian theorists, the sum of all, that from which the totality of things had issued, that into which it might be ideally refunded. Self is the one and only real. Self is being, not-self is non-being but non-being has a kind of fictitious existence, an existence sufficient to account for all that goes on in daily life, sufficient for the commonsense of the unreflective many, insufficient to the inquiry of the reflective few. How closely this construction of the totality of things approximates to that of Eleatics is by this time plain enough. † "The antithesis of the one and the many, the intelligible and the sensible, the permanent and the changeable, has passed in the Eleatic school into that of being and not-being. The next movement of thought in dealing with this elation is the question, does not-being exist? Is there any nothing at all? It is difficult to state in precise terms how the Eleatics answered this question. In the first part of his poem, Parmenides seems to maintain that there is no not-being; in the second part of it he accords to not-being a sort of spurious existence. In fact, answer the question in either way, and the difficulties that arise are insuperable. Suppose we say that there is no not-being, then the whole material world, all sensible existence, is annihilated, for this is not-being. The world of sense stands logically opposed to being in the fundamental

* Archer Butler : Lectures on the History of Ancient Philosophy, p. 191. † Ferrier : Lectures and Remains, vol i., pp. 96 & 99.

antithesis of thought, as the particular to the universal, the sensible to the intelligible, the many to the one. The many is identical with not-being; there is no not-being, therefore there is no many, but only one. The changeable is identical with not-being; there is no not-being, therefore there is no changeable, but only an unvarying permanent. The spurious existence which might be attributed to not-being, and therefore to natural things, is a mere subterfuge, which, when examined, resolves itself into a contradiction." The Vedāntins were contented to accept the contradiction. The illusion from which, as illusorily overlying the absolute *ego*, the many and the changeable proceeded, was unreal, was contradictory, had illusorily created itself. It was unintelligible, inexplicable. There was one real, one intelligible, and that was the one transcendent and impersonal self.

* "That which abides within the earth, which earth knows not, of which earth is the body, which actuates the earth from within, that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which abides within water, which water knows not, of which water is the body, which actuates water from within, that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which abides within fire, which fire knows not, of which fire is the body, which actuates fire from within, that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which abides within the atmosphere, which the atmosphere knows not, of which the atmosphere is the body, which actuates the atmosphere from within, that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which abides within the wind, which the wind knows not, of which the wind is the body, which actuates the wind from within, that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which abides within the sky, which the sky knows not, of which the sky is the body, which actuates the sky from within, that is thyself, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which abides within the sun, which the sun knows not, of which the sun is the body, which actuates the sun from within that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which abides within the regions, which the regions know not, of which the regions are the body, which actuates the regions from within, that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which abides within the moon and stars, which the moon and stars know not, of which the moon and stars are the body, which actuates the moon and stars from within, that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which abides within all creatures, which all creatures know not, of which all creatures are the body, which actuates all creatures from within, that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which abides within the consciousness, which the consciousness knows not, of which the consciousness is the body, which actuates the consciousness from within, that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which sees un-seen, hears unheard, thinks unthought-upon, knows unknown; that than which there is no other that sees, no other than hears,

no other that thinks, no other that knows ; that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal."

It seems probable, as has been seen, that the earliest Indian thinkers derived the existing order of things from self one and impersonal in association with some inexplicable principle neither existent nor non-existent. This principle was co-eternal with the absolute *ego*, and from their apparent union proceeded the universal soul, all individual souls, and their environments of pleasure, pain, and indifference, with all plurality and change. This unintelligible entity came to be variously designated the undeveloped, the undifferentiated, the primary, the emanatory *principium*, illusion, *avyakta*, *avyākṛita*, *prodhāna*, *prakṛiti*, *avidya*, *māyā*. The absolute *ego* was the one real existence.

The existence of both the inner and outer worlds of every-day experience was apparent, fictitious, unreal. They existed only so far as to render possible the action and passion of daily life as matters of general agreement or common sense. To the thinker who, stepping beyond convention, looked beyond the appearances into the reality of things, all personal selves with their environments of objects, and their experiences active and passive, were alike unreal. Upon this conception of the totality of things supervened in later times the belief in metempsychosis, seemingly taken up from ruder tribes, and the prospect of endless misery awaiting the soul in its never-ceasing series of embodiments. Philosophy, the quest of the real, introverting the soul upon itself, and detaching it from its illusory adjuncts, alone had power to extricate it from its sufferings in the world of sense. The gods and their worship belonged to the unreal, but the knowledge of the real, the immersion in the absolute, was accessible to those only whose intellects had been purified by Vedic and traditional observances. This was the conciliation of *Brahmavidyā* with *Karmavidyā*, of the new philosophy with the old religion.

Buddhism, as it is well known, originated among the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, the military and agricultural classes. The Buddhists held fast by the belief in metempsychosis, and the endless misery of the successive embodiments, and by the unreality of the world, both of the inner and the outer order of things. But they refused the existence of anything real beneath or beyond the phenomena. They allowed no soul beyond the intellect, which they described as a series of sensations and of the ideal residues of sensations illuively taking the form of subject and object, and prolonged till the rise of pure knowledge. Its environment of objects had a merely fluxional existence, like the shifting colours of a sunset cloud, enabling apparent souls to overtake apparent ends. Their existence was a power

of giving rise to the activities of every-day life, *arthakriyā-karitvā*. All beyond was a void or blank. The totality of things was * "at the most, a phantasmagory of merely empirical co-existences, or successions floating over a pit of nonentity." The absolute *ego*, the *brahman*, of the Brāhmanic philosophers, the knowledge of which they reserved to themselves as their highest prerogative, was nonsensical, a thing not to be construed to the understanding. The Buddhists admitted only two instruments of knowledge, perception and inference, rejecting that of verbal communication which the Brāhman had set up to give certitude to the Vedic revelation. The Brāhman had rested the knowledge of the transcendent self, of the spiritual absolute, upon the authority of revelation. It belonged, as we should say, to faith, or to reason, not to the understanding. If it was the *totum metaphysicum*, it was equally the *non-ens logicum*; to the understanding pure being is pure nothing. The Buddhists recognising no higher faculty than the logical, swept it away as an absurdity. Knowledge of the truth disengaged the phenomenal transmigrating self, the *alay-vijnana*, from its apparent action and passion, and it passed beyond its miseries into the void or blank. Retraction into undifferentenced existence, immersion in the absolute *ego*, had been the highest end and the promise of the Brāhmanic absolutists; a passage into the void, annihilation was the highest end, and the promise of Buddhist nihilists. † "The notions of an abstract self modified in no particular manner; of an abstract world isolated from the special phenomena of sense; and of an abstract deity, apart from those finite attributes by which he is manifested in relation to the finite consciousness of mankind, can be given in no phase of consciousness; for if they were, the relation and succession which constitute consciousness would be annihilated." To those early thinkers the transition from absolutism to nihilism was natural enough. It is late in the progress of philosophy that a thorough-going scrutiny of the structure of the mind brings to light the necessity of these negative conceptions, practical not speculative, to limit, to unify and consummate the round of human cognitions. Negative thought is till then easily mistaken for the absence of all thought.

The view of Indian philosophy thus presented to the reader, cannot be more profitably completed than by calling to his recollection its points of similarity to the earliest constructions of the richer genius of Greek speculation. For this purpose the lectures of Archer Butler will supply the needful intimations. "‡ We found in the school of Elea—whose metaphysics were inherited by the Megaric succession—the principle openly stated that the sensible

* Masson: Recent British Philosophy, p. 32.

† Mansel: Metaphysics, p. 292.

‡ Lectures on the History of Ancient British Philosophy, pp. 259-299.

world is purely phenomenal, accidental, apparent ; in contradistinction from that substantial world of reason which alone deserves the title of real existence. Considered then, by the intelligence, the world of existence becomes of course subordinated to the laws and forms of intelligence ; it is a world of which we have the interpretation in our own reason, there alone, and there perfectly. Now, of these laws of intelligence, as it is their undoubted character, that they regard the necessary, the unconditional, the absolute—so is it certain that this absolute thing, thus contemplated by intellectual intuition, being the common foundation and essential reality of all things, and of all things equally, cannot but be one and ever identical with itself. To the eye of reason, then, there is no plurality, no change ; one being not merely supports, but is, the universe ; and all that reveals itself in the lower world of sense is but the external manifestation of this absolute unity. Of anything which that mutable world includes it cannot be said that it *is*—it *becomes* ; for its property is incessant change ; and of that which incessantly changes, as on the one hand, there can be no assured science, so on the other, there cannot even be any true and proper *reality* predicated. Vain it is to affirm, with the short-sighted naturalists of the Ionic school, that it is sufficient for us to trust the regulated sequences of nature ; if these sequences be casual, not even the shadow of science can regard them, if they be arbitrary, but be believed to be invariable, this again is not science, but faith ; if they be necessary and unalterable, then are they, what we affirm them, the mere manifestations in the world of sense of the necessary attributes of a necessary and eternal thing ;—they are then, as it were, the absolute contemplated by the eyes of sense ; and all the scientific reality of such laws is only the reality of the absolute being that exhibits itself in them. The universe then, is *one*, to the total exclusion of superior, inferior, or equal :—*ἓν τὰ πάντα*.

“The sovereign good of Stilpo was expressed in one word, *ἀπάθεια*, a term which Seneca translates *animus impatiens* not without apologies for the employment of a term which in his days, as well as in our own, seems to have obtained a signification the exact reverse of this philosophic use of it. He distinguishes between this rigorous tenet and the more reasonable doctrine of the Stoics : *noster sapiens vincit quidem incommodum omne, sed sentit ; illorum ne sentit quidem*.

“The principle professes to merge all individuality in absolute sameness. We may expect at first sight to find this doctrine not less active in the world of life than in that of inanimate nature, or abstract conception. If then the reasoner, who habitually dwells upon the oneness of the universe, come to apply his views to the properties of separate minds ; and if his philosophic loyal-

ty can stand the test of carrying out his principle, in the very citadel of individuality, the personal consciousness; he must, to establish his point (which, if not absolute, is nothing), undertake to break down the barriers which nature seems to have erected between man and man. Now, if we adhere to the world of consciousness, this enterprise is impossible. No effort of ingenuity can invalidate the conviction with which each individual pronounces himself to be himself alone, and not another. But, by this time, you can readily conjecture that the Megaric was not to be embarrassed by a difficulty of this nature. He could demur to the evidence itself of consciousness; not indeed by denying that the witness makes the affirmation, but by refusing to allow the witness's competency. He could declare that the internal sense was as worthless as the external in the search of eternal truth; and that if the laws and principles of morals are to be based upon a scientific foundation, they must be fixed, not on the yielding sands of consciousness (itself, as Heracleitus had so often shown, never for two instants the same), but upon the impregnable rock of reason. The philosopher will, therefore, morally as metaphysically, labour to forget himself, in the universe. He will obliterate the illusive conviction of individuality by making himself, as far as possible, a petty element in a general plan; and regard life, as well as nature, as the necessary servant of unalterable fate. But if thus it be wisdom to show no will, but the will of the universe, it must be wisdom to efface every principle which can urge the will, and this without exception; for while by perfect neutrality the man leaves himself to the disposal of the governing whole, by the exertion of any affection, or desire, no matter how popularly virtuous, he advances himself beyond the level of his place in the machine, and presumes to establish a separate interest in the world. It thus appears (if I am not mistaken in this attempt to penetrate his views), that Stilpo might, by a resolute adherence to his metaphysical principle, have arrived at that ἀπρόθετα which has so much perplexed the historians of ancient philosophy: nor can we be surprised to find that when from the cloudy heights of speculation the philosopher descended into common life, and transferred the theories of the pure reason into the sphere of sense, he would be likely to display what Pliny calls "*rigorem quandam, torvitatemque naturæ duram et inflexibilem.*"

A. E. GOUGH.

THE INDIAN OPIUM REVENUE.

By D. W. K. B.

THE policy of the Government of India, with reference to the supply of opium grown in India and exported to meet the demand of consumers of the drug in China, may be briefly described.

India sends as much opium to China as the Chinese will take, and the Government of India derives as much profit as possible from the transaction.

There are two sources of supply in India, *viz* :—Opium grown in British India, in districts where the land is under the direct control of the Government ; and opium grown in Native States within the territories of Native Chiefs ; and the method of deriving revenue from the export of opium from India differs according to the locality in which it is grown. The Government monopolises the growth, manufacture, and sale of opium in British territory, deriving revenue from the sale of fixed quantities of the drug, at a profit on the cost of production, while the opium grown in Native States is subjected to an exportation tax of Rs.600 per chest, the growth, manufacture and quantity, as well as quality of the drug exported being subject to no interference on the part of Government.

In British territory, where opium is grown under management, the drug is purchased from the cultivators in its raw state at a fixed rate of Rs. 5 per seer (2lbs.) It is then made up into balls and packed in chests, each chest containing 1 maund, 28 seers, and 2 chittacks of opium, or about 140lbs. The Government announces the number of chests it is intended to sell during the year, and auction sales are held accordingly at fixed periods. The annual average number of chests thus sold for the last 10 years is about 46,000, and the average price per chest sold by auction may be taken at Rs. 1,400. The cost to Government of each chest is about Rs. 400, so that the profit by the sale is fairly estimated at £100 for every chest sold, or nett revenue, in round numbers, of four million sterling.

The details of the working of this system, the manner of sowing and growing the plant, of purchasing, manufacturing, and selling the drug, are all duly set forth in published statistics and reports made by various Opium Agents to the heads of their department. There is no secret about the ways and means of deriving profit out of Bengal opium. The results of the year's crop, the number of chests exported, the price obtained at periodical sales, are all stated, with methodical precision in gazettes, reports, and statistics of the districts concerned in the opium trade, so that it is not intended to notice here with

further detail the system prevailing in Bengal for realizing revenue by the sale and export of opium. Malwa opium is more of a sealed book, few are aware of the different interests that are concerned in its production and trade. It may, therefore, be worth while to consider this item of revenue as distinct from its counterpart in Bengal, before remarking upon the results of a combination of two systems so utterly dissimilar in application, yet working in harmony and depending one upon the other for the production of such an important addition to the revenue of the country.

The opium grown in Native States is known generally as Malwa opium, by far the greater portion of it being produced in the territories of the Maharajahs Sindia and Holkar and other Chiefs of the Central India Agency. A considerable quantity is also grown in Oodeypore and some of the States of Rajputana, bordering on Malwa, but the whole produce of this part of the country is brought to one or other of the Government scales established at Oodeypore, Rutlam, Oojein, Dhar, or Indore, where it is weighed and a pass duty of Rs. 600 per chest levied, before the opium leaves Malwa for Bombay. Opium grown in the territory of the Gaekwar of Baroda is in the same manner brought to the scales at Ahmedabad and thence transmitted to Bombay, the average annual number of chests weighed at Ahmedabad being about 1,200. The returns of weighments made at Ahmedabad, Oodeypore, Rutlam, Oojein, Dhar, and Indore, are included in the Malwa Opium Agency, and all these offices are under the direct supervision of the Opium Agent in Malwa.

Published returns show the following numbers of chests exported to China from the Malwa Opium Agency on payment of the pass duty of Rs. 600, during the last ten years :—

		No of Chests.	Duty paid @ Rs. 600 per chest.
1866-67	...	29,260	Rs. 1,75,56,000
1867-68	...	36,101	" 2,16,60,600
1868-69	...	29,787	" 1,78,72,200
1869-70	...	35,828	" 2,14,96,800
1870-71	...	37,608	" 2,25,64,800
1871-72	...	37,591	" 2,25,54,600
1872-73	...	42,688	" 2,56,12,800
1873-74	...	42,112	" 2,52,67,200
1874-75	...	47,982	" 2,87,89,200
1875-76	...	38,753	" 2,32,51,800
Total	...	3,77,710	" 22,66,26,000

It will be seen that on an average the revenue from Malwa opium is about 2½ million sterling, and this, added to the four millions of revenue procured by sale of Bengal opium, gives a total average annual revenue of 6½ millions.

This is borne out by the marginal statement copied from the last Budget Estimate, which gives the actual nett receipts for the past eight years.

1868-69	...	£ 6,731,000
1869-70	...	" 6,131,000
1870-71	...	" 6,032,000
1871-72	...	" 7,657,000
1872-73	...	" 6,871,000
1873-74	...	" 6,324,000
1874-75	...	" 6,215,000
1875-76	...	" 6,233,000

In Malwa, opium cultivation is very popular, and notwithstanding that the trade is treacherous, prices fluctuating, and the demand varying, the costly preparations made for supply, the allurements of the chances of large profits easily turned, and the stimulus given to the trade by the spirit of speculation and gambling (always strong in the native mind), are so great, that if the monopoly of the Government of India was withdrawn, it is probable the Native States would increase the cultivation to an extent sufficient to meet the deficiency caused by the cessation of the supply from Bengal.

The sharers in the profits in Native States are many, and each is interested in the extension of the trade. The native chief, who takes a high rent for opium land, is the first concerned. Rents in Central India for irrigated land vary from Rs. 5 to Rs. 30 per beegah, while land under wheat and other food grains only brings in from 12 annas to Rs. 2, or at the most Rs. 3 per beegah; this is one of the greatest results of opium cultivation in Native States. The chief source of revenue to a native chief is his land. In Malwa, which includes the territories of the Maharajahs Sindia, Holkar and many other chiefs, opium has been the principal cause of the increase of revenue.

Holkar's land revenue of 55 lacs (£550,000), would soon revert to its old standard of 20 lacs, were it not for the rents he takes on opium land, and the same remark applies equally to Sindia, whose rent-roll of 100 lacs (one million sterling), would be enormously reduced were opium cultivation to cease; the enhanced rents levied on opium land would be thus altogether curtailed, and all native chiefs, big or small, holding land now under opium cultivation, would suffer in similar proportion—the ruin of many would be the result.

Again Holkar, Sindia, and other chiefs, derive a further benefit from opium in addition to the profits secured by increased valuation of land, in the shape of a tax taken on all opium leaving their territories. Sindia takes Rs. 24 on every chest as an export duty from Gwalior territory. Holkar, at Indore, takes Rs. 12½,

so that to these chiefs the cultivation of opium involves the most serious questions of revenue. Sindia and Holkar, the chief gainers by the growth of the poppy, may be said to have enlarged their revenues at least 50 per cent., owing entirely to the climate and soil of their holdings being favourable to the production of opium.

The costs and profits of the cultivator in Native States territory are difficult to estimate. Sir John Malcolm, in his Memoir of Central India, volume II, page 359, Appendix No. VII, gives the following table, showing the expenses, &c., of cultivating one beegah of opium, in a good, a tolerable, and a bad season :

Expenses.

				Rs.	As.	P.
5 Seers of Opium Seed	0	9 0
Manure, including conveyance	2	0 0
Expenses of watching the crop	4	0 0
Weeding, Ploughing, Sowing &c.	6	0 0
Gathering the Opium	4	0 0
Watering the Field	6	0 0
Oil for mixing with the juice of the Poppy	1	0 0
Rent	6	0 0
Total				...	29	9 0

Receipts in a good season.

				Rs.	As.	P.
5 Seers of Opium	40	0 0
Sale of Seed, 3 Maunds	4	0 0
				...	44	0 0
Deduct expenses	29	9 0
				...	14	7 0
Deduct village dues	1	8 0
Net profit to cultivator	13	15 0

Receipts in a tolerable season.

7½ Seers of Opium	...	...	...	...	30	0 0
Sale of Seed	...	...	...	...	2	11 0
				...	32	11 0
Deduct expenses	...	...	...	...	31	4 0
Nett profit to cultivator	...	...	...	...	1	10 0

Receipts in a bad season.

5 Seers of Opium	...	...	...	...	20	0 0
Seed sold	...	...	...	...	2	0 0
Loss to cultivator	...	...	...	...	9	1 0
				...	31	1 0

But since the period of which Sir John Malcolm wrote, opium cultivation is more thoroughly understood and the value of the drug has increased, as has also the cost of cultivation. The average profits now realized on a beegah of opium land may be calculated at Rs. 20 in a good year; this may be increased to Rs. 25 or Rs. 30, while in a bad year only Rs. 10 or Rs. 15 can be made out of the same quantity of land.

The rent of opium land in Malwa varies so much, and there are such great differences in the means which cultivators have at their disposal, that it is impossible to estimate accurately the average profits from cultivation. For instance, one man may have to pay only Rs. 5 rent for a beegah of opium land, another for the same area pays Rs. 20;—the rents varying according to the rules in force in different Native States,—the rules or system of revenue collection varying again according to the taste or idiosyncrasy of the chief. Then, too, one man may have to dig a well, which from the fact of the water being far from the surface and only to be got by blasting through several feet of rock, will cost him as much as Rs. 1,000; while another more fortunate in his selection of a site, will make an equally good well for Rs. 300 or Rs. 400, finding water within a few feet of the surface, and the soil easy of penetration. Great differences exist also in the means of labour at the disposal of cultivators. A man with a large family can look for larger returns at less cost than one who has to hire labour throughout the operations necessary for the growth of the opium crop.

There is another crop always obtainable from opium land. The opium is only in the ground for 4 or 5 months, *i.e.*, during December, January, February, and March, the same land is used during the rainy season—June, July, August, September and October for the production of a crop of *mukka* (Indian Corn) which grows readily in the manured soil of old opium fields, gives little or no trouble in cultivation, and is very remunerative. A maunee of *mukka*, or 480 lbs. of grain, is an average outturn for a beegah of opium land, and will sell for Rs. 12 or R. 15, and the profits of this crop, generally about Rs. 10 or 12, must be set down to the credit of the year's transactions in addition to the profits secured by the opium.

It may be well to note the manner in which Malwa opium is grown, as exemplifying the amount of capital that has first to be laid out, the labour and cost incurred by the cultivator and the advantages as well as the risks of the crop; and it is in these questions of cultivation, rent, profit and loss, that the difference between the cultivator in British territory and his brother in

Malwa is most marked. One has everything found him ; land and capital to him are matters of no consideration ; his own labour is alone called for to produce his wealth ; he is invited, urged and encouraged to grow opium on allotted ground ; he is entitled to advances of money to meet his requirements, and he is assured of a fixed price for the raw material produced. The other has everything on his head—the outlay for well, bullocks, implements and manure—the expenses of cultivation, the chances of climate as effecting the growth of the crop, and the fluctuations in the value of the outturn. The district of Malwa, where the country is from 1,300 to 2,000 feet above the level of the sea,—soil rich, temperature moderate, and water plentiful, is particularly favourable to the cultivation of opium. The land prepared is generally the thick, black loam known as cotton soil, it must be situated in close proximity to a well, or to the bund (or dam) of a tank, or river, as the greatest essential to the crop is a regular and sufficient supply of water at fixed periods. High ground, commanded by a supply of water and having a gradual slope on all sides, is the most favourable position for opium culture. As soon as the rain crops have been gathered, and when the cold weather, which generally commences in November, is at hand, operations are commenced. The ground is first ploughed four times, if possible on four successive days—it is then harrowed, the heavy clods of earth lying on the surface being carefully broken and pulverized. Next, manure is applied, generally at the rate of from 10 to 12 cart loads an acre, the ground is divided into squares of about 10 or 12 feet, separated from each other by ridges of earth, the beds thus formed being in rows sloping from the rising ground whence comes the water supply. Channels are then dug to enable the water drawn from the well to run into and flood each of the square beds. These are so arranged that the cultivator can divert the course of the water from one row of beds to the next, by making or closing temporary openings in the channel. When all these preliminaries are arranged, the ground is flooded, and on the next day the opium seed is sown, scattered thickly over the prepared surface. Another inundation follows on the day after the sowing, and again seven or eight days afterwards. The crop generally appears on the 8th or 10th day after the seed is sown. The first growth is thick and vigorous. When the plants have grown to the height of six or seven inches, and are thick with leaves, the beds are weeded, and at least one-half or sometimes as much as two-thirds of the young plants are pulled out and thrown away. The strongest and healthiest only being left to grow to better size in the extra room thus made for them.

After this the earth round the remaining plants is loosened to allow of their free growth. A fortnight later another watering is

given and again in a week more, by which time the plants are well grown, and the buds of the flower forming. When the flower opens no more water is given; the flower drops off in a day or two, and the capsule remaining on the stalk gradually swells until it has attained its full growth. The crop is then ready and the process of extracting the milky juice from the capsule commences.

Each poppy-head or capsule is bled by means of an instrument like a three pronged fork, the incisions pierce the outside coat of the capsule only sufficiently to allow the juice to exude slowly. Each poppy-head is thus bled three separate times; the incisions are generally made in the afternoon, and the juice which exudes is collected the following morning. Only a small quantity is obtained from the incisions in each of the poppy-heads, and this portion of the process is the most tedious. One man working with the scraper from 7 to 10 A.M. (the best time of the day for collecting the opium), will with difficulty get together 3 or 4 ounces of *chick* (as the exuded juice is called). When it is remembered that each poppy-head has to be bled three times and scraped as often, it can be conceived that this method of collecting the opium juice entails a vast amount of labour. The juice taken off the capsules is collected and thrown into earthen vessels where it is mixed with linseed-oil (in the proportion of two parts of oil to one of *chick*) to prevent evaporation.

Here the cultivator's interest in the opium ceases. He sells the *chick* to the Bunniah at the rate of from Rs. 6 to Rs. 7 per seer. The conditions most favourable to the growth of opium are clear, warm, sunny days with little wind; and cool, dewy nights. Rain always injures the crop, beating down the young plants and damaging the heads. Frost, which is not at all exceptional in Malwa during the cold months, destroys the plant in one night, if it has not grown strong enough to resist the cold; and when the capsule is ripe for incision, rain causes the juice to dry,—cloudy weather prevents it exuding, and strong winds injure, by causing the pods or capsules to knock one against the other.

In spite of all that is said against the cultivation of opium, there are yet some points which may be urged, if not in its favour, at any rate as apologies for its existence. Opium is one of the best crops for the cultivator;—the returns from it are large and quickly made, and the land, after the opium crop is removed, is available for another (cereal) crop during the year. The wells that have been sunk consequent on the increased attention to the cultivation of opium, have greatly improved the condition of the country. Wells ensure safety from the

results of bad seasons, and improve the appliances for agriculture of the people of the country, besides bettering the sanitary condition of villages. In India the value of water cannot be over-estimated, and the wells, tanks, and dams built originally in the cause of opium, have proved beneficial in many other ways.

Sugar-cane is grown in large quantities in land precisely similar in its conditions to that best adapted for opium ; and it is noteworthy, that where opium is most grown, there also sugar-cane will be found in the greatest quantities. Frequently the two are to be seen maturing side by side, and under the care and culture of the same peasant; and supposing that the trade in opium were suddenly to collapse,—an event frequently and strenuously predicted by financial alarmists,—however heavily the blow might fall on Government, in places where it has assumed the monopoly of the trade, it is satisfactory to think that the cultivator at least would not be a heavy loser, for after the shock caused by the depreciation of opium, and the consequent loss to him on one year's crop, he would still have water and a prepared soil to his hand for the growth, in the following season, of an equally profitable crop. In Malwa sugar-cane and opium are the only crops for which the land is manured, the black soil is so rich as to be able to produce the usual cereal crops of the country for 30 successive years without deterioration.

The Bunniah, or local dealer, having purchased the *chick* from the cultivator, prepares it for market. It is tied up in lumps of from 25lbs. to 50lbs. in weight, and hung in double bags of sheeting cloth in a closed and dark room, so as to avoid air and light ; while the spare linseed-oil with which the *chick* is mixed, is allowed to drop through. The bags are allowed to remain suspended for a month or six weeks, during which period all the oil that can be separated comes away ; they are then taken down, and their contents emptied into large vats from 10 to 15 feet in diameter. In these the opium is mixed together and worked up with the hand, until having acquired an uniform color and consistence throughout, it becomes tough and capable of being formed into masses. It is then rolled into balls weighing about 10 oz. or 12 oz. each ; these being thrown as they are formed into baskets full of the chaff of the seed pods and dried opium leaves, in course of time harden until firm enough to admit of being packed. The opium is now ready for market, and is sold by the *dhurrie*, i. e., 5 seers (10lbs). The average price per *dhurrie* in Malwa is from Rs. 40 to Rs. 70, varying in relation to the existing price in China. This simple process of manufacture contrasts with the costly preparations of the drug in Bengal. The difference is by no means marked when the Bengal and Malwa opium meet

in the China market ; the demand for one is as great as for the other, and for purity, strength and flavour Malwa opium, made as it is in the most primitive and simple fashion, holds its own in spite of the extra care and expense devoted to the manipulation of the Bengal drug. The fact is that Malwa opium depends entirely upon its purity, and the merchants knowing this, are careful that the trade is kept up to the mark, so that no adulterated opium is ever sent from Malwa to China.

The opium purchased by merchants from the local manufacturers is kept stored in chests containing about the amount on which duty is charged, *i.e.*, 140 lbs. 4 oz. and as advices are received from Bombay of the demand for the drug, is brought to the scales where it is weighed, and the duty per chest collected by Government officers.

The method of weighing opium and collecting the duty is as follows :—

The merchant presents a memorandum showing the number of chests he wishes to send to Bombay, at the same time he gives to the office of collection, *hoondees*, or bills payable at sight in Bombay for the whole number of chests he wishes to despatch. The chests are received, and after being counted and numbered, a proportion of 10 per cent. of the whole consignment is selected at hazard, and the contents of these are weighed, their actual weight being the standard by which the average of the whole consignment is estimated. In illustration of this,—a merchant wishes to send 100 chests from Indore to Bombay for export to China. He first gives a memorandum, showing the number of chests he has to send (100), accompanied by *hoondees* on stamped paper for Rs. 60,000 (at Rs. 600 per chest). The chests are then received into the Government godown, or weighing-house, where each chest is numbered from 1 to 100. The officer in charge of the office selects 10 chests (say Nos. 42 to 51), which are opened in his presence and carefully weighed. At 140 lbs. 4 oz. (the amount allowed for each chest) the proper weight of these ten chests is 1,402½ lbs., but on weighing we will suppose they are found to aggregate 1,407½ lbs., or 5 lbs. more than the allowance. The average for the whole consignment is calculated on this basis, and 50 lbs. are withdrawn from one of the chests weighed, the opium returned to its owner, but is not allowed to be included in the consignment. In the same way, if the actual weight of the ten selected chests is less than the amount allowed, the merchant is permitted to make good the deficiency in similar proportions. The object being to obtain an average throughout the consignment of 140 lbs. 4 oz. per chest.

The cost of collecting revenue from opium in British India has been estimated at two millions sterling yearly, the return

shown being only of net revenue. Of the duty levied on Malwa opium the whole may be considered nett revenue. The annual cost of collection is about Rs. 14,580, and on the 38,753 chests, which passed the scales during 1875-76, the stamp duty on the *hoondees* alone realized Rs. 15,040.

The action of Government in monopolizing so large a portion of India's supply of opium to meet the demands of China is open to remark. China can only consume a certain amount of opium in the year, and when Government appropriates to itself the right of providing two-thirds of that supply, it naturally represses the export of opium grown in Native States; for the amount Malwa sends to China must be regulated by the demands of China, less the supply which the Government of India determines to make, and so, while the revenue from British opium is tolerably certain, the Malwa contribution is fluctuating and dependent on the changing demand in China.

The remedy for this would be to abolish the Government monopoly, and so place the export duty on all opium from India on the footing of a regulated pass fee per chest. But here arises a difficulty. Taking the total number of chests supplied to China as 83,000, of which Government supplies 48,000, at a nett profit of £100 per chest and Native States 35,000 on the payment of Rs. 600 per chest, the total revenue realized is £6,900,000; but assuming that 83,000 chests is the limit of the demand of China, it is obvious that by fixing the system throughout India on the pass duty of Rs 600 per chest, Government would be a loser to the amount of £ 1,920,000, or at the rate of £40 per chest on the opium grown in British territory. So that to ensure Government against a severe loss of revenue, an increase in the standard of pass duty would be necessary. Supposing the rate to be raised from Rs. 600 to Rs. 700 per chest throughout India (the monopoly being abolished, and the number of chests supplied to China continuing at 83,000), the revenue would be £5,810,000, still considerably less than the duty now collected.

The question depends upon the price of opium in China, and the following table shows how this varies:—

During 1869 the price per chest was from 615 Dollars, the lowest quotation (in August), to 727 Dollars, the highest (in March).

In 1870 the price varied from 627½ Dollars (in April), to 680 Dollars (in August and September).

In 1871 from 622 Dollars (in January), to 675 Dollars (in September).

In 1872 from 565 Dollars (in December), to 630 Dollars (in January and February).

In 1873 from 550 Dollars (in January), to 600 Dollars (in March and May.)

In 1874 from 595 Dollars (in February), to 620 Dollars (in January.)

In 1875 from 540 Dollars (in January), to 605 Dollars (in October.)

So that it would be rash to calculate on any average greater than 600 Dollars per chest as a continuance ; or taking the China Dollar at Rs. 2-4-0, the price in China at 600 Dollars per chest would be Rs. 1,350.

It has been shown that a chest of British Indian opium costs Government, when brought to auction at Calcutta, Rs. 400, and adding to this Rs. 700 duty and Rs. 100 freight and insurance to China, there would still be a profit of Rs. 150 to the seller in China, or a little more than 11 per cent.

But this concerns opium manufactured within easy access by rail of the port of exportation. It is easy to understand that opium grown in the wilds of Malwa, carted through many miles of country (taxed by each Native State through which it passes), through Indore to the rail and so on to Bombay, would not pay either the merchant or the cultivator at this rate.

Again if the monopoly were to be gradually relinquished and the pass duty gradually raised, the change should be commenced when the price of opium in China is showing a tendency to rise, whereas the experience of the past four or five years shows, that the increase in the supply of opium has so far satisfied the demand as to materially depreciate the drug in China.

Much may be said of the quantity of opium grown in China itself, and though the quality is known to be inferior to that grown in India, still the cultivation of the plant, in whatever degree it is carried on, must affect the quantity required from external sources. However the question is viewed, it appears that, under existing circumstances, India cannot alter her opium policy without causing such an injury to her financial position, as she could by no means afford to bear. Of the probabilities of what might have been, had the system been different from the first, it is useless to speak. Doubtless if the Government of India had originated its system of export duty on opium, by a regulated tax on every chest that left the country, independent of the territory in which it was produced, the opium revenue might have been as large as it now is, and the Government would certainly have held a more dignified position as regards its interest in the trade ; for the encouragement of the growth of a plant which is valueless except as producing an intoxicating drug, the efforts that have to be made, sometimes at the cost of large

sums of money spent in advances held out as a tempting bait to cultivators, to increase the amount of cultivation, or to retain it to the extent which it is considered will be sufficient to meet requirements, and the imputation that India trims the opium market in China, and forces a vice upon the Chinese, are all matters of which the administration of India would be relieved with advantage. The present action of Government naturally stimulates the growth and export of opium. Under a regulated system of pass duty this would be changed; the imposition of a heavy tax on the opium sent to China would have at least the appearance of a repression rather than an encouragement of the trade.

The effect of a limit on the area of poppy culture in British territory has been to make the Native States of Malwa, (Gwalior, Indore, Oodeypore, Rutlam, Jowra, Jhallawar and Banswarra) gardens of wealth. It has changed the scanty subsistence of petty chiefs, thakoors and zemindars into large incomes. Every villager now has his plot of opium ground, of which, with high cultivation and three months' labour, the produce is sufficient to maintain his family for the season. The soil, which in British India, where the growth of the poppy is prohibited, lets at Rs. 2 a beegah, in the territories of Sindia and Holkar, commands from Rs. 20 to Rs. 30. The land revenue of these Native States is entirely dependent on opium. If the Government of India abolished its monopoly and allowed the poppy the same freedom as wheat or grain, there would be a crash in the revenues of the great chiefs. The opium produced in Bengal, even now stands in higher estimation in China than the Malwa grown opium. Free cultivation there or the withdrawal of Government interference, would tend to press Malwa hard, and at once bring the land rental to the average of that in British India. The competition that as a natural consequence would ensue, would, for some time to come, paralyse the chiefs and people of Native States.

In Malwa as things are, opium makes the land 12 or 15 times more valuable than it would be for other produce, and, irrespective of the revenue which chiefs derive from opium-bearing land, they realize an excise on the drug, after manufacture and before it reaches British ground, varying from 12 to 25 per cent. on its value. Any radical change in a system which produces such results would shake the prosperity of India.

One of the chief results to India of the opium policy is the increase in the amount of land under opium cultivation, both in British territory and in Native States. In 1865 the area of land in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces devoted to the growth of the poppy was 434,515 acres. In 1872 it had

extended to 557,067 acres, being an increase of 122,552 acres in 7 years. In 1868 Government determined to limit the total area of land for opium cultivation to 790,500 beegahs (or 494,062 acres), the extent at that time, under opium being 762,989 beegahs (or 27,511 beegahs less) ; but the returns of 1872 show, that in that year 63,005 acres or 100,804 beegahs beyond the limit, which Government had assigned itself in 1868 were appropriated for opium.

These statistics prove not only that a large quantity of land is under opium cultivation, but also that the area taken up, has year by year, greatly increased in spite of decrease to the contrary. No precise estimate can be formed of the area of land in Native States under poppy, but taking the yearly yield of opium at the rate of the number of chests exported, assuming that the average number of chests is 35,000, and that the average yield per beegah is 8 seers (each chest containing 70 seers or 140lbs.), we have 305,000 beegahs, or 190,625 acres as the area under opium, that is, about one-third of the total (557,067 acres) area of land in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces devoted to this purpose. The total area of poppy cultivation in India under this calculation is 747,692 acres. A very large quantity of Malwa opium is consumed in India, and it is generally the case that of one year's out-turn little more than half is exported, so that although the exported opium is produced from the cultivation of 747,692 acres, the whole area of land in India assigned for the crop is unquestionably larger. But this is a matter of internal economy, and can hardly be considered a result of the policy of the export of opium.

It occurs to any one, who studies the question of the food-supply of India, that so large an area being devoted to the growth of a noxious drug, to the exclusion of food-grain, must cause an increase to the price of food ; and it is a fact that prices have risen greatly during the last 10 or 12 years, not so much in the British territory of Bengal and the North-Western Provinces, but to a great extent in the Native States of Central India, where Malwa opium has become the chief object of cultivation. But there are other causes, besides the increased cultivation of opium which may be assigned for the rise in prices ; and defenders of the trade may with justice accuse cotton of doing as much damage to the out-turn of food-grains in India as opium,—for a larger area is sown with cotton than with the poppy.

Of the profit to all in India concerned in the trade there can be no doubt. In British India the cultivators profit by the growth, the rate at which Government purchases the raw opium from them (Rs. 5 per seer), gives a considerable balance beyond the cost of production, and the readiness with which

cultivators have taken up the large area of land now covered with the poppy, proves that to them, at any rate, the crop is popular and remunerative. The system instituted by Government of advancing money at easy rates is tempting, and accounts in some measure for the readiness with which the cultivation has been extended. The supervision of the growth and manufacture of the drug affords employment to a large number of men; and the fact that, on an average, 2 millions sterling are annually expended in the collection of the net revenue derived from British opium, shows how much is distributed among all classes by the crop, its collection, manufacture, and export.

The result to China of the British opium policy is the increased amount of the drug, which is year by year sent from India to supply the wants of the Chinese.

Dr. Balfour's *Cyclopædia of India* contains the following:—

"China cannot be said to have indulged long in the vice of opium-eating, or smoking. All the early writers on that country are silent as to its use, except in medicine. During the reign of the Emperor Kein Ling, who reigned from 1733 to 1796, a tariff was regularly established, and the duty fixed at 3 Taels for 100 Catties, and 2 Taels, 4 Maie, and 5 Candarines for fees. Previous to 1767 the number of chests imported did not exceed 200 yearly. In 1773 the East India Company made their first venture in opium, and in 1796 it was declared a crime to smoke opium.

Since then, in spite of pains and penalties, edicts and warnings, the consumption increased until in 1837 it had reached the enormous extent of 40,000 chests, valued at 25 millions of Dollars."

Since 1837 the amount of opium supplied by India to China has been more than doubled. The yearly average may now be computed as between 80,000 and 90,000 chests, or at the rate of 140lbs. per chest, in round numbers, 12 million pounds of opium.

The use of opium in India has grown very general, the abuse of it has been practised for many years by the natives of Rajputana as well as Assam, yet the deleterious results of the drug are by no means marked. The race of natives has not deteriorated, and it is an admitted fact that Rajputs and Sikhs, who have, in the history of India, proved themselves the best men of the country, are descended from a long line of opium-eaters. And though it may be well urged that the Chinese would be better without opium, it may be said, on the other hand, "it has not done them much harm as yet, and we have tried their capabilities of consumption to the best of our ability, during the last 30 or 40 years."

Every country probably has its national vice, and China may say, when twitted with the fact, that she supplies one-seventh of the revenue of the Government of India by her demand for an intoxicating drug, that she has not yet reached the standard of vice attained by the nation which, in one year, contrived to drink

itself clear of the sum awarded to America by the Geneva Arbitration.

As regards the charge against opium, that it is an incentive to crime, Sir Benjamin Brodie writes :—

“The effect of opium, when taken into the stomach, is not to stimulate but to soothe the nervous system.” A man under the effect of an over-dose of opium is useless, and unable to exert either his physical or mental powers, but he is not mischievous, and is less liable to commit violent crime than a man inflamed with drink.

To summarise briefly :—India supplies China with an intoxicating drug, and is urged thereto by the fact that a large revenue is derived by the export of opium from India to China.

The growth of opium receives encouragement and support from the Government of India in certain Provinces, where the monopoly of the trade remains in the hands of Government. The objection taken to this means of collecting revenue, as compared with the system of a regulated pass duty adopted in another portion of India, is valid, but if the system were changed, the quantity of opium sent to China would probably remain the same, Government being a loser to the extent of about £40 on every chest exported from British territory. The cultivation of opium has not seriously injured the agricultural prospects of the country, and there is a great deal to be said of the advantages gained from the growth of the crop, by those who have the best right to the interests of the land. The Chinese consume opium to a great extent, the use of the drug is general both in India and in China ; the abuse of it is rare in both countries, and the results far from alarming, while as a source of revenue to India, the tax on opium, though subject to great fluctuation, and consequently a precarious item of Budget Estimate, has proved itself a substantial aid, increasing year by year in power. It supplies her with nearly one-seventh of her revenue, and saves the people from taxation to the amount of more than six millions sterling.

When Mr. Pease, M. P., advertised in nearly all the newspapers at home and abroad his offer of prizes of £200 and £100 for the best and second best Essays on British Opium Policy and its results to India and China, he would have been more just to those whom he invited to expend time and tissue in committing to paper their thoughts on the subject, and he would have saved the three adjudicators appointed by him to test the value of the Essays submitted, much weary plodding through reams of manuscript, had he added to his advertisement a note to the effect : that—Nothing but an attack upon the present policy, would be regarded “as qualifying for

"either prize." The result of the adjudication showed that a denunciation of the policy was really all that was wanted. Writers under the *nomis de plume* of *Let Providence Provide* and *Fiat Justitia* gained the prizes, and those who submitted Essays, not entirely in the spirit which Mr. Pease wished to invoke, had the satisfaction of learning, after nearly two years of waiting for the result of the adjudication, that the writer of the Essay, which gained the first prize, was a gentleman connected with Colonial Emigration, and that the reverend gentleman, whose labours had gained the second prize, was the Secretary of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade. *Let Providence Provide!* What could have been the song sung to this tune? Was it a request that Providence would provide opium for the Chinese, or a supplication that the same power would contribute 6½ millions sterling every year to the revenues of the Government of India?

The common-sense view of the question, at any rate, embraces both of these considerations, and does not admit of maudlin sentiment alone. Let principles of right and wrong be duly weighed, but at the same time let not facts be overlooked; if it is determined in the cause of philanthropy to condemn the export of opium from India to China, let it be at the same time arranged, in the cause of justice, to compensate those who would be more injured by the cessation of the trade, than the Chinese have been by its continuance during many years. Give the Government of India 6½ millions sterling annually, Mr. Pease, spend another couple of millions in compensating those who are now gaining a livelihood by the growth of the plant and the manufacture of the drug in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces, put your hands into your pockets for another yearly dole of 4 or 5 millions for like compensation to the chiefs and people of Malwa, and then you will have right as well as reason on your side, when you next beseech Parliament to abolish the opium trade between India and China.

In the foregoing pages some of the material considerations of the question have been advanced, and attention has especially been drawn to the results to Malwa of the growth of the poppy and the trade in opium. It should not be forgotten that among the many obligations of the Government of India, the rights and interests of Native States, their inhabitants and their rulers, demand a large share of attention. If there is delicate ground in India, it is to be found in territories ruled over by native chiefs, whose relations with the Paramount Power are peculiar when they are not vague; and such questions as the abolition of a trade which affects Native States to the extent that Malwa is interested in opium, cannot be taken up and disposed of without the consideration

due to a measure which involves political as well as material rights. The opium revenue is derived from a trade which rightly or wrongly has been carried on with increasing vigour during the past 50 years: putting aside all reflections on the immense aid that has been afforded to the administration of the country by the revenue thus collected, and of the financial difficulties which would spring from the loss of $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions in a Budget of 50 millions, we have still to consider the principles of justice which would be involved if Native Chiefs found that the trade which had swelled their land revenues from small pittances to large incomes, was suddenly to collapse. The point for consideration is not only whether the Chinese would be better without opium,—the trade has grown upon India, until like Sindbad's old man of the sea, it is impossible to shake it off. With resources stretched to their finest point, the expenditure is barely within receipts. A loss of $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions could only be met by Government, by a tax which, as experience has shown, is one of the most distasteful and unsatisfactory administrative measures that has ever been introduced into India. Much as we deplore the insatiable appetite of the Chinaman for the drug, and deeply as we regret the fact that we taught him to crave for it, we must not forget what the growth of poppy has done for Native States, and what the results of the past 50 years are to them.

When the Maharajas Sindia and Holkar produce sums of $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling on 4 per cent. loan for railway extensions in their territories, a tribute of thanks is certainly due to opium, for to opium the Chiefs owe their land revenue, which year by year has rapidly increased, and so enabled them to amass great wealth. A measure which would entail financial difficulty on the Government of India, would force financial ruin on Native States; and in addition to the other troubles which India would encounter, she would have to devise means for ridding herself of the spectacle of a group of Native Chiefs dependent upon her for support, ruined by the cessation of a trade which has raised them from indigence to wealth, and which has for half a century been carried on with the support and encouragement of Government, with great advantage to India,* and with no palpably evil results to China.

D. W. K. B.

THE NINE-LAKH CHAIN : OR, THE
MARO FEUD.

BY W. WATERFIELD, C. S.
BEING THE FIRST PORTION OF
The Lay of Alha.

FYTTE VIII.

In Kariya's camp his court was placed,
His chiefs were there, a crowd :
There came a messenger pressing in haste
And his camel groaned aloud.

He drew the chain, the camel knelt,
And down he lighted near ;
He stood and bowed, he cried aloud,
That all the chiefs did hear.

"Mahoba men from Mahoba are come,
Thy house a ruin they make ;
Suraj lies slain on the battle plain,
Till his body home thou take."

Prince Kariya started from his seat,
And eke his captains all ;
The hair of their head stood up with dread
Such evil chance should fall.

His long boots creaked as he forth did come,
And the shield on his shoulders rang ;
"Give the drummer the pledge that he beat the drum
On his wrists gold bangles hang."

From tent to tent the tidings went,
Each warrior grasped his sword ;
Camels were groaning, horses were girthed,
And howdas with silken cord.

Twelve pair of kettle-drums sounded alarms,
The trumpets and conchs also ;
The Maro host stood ready in arms,
At the beat of the drum to go.

The Pathans* of Shahabad† were there,
Hight Ranga and Banga bold ;
Quoth the Prince, " In Mahoba a touch-stone‡ rare
Turns iron and steel to gold.

" The Mahoba men to our borders came ;
To you I yield the prey."
Then loud they shouted Ali's name,
And soon to selle sprang they.

To his elephant-ward then Kariya cried,
" Make ready Pachsawad strong ;
And Papiha beside, if a horse I would ride,
Shall be led by his groom along,"

When Kariya saw them at the yett, §
He donned his harness fine ;
As his foot on the howda stair he set,
He was ware of an evil sign. ||

" O Pandit, say what this sign may bode,
My heart misgives me sore—"
Then the Pandit took his star-time book,
And conned his Vedas o'er.

" The Node the twelfth house darkens," he said,
" The eighth doth Venus fill ;
The baleful Saturn stands o'erhead,
In the tenth the Moon works ill.

" I rede thee back to Maro go,
Nor tempt, my prince, the fray ;
The times are cross, the stars work woe,
Stir not a step to-day."

" Let pedlars' sons the omens heed,
Who traffic and trade away ;
Let peasants stay the stars to read,
Ere they crown for their marriage day.

* Afghans, but of course at this date they had not passed beyond the Punjab.

† I suppose the district in Behar is intended.

‡ This which was gained by a predecessor of King Parmal, and the

wealth it produced, are renowned in many of the ballads.

§ Gate.

|| Almost every incident in the ballads is foretold by the omens. Sneezing is one of the most unpropitious.

" Are Kshatri youths to fear a freit,*
 Who the warsmith's steel devour?
 The force must march, the drum must beat,"
 So Kariya rode that hour.

A murmur of marching men there rose,
 The dust turned day to night;
 With a creaking of canon the army goes,
 With a rushing of chariots light.

The force swept on like a storm-cloud bank,
 And before went the banners of red;
 Kariya ranged his troops in rank,
 And slow to the ground did tread,

Silent he lifted his brother's corse,
 In a litter to Maro sent;
 But he roared amain as a tiger roars,
 As back to his seat he went.

" What child of man can equal my might?
 Is my match in the Rajput race?
 Whose hand has been raised my Suraj to smite?
 Let him answer me face to face."

Bold Udan galloped forth a space,
 And loud he made reply,
 " The Rajput who dares meet thy face,
 Thy match in fight, am I.

" No Dasraj I, bound with a chain,
 Thy captive unaware:
 Whom in the stone mill thou hast slain,
 His skull thy tree doth bear.

" Now am I come to avenge his fate,
 And the fire of my heart to slake;
 When I beat down proud Maro's state,
 And make of her site a lake."

" Let none of the men of Mahoba go,
 Be smitten every head;
 Fire all my canon and sweep the foe,"
 Cried Karingha with eye-balls red.

There was loading of canon and ramming of ball,
And priming and lighting the pan ;
His friend from foe might no man know, *
Such a smoke overhead began.

The rockéts screamed, the guns roared loud,
The arrows whistled and flew ;
Headlong like bolts from Indra's* cloud
Fell many a warrior true.

Camel and horse fell one by one,
The elephants screaming lay ;
Too hot to touch was every gun,
Yet none drew back from the fray.

Torn were the hands of the archers tried,
And slack each good bow-string ;
But lances were piled and garments dyed,
So fast the blood did spring.

" O servants none, but brothers to me,"
Bold Udan cried around ;
" Your names, if from the fight ye flee,
For ages seven are drown'd.

" The Sawan † month must soon be past,
The flower must drop to earth ;
The mother's time must come at last,
And rare ‡ is human birth.

" The leaf that from the bough may part,
It never more can grow : "
Thus Udan cheered his Rajputs' heart,
And led them on the foe.

As the wolves the sheep, as the lion the kine,
As the schoolboys drive the ball,
So onward pressed the Mähoba line,
And drew their good swords all.

As the parrot pecks the woodland nut,
As the leaf, neath the betel knife ;
So down was many a stripling cut,
Ah woe to the widowed wife !

* God of the sky.

† July August. It seems to be a
month of holiday, especially for

women.

‡ In the cycle of transmigrations.

There was weeping for father and weeping for child,
 And weeping for wife new wed ;
 And weeping for fate of mother mild,
 Whose son is before* her dead.

Both armies that day made right good play,
 And sore were the strokes they gave ;
 But Maro at length fled scattered away,
 And few their lives could save.

When Kariya saw his soldiers fly,
 His elephant forward he drave ;
 He loosed the chain from the canopy high,
 And there to Pachkawad gave.

"Thou hast eaten the salt of the Baghel long ;
 Now help, 'gainst this evil blast ;
 Let none of the foe to Mahoba go,
 Take Udan and bind him fast."

Ranga and Banga stood thereby,
 And Kariya turned and cried,
 "Shall a mere boy my house destroy,
 And humble Maro's pride ?

"Let none escape of Devi's sons,
 Down from their horses smite : "
 The two Pathans then charged at once,
 With Kariya on their right.

Through troop and line Pachkawad raged,
 He whirled his chain around ;
 The stoutest chief who combat waged,
 He dashed him to the ground.

The host of Udan wavered and broke,
 For life did faint hearts fly ;
 "Now Udan, now," fierce Kariya spoke,
 "Bold knight, prepare to die."

"I would not fly," quoth Udan high,
 "Were all my flesh beshred,"
 The massy mace Karingha bore,
 He dashed at Udan's head.

* And therefore cannot perform the funeral rites.

He 'scaped the blow, he spurred his steed,
That it reared to the elephant's crown ;
So mickle of might did Udan smite,
Came the canopy shivering down.

" Pachsawad, now thy lord obey,"
Fierce Kariya thundered amain ;
" Let him not take the Mahoba way,
Bind fast with thine iron chain."

He swung the chain on Bendula's mane,
He bound his arms full fast ;
Udan he swept to the howda aloft ?
Then all men stay'd aghast.

FYTTE IX.

Alha's court and Devi's tent,
Were in the acacia wood ;
Saying "'Tis long since Udan went,"
She at her tent door stood.

" Why comes he not ?" She strained her eyes,
The distant road to see,
When she was aware of Rupna there,
Mahoba's herald he.

And when she saw he weeping stood,
She halsed* him tenderly :
" Why weep so sore, my Rupna good ?
And how may Udan be ? "

" O lady, thou amiss hast done,
To trust such boys in fray ;
They never smelt the smoke of gun,
Nor saw the swordsman's play.

" When Kariya fierce set on our line,
Was none could stand his ground ;
Pachsawad strong who erst was thine,
Fast Udan's arms he bound."

She fell to ground in deadly swound,
But soon for her litter sent ;
The pennon flapped o'er the beacons twelve,
So fast to the field she went.

* Embraced.

A mother's yearning filled her breast,
 For fear she nothing shrunk ;
 As it were a cow her calf caressed,
 She clasped Pachsawad's trunk.

" I reared thee up in my house from youth,
 And gave thee milk good store ;
 O little of grace, was this thy truth,
 My Udan to bind so sore ? "

At her words a shame o'er Pachsawad came,
 " I was pledged to the King Jambay ;
 I have eaten his salt, 'twas in me no fault
 I should bind thine Udan Ray.

" Were Malkhan now to the battle sent,
 He would soon set Udan free : "
 Then Devi quick to her litter went,
 And straight to the camp came she.

" O Malkhan brave, thy younger save,"
 She cried with streaming eyes ;
 " On the battle plain, by Kariya ta'en,
 A captive bound he lies."

" Now, Alha, hear," brave Malkhan said,
 " Let all thine army come ;
 I must go to the ground where my brother lies bound ; "
 Then loud they beat the drum.

He blessed the World-mother and Rama's name,
 The feet of the earth and the sun ;
 So forth from his tent brave Malkhan went,
 And thus to his mare begun.

" If I boiled thee carrots in days of spring,
 And gave thee oil in rain ;
 If Malhna the Queen thy milk did bring,
 Full bowls for the filly to drain ;

" In Maro here, this land of fear,
 Be thou my stay, O mare ! "
 Then did she arch her neck and rear,
 And proudly paw the air.

"A long farewell to all things dear,
To life a long farewell !"
So all the army marched in fere*
When Malkhan sprang to selle.

To the field of fight they came with speed,
In Kariya's front he spake ;
"Upon herbs on which asps have breathed can'st feed ?
The lioness' milk can'st take ?

"A ladder 'gainst Paradise gate can'st place ?
Can'st bind a brother of mine ?
Let a Kshatri answer me face to face,
If one be in the Maro line."

"Now a pretty boy in sooth," said he,
"But I rede thee home return ;
Lest I deal, as with Dasraj I dealt, with thee : "
Then Malkhan's eyes did burn.

His sword flashed bare, he spurred his mare,
That she reared to the elephant's crown ;
Pillar of sandal and pinnacles gold
At his stroke came toppling down.

The driver laid on strokes well told,
Not a step Pachawad went ;
His trunk between his tusks he rolled,
And down his knees he bent.

And Alha then with all his men
Came charging o'er the plain ;
With a battle shout their swords flashed out,
Like the sweep of the hurricane.

"Pachawad doth play me false to-day ;
He quits the foremost line : "
Karingha's soul was troubled sore,
And round he turned his eyne.

Then straight he bade Papiha bring,
And lighted down to ride ;
From his courser's back did Malkhan spring,
And sat by Udan's side.

* Together.

Udan unbound he laid on the ground,
 And Rupna Bendula led ;
 Queen Devi down from her litter came,
 And worshipped Pachswad's head.

With the sandal free, so fair to see,
 She painted his frontal wide ;
 " Behold I entrust my sons to thee,
 Now help in this perilous tide.

" Lo Alha, here thy father's beast,
 Mount up, my son, and ride : "
 He climbed and stood on the painted wood
 And sat as he grasped the side.

" Fight on, my merry men," Alha cried,
 Take each his fill ; the game : "
 Though swords by both were briskly plied,
 With a rush Mahoba came.

They beat down all like a desert bare,
 Nor high nor low could stay ;
 They, who long gowns were proud to wear,
 Fled through ravines away.

Then fast did Udan to Kariya go,
 At the gallop he came and cried ;
 " My turn 'tis now to deal the blow,
 Look thou my stroke to bide."

Karingha turned his cruel eye,
 To Ranga called and said :
 " Let none of the men of Mahoba fly,
 Go, smite them every head."

" Ho ! stand," stout Ranga 'gan to cry,
 " O son of Mahoba's King ;
 Strike turn by turn till one of us die ;"
 Then together their chargers spring.

He struck him once, he struck him twice,
 But never the buckler cleft ;
 At the third stroke the good blade broke,
 And the hilt in his hand was left.

Then on Narayan Udan cried,
And on Kali's feet also ;
With drawn sword galloped to Ranga's side,
He smote and laid him low.

Now Banga was near and his sword drew he,
But Dhewa spurred from the right ;
" Fight we and see what is God's decree ;"
Then struck he with all his might.

The blow on Dhewa's buckler fell,
And broken was Banga's blade ;
" A summons is come from the lord of hell,
And near is my death," he said.

Than Dhewa wheeled and smote on the right,
Nor buckler nor pad could save ;
Through twelve mail rings did the good steel bite,
And from shoulder to waist it clave,

When Ranga fell and Banga as well,
Karingha was troubled sore ;
He struck with his mace at Dhewa's steed,
But his blow the buckler bore.

So Bhikham's* son was wounded none,
But his horse seven paces reeled ;
And Udan thereon with good sword drawn,
Came spurring over the field.

But Udan's steed he smote with his mace,
That he reeled five paces back ;
Was never a chief could hold his place,
'Gainst Kariya's fierce attack.

Then Udan rode to the brave Malkhan,
He joined his hands and spake :
" No match for Kariya's strength am I,
Or a captive in chains I'd take."

When Malkhan heard, he onward spurred,
Eight paces off 'gan cry :
" Now Kariya, sit thou warily,
For know thy death is nigh."

*Apparently another discrepancy with the prologue where his father is called Rahma.

His Bardwan* broad sword in wrath he drew,
 He struck with all his strength ;
 But never a whit on Malkhan it bit,
 Not even a barleycorn's length.

Then Malkhan drew sword and remembered his Lord
 And Narayan's † name he said,
 And Maniya fair Mahoba's ward ;
 So he smote off Kariya's head.

Down Udan sprang and head he took,
 And thus to Alha spake :
 " We have slain the foe and laid him low,
 Then here we our camp should make.

" I mind when we marched from Mahoba, then
 Queen Malhna spake from the door :
 ' I bless you my sons, and I bless you again,
 But when shall we meet once more ?'

" Then I gave her my word for eight short months,
 And now is a year gone by ;
 And surely I fear she sheds many a tear,
 ' Why comes not Udan Ray ?'

" Send Kariya's head her heart to ease :"
 Then his word liked Alha well ;
 In a litter he laid the head and he bade
 The herald the tidings tell.

A young horse saddled was standing there,
 And Rupna leapt thereon ;
 The bearers were yare ‡ and the litter they bare :
 So he to Mahoba is gone.

FYTTÉ X.

Queen Malhna looked over lake and hill,
 On the topmost turret raised ;
 All day she was standing, standing, still,
 All night she waked and gazed.

* These weapons are generally described as coming from this town in Bengal.
 † Vishnu as the Supreme Being.
 ‡ Ready.

She watched the road where earth met sky,
 " My youngest long doth bide."
 If a distant traveller met her eye,
 " Tis Udan at last," she cried.

Queen Malhna stood on the topmost stair,
 She looked over dale and down :
 And she was aware of Mahila there,
 Came riding to the town,

Slowly, slowly she down did win ;
 " What ails my sister ? " he said,
 " And why is thy body grown so thin,
 And thine eyes with weeping red ?

Ask not, O brother, what ill I fear,
 For how shall I bear to tell ?
 Alha and Udan from infants I rear,
 Malkan and Salkhan as well.

" To war in the Maro land they went,
 And there come no tidings here ;
 They promised eight months should not be spent,
 But now there is past a year."

" There are floating, O sister, such rumours of bale,
 It likes me not to say ;
 Two Maro messengers told the tale,
 They passed by my garden way.

" The Banaphars, they said, were slain and each head
 Was hung on a fig tree high :
 The Rani fell to the ground as dead,
 And the twelve queens loud' gan cry.

" Who will ferry us over this stormy sea,
 Since sunk is our golden isle ? "
 " Will weeping bring back the dead ? " quoth he,
 " Be patient, my sister, the while.

" Go bid thy Brahman choose the day,
 And memory's rites provide ;
 For each wife her bracclets must cast away,
 A widow, the sea* beside."

* As in English, used for a lake.

Now the litter to Parmal's court was led,
Then out and spake the King ;
" Ill rumours are spread that our youngest is dead ;
O herald, whose head dost bring ? "

He joined his hands, " O speak not so ;
The lads are in health," he said,
" They have wroken* their father on false Maro,
And have sent me with Kariya's head." "

Up from his seat rose the King Parmal
And drew the curtains apart ;
" An thou tarry to go to the painted hall,
The Queen will have stabbed her heart." "

And, when the herald reached the yett,†
The Queen came hurrying soon ;
She saw the litter with blood was wet,
And fell in deadly swoon.

" Ill rumours are spread that Udan is dead ,
Now tell me the truth, my son : "
" O mother, four sons King Jambay had,
Now Udan hath slain each one.

" They have razed the fort of th' acacia trees,
They have wrought their work in the land ;
Prince Kariya's head, thy mind to ease,
They send thee by my hand." "

The litter curtains he drew apart,
Karingha's head to show ;
Then glad was Rani Malhana's heart,
To hear they had quelled the foe.

" O brother Mahil, thou shouldst have died,
Ere such false rumours tell ;
My sons are living each one," she cried,
" They have wroken their father well." "

" Come, eat in the palace, my Rupna good : "
His hands did he join and say,
" By thy leave, O mother, I cook no food,
It would hinder my backward way.

" For well I wot our youngest will chide,
Till my journey to Maro is done ; "
So forth with the litter did Rupna ride,
Till Alha's camp he won.

Down from his horse did he leap and stand,
And thrice low louted he ;
But Alha caught him by the hand,
And halsed him tenderly.

" Say, how is it now with Mahoba fair ?
How doth the King Parmal ? "
" Well do all fare by God's grace there ;
He sits and governs all."

" Now hear, my brother," bold Udan cried,
" For Lohagarh be we boune ;
Against the gate let our guns be plied,
And so shall we win the town."

The drummer they called and a pledge they cast,
Gave bangles of gold to wear ;
And they bade him sound the camp around
That each might his arms prepare.

Through camp street went messengers fleet,
And soon the tidings passed ;
To and fro did the marshal go,
And the troops arranged them fast.

Howda on elephant, selle on steed,
On Manurtha Dhewa sprang ;
On Kashbendul did Udan speed,
And the targe on his left arm rang.

Kabutri there, that right good mare,
The brave Malkhan bestrode ;
Alha sat on Pachisawad strong,
And his Lioness Mira rode.

With beating of drum did the army come,
With flaunting of banners of red ;
The guns were raised and the linstocks blazed,
And the smoke to the gateway spread.

To Jambay's hall two messengers hied ;
 The King with his council sate ;
 "Lo here the Mahoba host," they cried,
 "They have planted their guns at the gate."

Up started the King astonished sore,
 He went to the painted tower ;
 Queen Kushla met her lord at the door
 With her fan of the purple flower.

She joined her hands, "O husband, say,
 What evil chance hath passed ?
 Why droops the hair of thy lip to-day,
 And thy lofty look down-cast ?"

"How shall I tell the tale, O Queen ?
 Thy race is all undone ;
 Four goodly sons my stem made green,
 But now there liveth none.

"Mahoba's chief, that Udan hight,
 Queen Devi's younger son ;
 Good sooth a warrior skilled in fight,
 He slew them every one."

Fair Bijma was standing the lattice behind,
 And her father's words heard she ;
 "Bendula's rider now will I bind,
 Whose fear lies so heavy on thee."

To her bower anon is the princess gone,
 And her Bengal* casket rent ;
 She busked her in haste and forth she paced,
 And soon to the camp she went.

O'er Alha she cast the Bhairar spell,
 He could not speak nor see ;
 On Malkhan the Narsingh powder fell,
 Then voice and sense lost he.

* Kamrup in Assam, perhaps, education, as in the old romances of Europe, and we have good as well as bad enchantresses, the Lady of the Lake as well as Morgan le Fay look.

Bir Mahamda's charm did to Dhewa fly,
Then darkness wrapped him round ;
Through the whole wide camp not a mouse could cry,
By the spell of silence bound

Bold Udan she turned to a ram that day,
So mighty a charm she got ;
To lone Jharkhand* she led him away
To her teacher Jhilmila's cot.

She tied him fast with a silken string,
At her master's feet she fell ;
" A Mahoba thief, my father, I bring,
As thou lovest me, guard him well."

To Maro then and her painted dome
In haste the Princess passed ;
And all her spells she summoned home,
Which on the camp she cast.

Then Alha woke, to Malkhan spoke,
" My brother's steed I see ;
But on his back no rider sits,
O where may Udan be ?"

" Ho, Dhewa wise," brave Malkhan cries,
" What sees thy prophet mind ?
Mark sign and book, and soothly look,
Our youngest how to find."

So Dhewa took his star-time book,
And soon he 'gan to say,
" 'Tis Jambay's child, Bijaisin styled,
Has stol'n our brother away.

" She has made him a ram by the spell she cast,
Through the might of Gramarye ;
In Jharkhand lone she has bound him fast,
Her master's cottage nigh."

" Now rede we a rede, how best we speed,
To set my brother free :"

" Let Malkhan don the Jogi's weed,
And doff his Rajputi."

* The forest of Bainath or Baidya- and Calcutta ; but the ballad is quite
nath, I believe, in the hill country independent of time and place.
on the rail road between Allahabad

He hath signed his forehead with Ratna's sign,
 Smeared his body with ashes well ;
 He sang the praise of the name divine,
 And his sandal beads 'gan tell.

He hath taken his flute and Dhewa his drum,
 The feet of their Lord they adore ;
 And soon to the Jharkhand wood they come,
 And stand at the hermit's door.

Then Malkhan sang and the cottage rang,
 So sweetly did he trill ;
 Forth to his door the hermit ran,
 And asked them of their will.

" O Jogis twain that roam the waste,
 Whence come ye ? Whither go ? "
 " Our master's steps we vainly traced,
 His road we do not know.

" So here we stay to ask the way
 To Hardwar's sacred flow : "
 " First let me see your skill, I pray,
 Then I the path will show."

Then loud was Dhewa's tambour struck,
 And Malkhan danced and sprang ;
 The wood as they trilled was with rapture filled,
 While every change they sang.

" O Jogis, here in my hut abide,
 I'll serve your feet each day ; "
 " Waters that flow, and Jogis that go,
 What power can bid them stay ?

" Bring forth thine alms whate'er it be,
 And let us wend our way : "
 " Ask what ye will, an asking free,
 I will not say ye nay."

" Now give this ram," quoth Malkhan brave,
 He stopped in dumb dismay,
 " The boon ye crave is Bijma's slave,
 It must not pass away "

"Thy holy deeds are all undone,
By swerving from thy word : "
On that he gave the ram they won,
Nor any more demurr'd.

"What do I with this ram, O sage ?
To man I pray thee turn ;
The laws of fast and pilgrimage,
My minister shall learn.

Into his scrip he thrust his hand,
A spell of might he drew ;
The charm he shed o'er Udan's head,
And made him man anew.

But, when the three were passed from sight,
Quoth Udan, " Brother, hear ;
If lady Bijma learn my flight,
She will steal me again, I fear.

"This hermit is a warlock hoar,
Him, Malkhan, must thou kill : "
Then Malkhan turned him to the door ;
The hermit asked his will.

"A draught from out thy well I ask,
On weary journey boune : "
The silken cord, the silver flask,
He stooped to let them down.

And as he raised the siken thread,
His bright sword Malkhan drew ;
He smote the hermit's hoary head,
And in the cottage threw.

The spells and charms of Gramarye,
They bore them all away ;
So to the camp are come the three,
I wis they did not stay.

When Udan went to Alha's tent,
Right glad was he, I ween ;
He hals'd him well and ask'd what fell ;
Great joy was them between.

FYTTE XI.

They have planted their cannon against the gate,
Proud Lohagarh to quell ;
An hundred guns did in order wait,
Till the word for the onset fell.

An hundred linstocks at once they ply,
And the smoke to the welkin wins ;
And word is brought to the King Jambay,
The Mahoba attack begins.

He bade them fire from every gun
That stood on the turrets high ;
The light the matches for every one,
And the cannon balls roar and fly.

The army of Alha was troubled sore,
As the groaning warriors fall ;
In vain did the cannon of Malkhan roar,
They pierced not that iron wall.

Quoth Udan, " Brother, hear my rede,
Send to th' acacia wood ;
And lade on all our wains with speed
The thorn boughs there that stood.

" Then heap them high in the ditch to lie,
And drive a mine also ;
And many a bag with the powder fill,
To place in the trench below."

The matches they light, the flames burn bright,
They melt the lead of the wall ;
The guns that stood on the battlement height,
Each toppling down doth fall.

Then Malkhan brave his onset made,
His sword at the gate he drew ;
Strokes with his blade full heavy he laid,
And all the guards he slew.

Bold Udan sprang from selle thereby,
Found clubs of the metals eight* ;
The locks at his strokes to pieces fly,
So the army forced the gate.

* These are said to be gold, silver, copper, brass, tin, bell-metal (or steel,) lead and iron.

A messenger ran, a fearful man,
Where Jambay held his state ;
And thrice he bowed, and cried aloud,
" The foe has forced the gate."

Up stert* the King and his nobles all,
Who sat in the council room ;
Eftsoons did he the drummer call,
And turban he gave and plume.

At the first drum-beat they saddle the steed,
At the second to selle they spring ;
At the third drum-beat they are ready at need,
To ride with the Maro King.

The King to Gauri† and Ganesh bowed,
And in water of Ganga bathed ;
The muslin they brought was in Egypt wrought,
Wherewith his limbs were swathed.

His girdle was all of the velvet good,
With many a gay gold ring ;
Dagger and sword at his waist there stood,
As fitted a Rajput King.

He took in his hand his mighty mace,
To his elephant forth went he ;
And he stept up the stair of sandal fair,
Was carved so rich to see.

And, when they reached the Banaphar force,
From his howda he loud 'gan call :
" Let none of the foe unwounded go,
Fight on my merry men all."

His sword each man of Maro drew,
And all did quit them well ;
Shot and spear and arrow flew,
And many a warrior fell.

The sand around was soaked with gore
Where thick the ranks did tread ;
Wounded rose to fight once more,
Yea, bodies ‡ that lacked the head.

* Started.

† Not an uncommon incident in

‡ The fair manifestation of Durga, these heroic combats,
wife of Shiva, as Kali is the dark.

"Friends," cried Udan, "this our day,
Glory all may reach;
Soon we take our homeward way,
With honour and wealth for each."

He cheered his men, and on they sped,
But the Raja loud 'gan cry;
"Is there ever a Rajput Mahoba bred,
Dares meet with the King Jambay?"

Then Udan struck with his bossy shield,
And the pinnacles clattered from place,
But backward soon his courser reeled
At the blow from the Raja's mace.

Then Dhewa smote, but the King was ware,
And a blow on the steed did lay;
He reared full high and fast 'gan fly;
No reining him could stay.

There was never a Chief his place could hold,
Where the Raja's blows did fall;
Oh! bitter that day the war that rolled,
Round the fort of the iron wall.

Faint heart and brave, 'fore Maro's King,
They scattered like morning cloud;
Down the ravine, to 'scape unseen,
Fled many a turban proud.

There were some who holding their breath did lie,
A heap of slain below;
When an elephant mad rushed trampling by,
They died without striking blow.

There were some who swaggered with sword before,
In street though never in tent;
Now only a string and a loin cloth wore,
Their bodies with ashes besprent.

They signed their foreheads with Rama's sign,
With the blood-stained earth they found;
"We were begging our way to the Jagannath shrine,
When the sword play closed around.

And one on his back took of bucklers a pack,
Like a Jaipur * artisan ;
" For selling of shield I had come to the field,
Nor wist ere the fight began."

The howdas were filled with blood that day,
The horsemen dripped with gore ;
Friend from foe might no man know,
But the fight raged more and more.

Brave Malkhan stood awhile dismayed,
Then fast to Alha sped ;
He joined his hands and asked for aid.
" Brother, give ear," he said.

" No Chief can stand in the Raja's sight,
My strength is all in vain ;
But thou art able to equal his might,
And to bind him with iron chain."

When Alha heard his brother's word
For chains he straight did send ;
To his elephant then he gave them to hold,
And, " Pachawad," he cried, " attend."

" We must bind the foe and make him a show
For the folk of Mahoba town ;
When to King Parmal and to Malhna we go,
In our homeward triumph bouné."

Onward Pachawad pressed amain,
The ranks he scattered wide ;
As he whirled his chain, he strewed the plain
Like a desert on either side.

The warriors staggered, they scattered and broke,
In hope their lives to save ;
When Jambay saw they fled, he spoke,
And his elephant onward drove.

" Mahoba's champion, Devi's son,
Now settle thy cause with me ;
Alive from the field shall go but one,
So turn by turn strike we."

* This Rajput State seems to retain its fame in the Aits to the present day.

" I may not strike, by the Chandel law ;
Do thou strike first, O king : "
Then a good red bow did Jambay draw,
And fitted the notch to string.

The aim was good, the string did twang,
Fast did the arrow fly ;
Across the howda Alha sprang,
And the shaft went whizzing by.

Then his javelin flew, as near they drew,
Now how may Alha bide ?
Queen Sarada's* care at his right hand there
She turned the spear aside.

" Now hear, Banaphar," Jambay spake,
" Twice hast thou foiled my blow ;
In peace thy way to Mahoba take,
For thrice thou 'scap'st not so."

But Alha there his breast made bare,
And did to the Raja cry ;
" No part of a Kshatri's trade it were,
From the battle trench to fly.

" There are homes in heaven stand ready for all,
To-morrow if not to-day ;
And if I in Maro this tide shall fall,
My name shall live for aye.

" One chance is left thee King, to save,
And see thou miss no more : "
Then drew the King his shining glaive,
And thrice he smote full sore.

No hurt on Alha's body happ'd,
His shield was lifted high ;
At length the sword of Jambay snapp'd,
Then wist he death was nigh.

" I have hewn down elephants with this blade,
And lopped their limbs away ;
Its master's need has it now betrayed,
My life is lost to-day.

* The name given to Durga at Mahoba.

"Now, Raja, now my stroke take thou,"
And his elephant on he drove ;
Howda to howda, tusk to tusk,
Close met the champions strove.

Then Alha forward dash'd his shield,
With the boss he dealt a blow ;
The elephant's driver was hurl'd to the field,
And he waver'd to and fro.

Then Jambay drew his dagger keen,
Long time their steel they plied ;
On Alha's body no hurt was seen,
"Now bind the foe," he cried.

Pachsawad whirl'd his iron chain,
Dashed the howda to the ground ;
Soon Alha lighted on the plain,
And fast his arms he bound.

FYTTE XII.

They sounded the drum of victory,
And the conqueror's shout they rais'd ;
They rendered thanks to Rama high,
And the feet of their Lord they prais'd.

They blessed the virtue of Malhna the Queen,
And named King Parmal's name ;
Thus onward Udan's horse, I ween,
And Alha's elephant came.

On the right band there was Malkhan's mare,
And Dhewa's courser proud ;
And on their right side did the Saiyid ride,
And Ali he shouted loud.

To the house of treasure when Alha came,
The guards with his sword he killed,
The locks he broke and the wains did yoke,
And with stores of price he filled.

A plunder rich from Maro town
Brought Dasraj's warlike son ;
And the guns of weight of the metals eight,
He took them every one.

Horses and elephants spoiled he there,
And every weapon withal ;
Fire he set to the palaces fair,
And blackened the lordly wall.

But when he came to the painted hall,
He stayed beside the gate,
And a messenger sent his mother to call,
And bring from th' encampment straight.

In her litter she left th' acacia wood,
Full hastily did she ride ;
And when at the Lion gate she stood,
The five stepped down beside.

"Now, mother, send," quoth Udan bold,
"And Rani Kushla call :"
Then Kushla's slave her lady told,
As she sat in the painted hall.

"What sleep art sleeping here ?" she cried,
"And sit'st on thy sandal chair ?"
"Alha doth wait beside the gate,
"And bids thee meet him there."

Dismayed was she to hear the same,
Her heart it died away ;
Joining her hands, in haste she came,
And did to Udan say :

"O harm not women, Udan Ray,
"Though thine the power to-day :"
"I ne'er did smite my foes that fly,
"Nor hand on woman lay.

"But bring my father's turban and crest,
"That have long in Maro lain ;
"And Lakha, too, that dancer best,
"And eke the nine-lakh chain.

"And the litter prepare of Bijma fair,
"With me as a bride to wend :"
Whatever he bade she yielded there,
Until he made an end.

So they moved on to the mill of stone,
With Devi and the Queen ;
There did they wait by the inner gate,
And the litter was set between.

But Udan rushed to the fig tree old,
His father's skull to win ;
A censer of gold he brought to hold,
And set the skull therein.

Then Alha and Malkhan the presser plied,
Yoked in the bullock's place ;
Udan beside stood the roller to guide
Before Queen Kushla's face.

And Dhewa too King Jambay threw
Into the mill to bray ;
All as he stood they crushed him there,
Then smote his head away.*

His skull they by Dasraj' skull did lay,
Who laughed a ghastly laugh ;
" Alha and Udan, blest be they,
Of Dasraj' line the staff."

Each of his sons by name he blest,
And the mother that bare them also ;
" The fire of my breast this day may rest,
They have venged me upon my foe.

" An evil son will shame his kin,
An it were seven ages back ;
But the parents, who a good son win,
Nor peace nor honour lack.

" My skull, O sons, to Kashi† take,
The Gaya‡ rites to pay."
Then out the skull of Jambay spake,
" Now, Udan, hear my say.

* The murder of Dasraj seems to have been peculiarly atrocious to have provoked this retaliation. It is but fair to mention that in most of the ballads the Banaphars are chivalrous to a degree towards their con-

quered foes, even after meeting with treachery themselves.

† Benares.

‡ The capital of Bihar, a famous place of pilgrimage, specially for the funeral rites.

"Of four brave sons the water to pour,
Thou hast not left me one ;
My skull then cast on Kashi's shore,
I charge thee, Dasraj's son."

For the litter of Bijma Udan sent,
In the palace hard by to be placed ;
A pole he had pight † of the sandal bright,
And he called for a Pandit‡ in haste.

"To Bijma fair I my vow will pay,
And the seven rounds § will tread :
"What ! are thy senses gone astray,
My brother ?" Alha said.

"With the house of our foe, I bid thee know;
No marriage feast I keep ;
When she thinks of her father and brethren slain,
She will kill thee in thy sleep.

"No, Udan, lady Bijma slay,
And smite her where she stands :"
"O spare me, brother, this I pray,"
He cried with joining hands.

"How can I break my Rajput's vow
And lift my hand on her ?"
"Then smite the Princess, Malkhan, thou
And see thou do not err."

On Mahadeva || Malkhan cried,
His shining sword he drew ;
He smote so sore Bijaisin's side,
He cleft her shoulder through.

Then said she, "Udan once I dreamed
To spend our lives in fere ; ¶
And sweet to me e'en death had seemed
Had thy hand made it dear.

"But, cruel Malkhan, woe to thee,
Thy brother's wife hast slain :
So shalt thou die with no brother by,
Unhelped in an open plain."

* In the funeral ceremony.

† Pitched.

‡ A priest learned in the Scriptures.

§ An essential part of the marriage ceremony.

|| The great God Shiva.

¶ Together.

But Udan's soul in love was drowned,
When Bijma's speech heard he ;
He clasped her hand and raised from ground,
And rested her on his knee.

" Here must we part ere yet we wed,
But meeting can'st none descry ? "
" O lay me down, my love, she said,
Since I must a maiden die.

" Here it is best my body should rest,
But my soul new birth shall see ;
King Narpat's daughter of Narwar * town,
And Phulwa my name shall be.

" And when thou, goodly steeds to buy,
To the Kabul land shalt ride,
Our meeting, O love, shall then be nigh : "
So Bijma spake and died.

But Udan bare her body fair,
To Narmada's † holy tide ;
He cast her into the river there,
While the troops to the camp did ride.

The litter of Devi they took withal,
And Lakha the dancer true ;
And Alha did all his warriors call,
When they to the woodland drew.

A gay gold ring, a robe, a shawl,
A crest and turban blue,
Or a silver fee to some did fall,
Each had his largess due.

" Friends," cried Alha, " all prepare
Load the wains each one ;
Home to Mahoba now we fare
Alha's work is done."

But Udan turned aside from the crowd,
At his mother's feet to fall ;
Before the Saiyid old he bowed,
And eke his brethren all.

* I suppose the town in the Cawnpore district. The doctrine of transmigration must be very useful for

poetical justice.

† The Nerbudda, one of the sacred rivers.

" An order, O mother, an order I crave,
 The Gaya rites to pay ;"
 He went with the skulls, when her leave she gave,
 And left the triumphal way.

The sound of victory swelled from the drum,
 They marched full many a day ;
 At length did the host to the border come, .
 And Alha to Rupna say :

" Ride on to Mahoba our news to bring : "
 Then he spurred till he reached the wall ;
 He lighted down and he passed the town,
 And he stood in the Raja's hall.

Joining his hands the herald drew nigh :
 " Now the news of Alha say ;"
 " He hath venged Dasraj and hath crushed Jambay,
 And is here on his homeward way."

Then Malhna the Queen right glad was she,
 She gathered her maidens all ;
 By this were arrived the brethren three,
 And stood at the city wall.

Madrigals singing, the women came there,
 They met them and blessed their name ;
 With a four flamed lamp in a salver fair,
 Queen Malhna to greet them came.

Seven times o'er Alha she waved the dish,
 O'er his body she passed her hand ;
 " Now blessed be my sons for fulfilling my wish,
 I welcome ye back to the land."

" O mother, thy favour hath gained us all,"
 He joined his hands and spake ;
 " Now pay I my homage to King Parmal,
 If I thy leave may take."

She bade them go the King to greet,
 Then Alha before him went ;
 His turban of purple he cast at his feet,
 And they stood with their heads down bent.

The Raja took their hands each one,
And there he set them down ;
" Come, quench the fire of my breast, my son,
And tell me of Maro town."

" O, a fearful fight was foughten, I wot,
Round Maro city wall ;
• Four sons that the Maro King begot,
In the war-field each did fall.

We bound the arms of the King Jambay,
And crushed in the mill of stone ;
Bijaisin too with the sword we slew,
And her corse in the stream was thrown.

" All that from us was plundered of yore,
We have brought to our home again ;
And Jambay's treasures, a goodly store,
Have laden on many a wain."

The King rejoiced and blessed them oft,
And bade the cannon to play ;
From an hundred guns spread the smoke aloft,
Till the folk were deafened that day.

And all the crowd cried " Victory " loud,
And alms did free bestow ;
Gold gifts there did no man spare,
Since Alha had quelled the foe.

Lend ear my friends to the song I write,
To give you mirth and glee !
I have told the tale of the Maro fight,
As it was told to me.

BISHOP MILMAN.

BY THE REV. E. JACOB.

THE remarkable career which, to the sorrow of all India, closed at Rawul Pindie in March last, deserves more than a passing notice. He could be no ordinary man of whose death a Viceroy, on the eve of laying down his office, could say, that no event during his stay in India had called forth more universal sympathy, or greater feelings of attachment to any individual. And yet the truth of these words must at once have come home to those who heard or read them. It is too early to form an accurate estimate of the effect of Bishop Milman's episcopate upon India and the Indian Church; nor shall we attempt it. But while India still mourns his loss, and perhaps, before a successor stands in his accustomed place, it may not be amiss if we try to gather up, in a brief sketch, the lessons to be drawn from his life and character.

The second son of the late Sir William G. Milman, Bart., and grandson of the distinguished physician to George III., Robert Milman was born on January 25th, 1816, and was educated at Westminster, and at Exeter College, Oxford. At Westminster he was the school fellow of his predecessor in the See of Calcutta, Bishop Cotton. At Oxford he took a second class in classics in 1837, his name appearing in the same class with that of Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, late Governor of Bombay. After some months of travel on the Continent, he was ordained by the Bishop of Peterborough in 1839 to the Curacy of Winwick, in Northamptonshire, which he left in 1841 on his presentation by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster to the Vicarage of Chaddleworth, Berkshire. Here he remained in comparative obscurity for 10 years; and those who remember the stores of learning from which, when in India, the Bishop was able to draw, will think with interest that the foundations of that learning were laid in this quiet Berkshire village. In 1851, at the request of the Bishop of Oxford, Mr. Milman moved to the less valuable living and far more populous parish of Lamborne in the same county, where he worked till 1862. It was here that he wrote that admirable devotional exposition of the 53rd of Isaiah, entitled, "The Love of the

Atonement," for which those who know the book feel that they owe him a debt that they can never repay, and which will probably be held in increasingly high repute as years roll on. But what inhabitants of Lamborne will chiefly remember, is the wonderful transformation in the state of their parish. A new Church in the hamlet of Eastbury, opened in 1853, was soon followed by middle-class schools for boys and girls, by the completion of the Lamborne national schools, and the erection of a master's house in 1856: by the building of a school and mistress's house at Eastbury; by the addition (mainly through the energy of one of the curates), of a fine large organ in 1859, which added greatly to the attractiveness of the services; and finally, by the thorough restoration of the chancel of the grand parish Church in 1861, the body of the Church having been restored previously. In all these good works, which were effected at a considerable sacrifice of private fortune, Mr. Milman had the advantage of the services of the then young and rising Architect, now a Royal Academician and of established reputation, Mr G. E. Street, with whom he formed a great friendship, and who is now on the London Committee of the "Bishop Milman Memorial Fund." These external works were but tokens of, and went side by side with, a deeper change in the character of the parish. The picture of the vicar and his colleagues in their Lamborne days is one of no common ardour and self-devotion. Mr. Milman was continually amongst his parishioners, preaching usually three times on each Sunday at Lamborne, or at Eastbury, and three times in the week; speaking to his people by cottage lectures, night schools, and all agencies by which he could influence them for good; beginning each day with prayers in Church, and each Sunday with a celebration of the Holy Communion, and spending and being spent for his people with absolute self-devotion. His curates shared his spirit and his labours; and from 1858 he had the advantage—how great that advantage was, India does not need to be told—of the co-operation of his sister. One story of Lamborne days is so characteristic of the man, that we cannot forbear repeating it. No one cared more for all manly sport than the late Bishop, but he was deeply convinced of the abuses of the turf, and, having racing stables in his own parish, knew only too well to what evils they led. On one occasion, when he had refused permission for the church bells to be rung in honor of the victory of a celebrated Lamborne horse, the ringers obtained access to the tower, and locking themselves in, rang a peal. Mr. Milman could not restrain his indignation. Powerless to stop the peal, he summoned the ringers before the magistrates; and on the following Sunday, preached so vehemently upon the abuses of the turf, that no one ventured to trifle with him again. Yet

though he lamented the abuses of horse-racing, no one attended with greater care to those who were employed in the trainers' stables; and the confidence with which that care was returned, may have been seen even in India, when more than one Lamborne jockey found his way to the Bishop's Palace as to a natural home.

In 1862, at the repeated request of Bishop Wilberforce, and to the intense regret of Lamborne, Mr. Milman moved to Great Marlow in Buckinghamshire. It was a real act of self-sacrifice, for the income of his new living was smaller, the population and responsibility far greater than at Lamborne. There was, moreover, a miserable vicarage house, and though there had been an earnest and diligent clergyman, he had sunk beneath the load of work with utterly inadequate means to master it, and Marlow needed the same sort of vigorous and kindly care which had been spent with such effect on Lamborne. Two of Mr. Milman's curates moved with him to Marlow; one of whom was his right hand for nine years, and is now a Proctor in the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury. All the machinery of a well-worked parish was gradually introduced. There were frequent and hearty services in the Church, classes for communicants, for old women, for mill-girls, and for boys. The outlying parts of the parish were made to feel the influences of the Church. The schools were improved. There was one desideratum which the vicar on leaving the parish asked the people steadily to keep in view—the addition of a chancel to the Church; and it is a matter of touching interest, that before these lines can appear in print, on September 14th, this new chancel will have been opened as a parochial memorial of the vicar whom they had known and loved and lost.

Late in 1866, it fell to Lord Cranborne, now Marquis of Salisbury, to fill the vacancy in the See of Calcutta, caused by the lamented death of Bishop Cotton. It will be in the recollection of our readers, that then as now, the See was declined by several distinguished clergymen who felt unable to leave England. When at last it was known that the Bishopric had been accepted by the Vicar of Great Marlow, men only heard that he was a friend of Bishop Wilberforce and a nephew of the celebrated Dean of St. Paul's. The *Friend of India* deliberately ran him down as a Ritualist; and succeeding, as he did, one who at a difficult crisis had administered the largest diocese in Christendom with conspicuous success, and who had been cut off in the height of his usefulness, it must be admitted that Bishop Milman had a difficult task before him on his arrival. And yet, had any Anglo-Indian visited at that time Great Marlow and learned the tender regard in which the late vicar was held, and the sorrow of the parishioners at his departure, and had he, inquiring further, ascertained the self-

sacrifice which had marked Mr. Milman's whole English career, and the respect with which the diocese looked up to him and the value attached to his writings, he might have been assured that the choice of the Crown had fallen on one worthy to occupy the chair of Heber, Wilson and Cotton. How that responsibility has been discharged for the past nine years is now well known.

The work that lies before a Bishop of Calcutta, when he comes to this country, is, of such a varied, complex, and overwhelming character, that it is very difficult for the English public, who know India only from books and papers, to understand it. To judge from the Act of 1813, by which the See was constituted, nothing seems more simple. A Bishop is the head of the Government Ecclesiastical Establishment, and his functions are simply such as the Sovereign shall define. But the India of 1876 is not the India of 1813; and the national conception of a Bishop's function and duties has changed, at least as much as the character of England's Indian Empire. As a matter of fact, no attempt has ever been made to enforce the extraordinary provisions of the Acts of 1813 and 1833 with respect to the Indian Episcopate, and to make the Royal Letters Patent supersede Prayer-book and Ordinal in defining episcopal functions. The enactments have remained and must remain a dead letter. The distinct functions of the Church and the State are now far more clearly discerned than half a century ago; and it is understood, that though the State can give authority to constitute a See and can nominate the Bishop, the Church then steps in as a separate and independent power, creates the Bishop, and gives him the full responsibilities and functions of a Bishop of the Church of Christ. No Indian Bishop, since Heber's consecration, has ever thought of regarding himself merely as a Government official, or as a Bishop of the governing race. We have contemporary evidence that even in the earliest days of the Indian Episcopate, it was this higher conception of England's duty, and without any thought that Acts of Parliament could really limit his sphere of action, that a Bishop was sent forth. Thus, writing to a friend in 1823, the late Bishop Sumner, of Winchester, says: "Heber, I hope, is the new Bishop of Calcutta. He will do for this situation." . . . It is indeed a station of awful responsibility and deep interest, and the man who goes out there with right feelings may well ask 'who is sufficient for these things?' But if an uncultivated field for exertion—if millions of ignorant souls—if corruptions and abominations of fearful extent and deepest dye can stir up Christian energies and warm to exertion a heart which has a sense of vital religion—then the Bishop of Calcutta is a man who has before him a high and honourable course to run, in which an evangelist, even of the older time, would find full scope for his abilities and a pressing call

upon his self-devotion." It is in this spirit that successive Bishops of Calcutta have fulfilled their office, and it may be doubted whether any See in Christendom has been filled, during the present century, by more remarkable or more devoted men.

Bishop Milman succeeded to the Bishopric when the chief diocesan need was not so much organisation,—which had been admirably done by his predecessor after the disintegration and confusion caused by the Mutiny,—as consolidation and deepening of the spiritual life. What was needed was by a conspicuous example, and by teaching to which, because of that example, men would listen, to make a spirit of reality and earnestness pervade the lives of European and Native Christians alike, to raise the whole tone of society, to give a unity to the scattered Christian congregations, to draw men together in spite of the natural tendency to cliques and divisions, to enforce upon Europeans their responsibility with respect to their native fellow subjects, to prosecute vigorously by every legitimate means the missionary work of the Church, to represent Christianity worthily to the world without, and to draw together Christian, Muhammadan, and Hindu acts of thoughtful kindness and forbearance. We doubt if for this special work a fitter instrument could have been raised up. Bishop Milman found himself in 1886 at the head of a diocese, stretching from Mhow and the Punjab frontier on the west, to Independent Burma on the east, and containing nearly a million square miles, or two-thirds of all India. For territory under three local governments—the smallest larger than the entire Presidency of Bombay—four local administrations, and two large political agencies, he was the sole Bishop of the Anglican communion. Scattered over this vast area, as we learn from Sir R. Temple's speech, at the meeting held in Calcutta on April 11th, in upwards 300 stations, are some 100,000 Europeans and East Indians connected with the Church of England, soldiers, civilians, merchants, tea planters, indigo planters, clerks, railway servants, and the like, ministered to by about 120 clergy residing in 105 stations, and visiting the other stations from thence at the Bishop's discretion. Of native Christians connected with the Church of England, we have, according to the same authority, 469 congregations, numbering about 26,000 souls. And when to this is added supervision of all the clergy, numbering now 244, and the care of all the churches and cemeteries scattered over the country, and the necessity of cherishing and developing the various educational agencies set on foot by Bishop Cotton and the diocesan organisations and funds, whether branches of English societies or of Indian origin, it must be admitted that a stronger heart than Bishop Milman's might have shrunk from the responsibility of his position. How much more, when he considered that these scattered flocks who looked to him as their chief shep-

herd were but a handful in comparison with the 150 millions of heathen amongst whom they lived, and whom, with that intense longing to which his episcopate bore witness, he yearned to gather in to his Master's fold.

It is characteristic of the man that Bishop Milman has left comparatively few materials for a detailed biography. Of all characters, that of which he had the most abhorrence, was the hypocrite's and his intense reality often led him to place the most rigorous restraint on his feelings and his conduct, lest he should give to others the impression of being better than he really was. This self-restraint is evident in every page of his journals which we have been privileged to see. He never wrote a line which might make any one think that he had done or was doing anything out of the common. Journeys and work involving physical fatigue that astonished the hardest-working officials in India, are chronicled cursorily as matters of every-day occurrence. There must be some in the Punjab now who remember the impression produced by the Bishop's going down from Murree to Peshawur in June 1868, to take the Chaplain's work for 10 days, when after 6 weeks travelling in the hills and plains in the hot weather, he had just reached Murree with the intention of resting for three months. All this is dismissed in a few sentences in his journal—"There being no Chaplain available," explaining everything; and there is an equally terse record on his return to Murree June 24th, "Laid up with fever, much pain in limbs for 4 days." It is as though it could not have occurred to any one to have done any thing else, though at the age of 52, and during his second hot season, he was exposing himself after several previous alternations of climate to the most trying of Indian stations at the most trying time. Bishop Milman had indeed a positive aversion to writing anything about himself, or chronicling anything that he had done. Hence, with the exception of his journals which we have already characterised, there is but little material for compiling an account of his long and interesting tours, and the chief events of his episcopate beyond the recollections of his chaplains and friends. Even to his friends at home he wrote but scanty records, particularly in the later years of his episcopate, when the work grew round him more and more; and he always felt this necessary breaking of communication with English friends as one of the trials of his position. Partly from disinclination to business in the strictly limited sense of that term, and partly from a feeling that the higher and more spiritual work of the episcopate was the more important, and his special vocation, he left to his domestic Chaplains a more than usually large share of the diocesan correspondence; but when he was called upon to write himself letters of counsel or rebuke, or to advise on difficult questions of doctrine and discipline, such as arise from time to

time owing to the peculiar circumstances of the church in India, or are inseparable from the growth of a nascent church, Bishop Milman could write with discernment, judgment, and breadth of view, which make us hope that some of these letters may one day be given to the public. Otherwise, though these letters and his English writings show what he was capable of writing, his episcopate will not be chiefly remembered for what he wrote, nor for great feats of policy or organisation, but rather for the deep impress of a character which has left a distinct mark on India, even beyond the limit of the communion which he ruled.

What this character was will be best seen by a brief retrospect of the episcopate now prematurely closed. On reaching Calcutta early in April 1867, Bishop Milman at once set to work vigorously to master the languages, and to acquaint himself with the nature and position of the Anglican Church in India. Not content with this, or rather that he might understand this the better, he studied the history of the country and tried to enter, by every means in his power, into the subtlety of Oriental thought. On the 17th of May, he began his first visitation by crossing over to Burma, returning on July 1st, ; and as the mark which the Bishop has left on the country is largely due to these visitation tours, it may be well to state here wherein their value chiefly lay. At each European station the Bishop was usually the guest of the chief military or civil authority, or of some personal friend. During his stay he would visit the military hospitals and schools, show an interest in everything that concerned the welfare of the troops, and frequently address the soldiers at some informal meeting in the school, theatre or prayer-room, in addition to any sermon or address in Church. "Self-inspection," "courage," "the religions of India," "Buddhism" (delivered in Burma), "the Bible" are the subjects of some of the addresses thus given to British soldiers ; and in the later years of his Episcopate, when a Council in England, with the support and approval of the Chaplain-General, had started a "Guild of the Holy Standard" for the purpose of encouraging religion in the army, Bishop Milman threw himself into the movement with his usual energy ; recommended the chaplains to form branches in their several stations ; frequently addressed the guildsmen and others invited to attend the meetings, finally became warden of the Diocesan Ward of the Guild, and had the happiness before his death of learning that great good had already resulted from the Guild, and that the number of members was steadily increasing. The civil part of the community received no less care and attention. On his first visitation in 1867, he addressed the Railway servants at Allahabad in their Reading-room, in connection with which there is the following entry in his journal :— "I preached up courtesy and sobriety as Christian testimony in a

beathen land." Similarly, at Lahore in November 1868, he addressed the Railway employes on the importance of morality and piety for English people in India. At Lucknow more than once, through the energy of the Civil Chaplain, he met a considerable number of East Indians at a social gathering, and entered with a sympathy, which a stranger might little have expected beneath that rugged exterior, into all the wants and difficulties of a class for which he felt strongly that too little had been done. A Confirmation was almost always a part of the visitation programme at each station, and the earnestness and manly vigour of the Bishop's addresses have arrested many besides those for whom they were specially intended. Then he would enter, with the Chaplain and with the laity with whom he was brought into contact, into the religious and educational needs of the station and district. The answers to the articles of enquiry which had been previously sent to each Clergyman, gave him a considerable insight into the condition of the Christian population, and topics thus suggested were often discussed either with the Church Committees, which at an early period of his episcopate he had established with the co-operation of Government, or at larger conferences of clergy and laity. A list of subjects discussed at one of such conferences in 1867 lies before us as we write, and is thoroughly characteristic of the Bishop's regard for all classes of the community. It embraces the following spiritual needs of the Christian population—Sunday and day schools, appointment of Church committees, proposal to establish lay readers and sub-deacons, development of missions.

It will be observed that the development of missions was to be discussed at a conference not of native but of European Christians, and this precisely represents Bishop Milman's deeply-rooted conviction of the responsibility of Europeans with respect to the evangelisation of the country. At stations where there were both chaplains and missionaries, he never lost an opportunity of drawing them and their flocks together. He delighted in being the Bishop and friend of the poorest native Christian as well as of the highest official in the land. In view of a proposal which he understood to have been entertained by the missionary societies at home, to establish purely Missionary Bishoprics with jurisdiction over native Christians only, he endorsed the emphatic words of Bishop Cotton (Preface to Charge for 1863, p.p. 12-13.) that such a proposal "would be likely to cause practical evils of which it is difficult to foresee the end. It would divide the Indian Church into two separate portions, and introduce into it distinctions of race scarcely less fatal than those of caste from which native believers are with difficulty delivered. There is already too little connection between Asiatic and European Christians; too little

sympathy between the missionaries and the ministers of English congregations. The fact that they have all a common diocesan is, or ought to be, the chief outward bond of union between them. The Bishop's influence ought to prevent the chaplains from neglecting to take interest in missionary work, and the Europeans from treating with indifference their native brethren in Christ. Even under our present constitution these evils are often apparent. If two different episcopates were introduced side by side, the two races would begin to think that they belonged to different churches, almost to different religions." Accounts of Bishop Milman's visitations of Lahore and Umritsur in 1872 and 1875 lie before us, and exactly illustrate the way in which he understood his responsibilities. Official duties, spiritual needs of Europeans, supervision and development of missions, are attended to with equal care. One day the Bishop is visiting the Lahore schools, or confirming at the station church. Another day he is addressing in Urdu the students of the excellent Divinity School founded by the Rev. T. V. French of the Church Missionary Society, or confirming some native candidates in the humble temporary mission church. At Umritsur he is the guest of his old friend, the Commissioner, who bears a name honoured in India. He visits all the educational establishments which have made the organisation of the C. M. S. Mission in that city remarkable, the orphanages, boys' and girls' schools and normal training school; confirms now in the station church, now in the mission church; presides over a meeting of laymen to discuss questions connected with the church, whether European or Asiatic, examines candidates for ordination, both European and native, and ordains them in the mission church: preaches in the station church on behalf of the local mission, meets the leading native Christians at a social meal at the mission: accepts an invitation to lunch with some native Christian ladies, and conducts family prayers before leaving; presides at the opening meeting of the Punjab Church Missionary Society's conference. One is at a loss to know, while reading the accounts of such visit, whether to admire most the many-sidedness with which the Bishop threw himself into work of such varied character, or the energy and endurance which enabled him to grapple with a task which would have borne down a weaker or less resolute man.

For we cannot forget that the power which he developed of appreciating Oriental thought and entering into the difficulties of a missionary was a laboriously acquired gift. Few men coming to India for the first time at the age of 51, and necessarily immersed in English work, would be able at 60 to preach, without notes, in Hindi, Urdu and Bengali, to conduct services in some of the less known dialects and varieties of these languages as well, and

to show the same wide acquaintance with Eastern literature, as Bishop Milman had obtained in nine years. Though he always studied with one *munshi*, and often with two, during his residence in Calcutta, his knowledge of the languages was chiefly acquired on tour, in trains, *dák garis*, boats, *palkies*. An Arabic or Persian grammar would often occupy a dusty journey or a boat passage down the Indus. Occasional entries in his journals show how important the Bishop considered this to be. Thus, on August 22nd, 1867, four or five months only after his arrival, he writes,—"I managed part of the service [at Ghanjra] and the Benediction in Bengali. Mr. Driberg said the rest of the service, and interpreted my addresses. Mr. Harrison read the Preface. God forgive me for undertaking the Bishopric without more knowledge of the language." We find him able to read Hindustani addresses at a confirmation at Patna a week afterwards. Again on October 11th, he confirmed 4 English and 7 native candidates, and made two English addresses, but we find this entry also, "Read my second address to the natives afterwards in Urdu." Three days later, at Meerut, he distributed the prizes at the mission school and writes:—"Talked with native gentry a very little afterwards. *Deus det linguam scientium.*" And again the same day after laying the first stone of a new mission church,—"Made a written address in Urdu, which I hope was understood." On November 10th, 1867, he writes:—"Preached in Mission Church [Lucknow] in Urdu. Could not see very well, but was tolerably intelligible. Must have more time to read over Urdu sermons. Viceroy and others unexpectedly present." A month later (December 3rd, 1867) at Taljhari he conducts a confirmation service in Santhali, "written in Roman characters," and adds humorously: "Got through the service with tolerable success, notwithstanding my total ignorance, and the clucks which are difficult of utterance." Later on we find him addressing candidates in Urdu without MSS. Here is an entry made at Kangra, May 17th, 1868: "I made two addresses, rather jumbling and ungrammatical. I cannot tell how much I was understood, but I think it is needful to appear to do my best when I hope I can do so sincerely." We find a more cheerful entry made at Goruckpore, November 22nd, 1869. The Bishop was stirred up by the mission work there, conducted, as he says, with "unwearied energy, wisdom, love," and writes, "I made two addresses, I think intelligibly and clearly. The service occasion was so good that I believe I was roused by this." A week later he makes an apologetic entry about his having addressed the educated natives at Mozufferpore in English and not in the vernacular. "I fear many did not understand English, but I cannot trust myself in Urdu yet." Later, as is well known, the Bishop was able to speak with considerable

fluency in Urdu and Hindi, and to speak grammatically and without MSS. in Bengali ; though he never mastered the Bengali accent as well as those of the former languages. On the occasion of his last visit through the villages connected with the S. P. G. Chota Nagpur Mission in 1875, he astonished the people by conducting the confirmation, with the help of the missionaries, not in Hindi, which many could not understand, but in their own local dialects.

This laborious study of Eastern language and literature was of the greatest value to Bishop Milman in what was one of the most striking features of his visitations—the addresses which he delivered at the large centres to educated natives. Though spoken in English, they were often illustrated by apt quotations from Persian or Sanskrit writings, and they always showed a profound knowledge of the religious needs and aspirations of India. Delivered at the suggestion or request some times of missionaries, sometimes of members of the Brama Samaj, sometimes of a local literary society, or of leading natives, without any thought of religious end, they were deliberately intended by the Bishop as part of his contribution to the missionary work of the church. The title might not imply a religious discussion, and the lecture would in any case be different from a sermon and would impart both thoughts and information of other than a religious character; but the aim and object was in every case the same, and the Bishop would never consent to lecture unless he were free to speak his mind about Christianity. It is a real misfortune that only one of these remarkable addresses was written down and preserved. A second was written after delivery, and sent to England to be printed, but was lost in transmission. At De'hi, Agra and Cawnpore, the Bishop lectured on "Truth" in 1867, and on "Revelation" in 1871. "Eclecticism" is the title of a very able lecture delivered before the Burra Bazar Family Literary Club in Calcutta. We find him lecturing in August 1869 at Dacca, on the Parallel to India afforded by the Roman Empire at the Time of its Conversion to Christianity. The same year he lectured on "Progress" at Nagpore and on "Back-bone" at Jubbulpore. "Faith," "Man," "Enlightenment," "Prevention better than Cure," "Epic Poetry," "Decision"—gave subject matter for other lectures which were usually delivered in more places than one. Some of the Bishop's entries in his journal about these lectures have a touching interest. Thus, with reference to an address to Bengali enquirers at Dinapore or Patna on September 2nd, 1867, he says : "Took line of nobility of enquiry befitting men as God's creatures and leading as in Justin Martyr, to rest. Doctrine of Trinity unspeakably comfortable in present astonishing discoveries of science. Very attentive, and very interesting lec-

ture. May it bear fruit: about 200 present." At Delhi, October 17th, 1867, he writes: "Made my address on Truth, as the aggregate of all facts, and specially eternal facts, and our relation to them. A good attendance of native gentry: rather too many boys. I spoke for an hour and a half, and I heard afterwards that the natives received the address well, and that it was well adapted for the Missionary's object in asking for it. *Deus misereatur.*" November 22nd, 1867, "addressed about 500 educated natives [at Benares] on 'Faith.' Much attention shown. I hope it may have some fruit." February 20th, 1869.—"Spoke [to educated natives at Nagpore on "Progress"] for 1¼ hour, and urged conversion on them with all my power." Speaking of a deputation of native zemindars, and two addresses which he received on his visit to Cuttack. January 2nd, 1868, the Bishop writes:—"They were very kindly in tone. I endeavoured to keep the same, though I hope without any forfeiture of plain truth." We notice here the same uncompromising fidelity to the great principles of his life. Two days before he was confined to the bed of sickness, which he never left, he was to have lectured to the English-speaking natives, chiefly clerks in Government offices at Peshawur, but owing to the rain and to the already too evident symptoms of illness, the lecture was put off. It is not unfitting that the last of these striking addresses should have been delivered to a crowded audience at the Town Hall, Umritsur, in November 1875, on a subject which could admit of no disguise, and which gave opportunity for as true a missionary heart as ever beat to give utterance to the yearnings of a life-time: "The offence of the Cross;" and none who ever heard it will easily forget that grand apology for a Christian's faith.

The fact that more than one of these addresses were delivered in school-rooms connected with Non-conformist missions, raises the question of Bishop Milman's relation to Christian bodies, external to the Church of England. An uncompromising Churchman himself, he yet felt the necessity for Christians in their unhappy divisions, to present as united a front as possible to the heathen world without. Hence he discouraged party-spirit within the church, and without any forfeiture of truth drew together men of many minds. After approving of some internal improvements in a church, he wrote in 1871: "I hope, however, there will be no overdoing of these externals. Hard, earnest, faithful, Godly work is what is everywhere most appreciated by our hard-working Indian laymen." He ignored parties; and whether a man was "High Church" or "Low Church," if he worked earnestly, he was sure of his Bishop's care and sympathy. Supporters of the two great Missionary Societies of the Church may at times be narrow enough to look coldly on each other in England, but Bishop Milman asked no questions about C. M. S. or

S. P. G. ; enough for him that a clergyman was a missionary in his diocese to entitle him to whatever sympathy and help his Bishop could give ; and though it might have been supposed that his theological sympathies inclined rather to the society for the Propagation of the Gospel, a missionary of the Church Missionary Society has placed it on record, that the Bishop really died in his own society's cause. It was not unnatural, therefore, that Bishop Milman should preside at meetings of the British and Foreign Bible Society, without which he felt that many of the Church's missions would be unable to carry on their work, and that on his visitation tours he should visit the institutions of missions not connected with the Church of England when their friends desired it. Accordingly we find him familiar, from personal experience, with some of the missionary organisations of the American Baptists in Burma, (*he was particularly struck with Dr. Binney's Karen College at Rangoon*) Assam and Orissa ; the American Presbyterians at Lahore, Loodiana, Rawal Pindee, Gujranwala ; the American Episcopal Methodists in Rohilkhund, the London Missionary Society at Benares and in Kumaon, the Free Church of Scotland in the Central Provinces, the German Evangelical Lutherans in Tirhoot, the Welsh Presbyterians at Cherrapoonjee, the Roman Catholics at Kamptee, Rangoon and Mandalay, and others whom we have not named. Of the Baptist Orphanage at Cuttack he writes in January 1868 : " It must be a great pleasure to feel that so many have been saved from death and are now receiving this Christian education through the mission." At Almora in 1869 he addresses the Christian inmates of the Native Leper Asylum, at the request of the missionary of the London Missionary Society. With another distinguished missionary of the same Society he formed an acquaintance that only needed time and opportunities for meeting to ripen into friendship. With all there was an interchange of kindly courtesies, and acknowledgment of good honest work wherever it was to be found, and a word of encouragement to those who were engaged in work akin to his own; and thus, without a suspicion of sacrifice of principle, the Bishop's visitation had usually an influence for good beyond the limits of his own communion, and men felt that the highest ecclesiastical official of the State could also be the accepted representative of Christianity in India.

The accumulated experience which this survey of mission work, both within and without the church, gave to one who, with an already well informed mind, had made Eastern thought a study, made Bishop Milman a considerable authority upon the difficult questions which from time to time arose in planting the church in India. He came to be more and more convinced of the necessity of a thorough reform in the conduct of mission schools.

We find continual reference to this in his journals. In October 1867, he writes at Cawnpore : " All very promising as far as education is concerned. Only small Christian results. Many, however, enquiring. The missionaries hopeful." At Lucknow, where he was particularly struck with the excellence of all the educational establishments, he writes in November 1867 : " About the same Christian fruit is visible here from the schools as in other places: a little and that good, but certainly little as yet. A little later he regrets the lack of Christians at Joynarain's College at Benares; highly approves of the orphanages, but remarks of the other schools : There is much future promise, but the immediate results are still limited. Similar observations follow in 1868, with reference to two large mission schools in the Punjab. Late in 1869, when his experience had been considerably greater, he breaks out into a distinct expression of dissatisfaction with the system. Writing of a school in Rohilkhund, he says : " There was no Christian boy in the school. I was asked to say a few words, which I did, but I cannot appreciate very highly the school mission work. Its results are very doubtful—I am not sure whether better than those of Government schools." Two years later, when he had now been all over India, the Bishop makes a definite complaint : " Here there seems the same misunderstanding of the method of teaching Christianity to absolute heathen, which is so universally prevalent. They are taught the facts, say, of the Old Testament history, without any real spiritual interpretation. The difficulties are neither pointed out nor solved. I cannot see that the consciences are even awakened, much less formed or disciplined by the scriptural instruction. I am going, indeed, now on small grounds as I did not hear much, but the plan is so palpable and to me so palpably painful, that little of it is enough to manifest and condemn it. I fear that I shall not be able to get the missionaries to share my feelings. They seem wedded everywhere to this strange unbusinesslike and really un-Christian system, and I cannot get much attention paid to my suggestion. At least no alteration is apparent." and again, " There is no system of Christian instruction. The missionaries never seem to have any definite idea or plan in their minds. They are very often unsound and inaccurate in many points. Calvinism in any shape is especially unsuited in Indian missions. Altogether, I fear, that while mission schools seem a necessity, they are, as they are worked now, very unlikely to have any definite Christian results. . . . The Government school undermines the superstitions as much as the mission school. Whether the latter schools do not, in some cases, actually prejudice the truth is a difficult question." We add one further entry from the same year (1871) " They sang hymns. Christian hymns seemed out of place in the mouths of heathen

(mostly) children, but this is the way of missions, and I think one of the causes of insufficient success, as there is the usual want of distinction between Christians and non-Christians." We have purposely suppressed the names of the schools and missions to which these remarks applied, nor have we indicated which were and which were not connected with the Church of England, because they represent Bishop Milman's opinion, which he never changed with reference to the whole subject of missionary education. He thought, that with some exceptions, the system needed a thorough reform in schools connected with the church, and in those connected with other societies alike, or rather, that a clear definite system needed to be created.

We have perhaps sufficiently indicated the character of Bishop Milman's visitation work; the thoroughness with which he entered into every phase of church work connected either with Europeans or with Asiatics, taking a personal part in it himself, so that he was at once the chief chaplain and the chief missionary of his diocese; and the laborious care with which he prepared himself for this duty. But it ought not to be omitted that he generally made time to show an intelligent interest in other than religious work, and in all that tended to develop the resources and humanize the character of the country of his adoption. Many a master of a Government secular school has eagerly looked forward to his expected visit. Jails, lunatic asylums, hospitals, medical schools, and all institutions calculated to relieve misery or advance the nation, he considered that a Christian Bishop should help forward and encourage. We need not refer to his exertions on behalf of the Lady Canning Home for training nurses at Calcutta, which would scarcely have come into being but for the Bishop's energy and determination. He never forgot that he was a citizen as well as—and all the more *because* he was—a Christian: and he sought to identify himself by every means in his power with the inhabitants of the country which had become his home.

The extent and character of Bishop Milman's visitation tours have no parallel in the history of an Indian See. It is not simply that he travelled over more ground, for that would follow from the increased facilities for communication. The amount of work which was crowded into these tours and the physical endurance which it entailed, made the Bishop conspicuous even in a country where hard work among officials is the rule. The greater ease and rapidity of communication, as was well pointed out by the Archdeacon of Calcutta at the meeting called to do honour to Bishop Milman on April 11th, in reality makes a Bishop's work in such a diocese as Calcutta harder instead of easier; for, as there is always more work than he can do, he is thereby enabled, and being enabled, is compelled to do a much greater amount of work

in a shorter time. The easy pleasant marching which formed so agreeable a season of retirement to a Bishop in the old time, is impossible in these days when he has to travel by night and work by day, and thinks himself fortunate when he is allowed to stay for a few days at the comfortable houses where he is always made a welcome guest. To travel in this way for eight months in each year, in hot and cold weather, over a tract of country characterised by climates as various as those of Europe, and to keep to a printed programme all this time, which rarely gives a week at the same station, as if health could be as much depended on as an Indian sun, will at least be considered trying; and yet this is what Bishop Milman did for nine years. The journeys, by themselves, let alone the work at the stations, were often enough to daunt a younger man. On each of the two occasions of his going down the Punjab frontier, he had difficulties of this kind to contend with. In 1868, after hurrying with unprecedented rapidity from Peshawar to Dera Ismail Khan by horse-dâk, carriage and *palky*, passing through Kohat, Bunnoo and Sheikh Budin, he dropped down the river by boat to Dera Ghazi Khan, ill all the time, and was indebted to a steamer which he met, for some medicine which somewhat relieved him. Yet, though still ill, he left nothing undone at Dera Ghazi Khan; held a confirmation, about which he modestly wrote: "I made two addresses as well as I could in my fever," and pushed on to Multan to be there on the appointed day. In 1872 he had a rough night-journey by moonlight from the Indus to Bunnoo, a distance of about 64 miles, partly on horse-back, partly by mail cart, being on the verge once of riding into a quick-sand, and riding and driving back after one night at the station. In 1869 he meets with difficulties in crossing from Meerut to Moradabad: "Two ferries and other difficulties. About 15 miles from Moradabad I stuck fast, and had to sit under a tree for 3 or 4 hours, and went on afterwards by bullocks and buffaloes." In 1873 he astonished the officials in the Central Provinces by travelling by bullock coach from Nagpore to Raipore and back, a distance of 360 miles, and returning on the eighth day, after consecrating two churches (Raipore and Bhundara) and two cemeteries, spending the Sunday at Raipore and pausing on his journey only for 2 hours for breakfast and two for dinner in the 24 hours. In the rains of 1875, during his Assam tour, the horse which he was driving from Sebsaugor to Nazerah for a Sunday service, broke down, and the Bishop had to walk four miles, just before noon, on the hottest day which the thermometer had recorded during the year. After some refreshment he preached to the planters, who had gathered for service, and riding back nine miles to Sebsaugor in the afternoon, took a second service for the residents at once, having officiated there early previously; and the next morning was up early

visiting the various schools. When it is considered that this fatigue was undertaken by an over-worked man of nearly 60, it will appear the more remarkable ; but the sad journey which removed him from our midst early in the current year, proved that these extraordinary powers of endurance could be fatally overstrained.

But it was the combination of physical fatigue with unresting brain-work that chiefly distinguished Bishop Milman's visitation tours. The diocese had never been so thoroughly and regularly visited before. Numerous small stations and missionary outposts were visited by a Bishop for the first time ; and often as a result of these visits, fresh churches sprang up, or services began to be held on Sunday, when the day had been but little observed before.

An episcopal visitation should be held once in three years, and in spite of his gigantic diocese, Bishop Milman very nearly succeeded in achieving the task. Only twice in his episcopate did he seek any rest at a hill station during the hot weather. The first occasion in 1868 has already been alluded to, as also the self-denial with which the earlier part of that short rest was given up. The Bishop took the opportunity of his being at Murree this year to visit Kashmere. The only other occasion was in 1871, when he spent four months at Mussoorie ; visiting, however, from thence Annfield, Chakrata, Koorkee and Dehra. These were really the only periods of leisure for study which he enjoyed during his life in India, and he writes with pleasure of his studying at Mussoorie, Persian, Urdu, Theology, and a little Bengali, and examining a box of books which he had received : " Most of it a mass of unorthodoxy, but I hope (he adds) the reading may be useful, ' Thy word is truth.' It certainly comes out more and more as *the* truth, the more it is studied. At Mussoorie, too, he gave Wednesday evening lectures on the principal present difficulties in religion and their practical solution in Christ crucified, connected with which there is, in his journal, this characteristic entry : " There was a large attendance for a week day at first, but after a time it diminished. One very long lecture, I fear, repelled several people, and the evening was continually wet. I hope, however, I have myself thought out several problems with greater care and exactness in consequence, and if opportunity should occur, prepared myself to discuss these points with greater patience, humility, and comprehension."

* Bishop Milman's first visitation of his diocese began on May 17th, 1869, and ended on June 8th, 1870. He had in this time traversed the whole Province of Bengal, (including as it then did Assam) the N.-W Provinces, the Punjab, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India and British Burma. The experience gained in this tour enabled him to arrange his time in future, and the plan which he adopted, in rough outline, was as follows : Calcutta

was head-quarters for the first half of each year, though he made short tours in Bengal, which occupied altogether about two months out of the six. Then in the rains he would visit Burmah, or Assam, and East Bengal, and as the visitation was triennial, for at least one season in every three, he might have rested ; but only on the two occasions, to which we have before alluded, 1868 and 1871, would he retire to a hill station. In 1874 he remained in Calcutta until July, and then began, thus early, his long tour for the year. These long tours which occupied, to speak generally, the last four months of each year, usually began with some of the hill stations, which were visited rapidly and without any thought of rest in September, and sometimes part of October ; stations in the plains being visited *en route*, so that there was no consecutive sojourn in the hills. The Bishop always tried to be in Calcutta again by Christmas, if it were possible. In this way the North-Western Provinces, (except Rohilcund) and Oudh were visited in 1867, 1871 and 1874 ; Rohilcund, Central Provinces and Central India in 1869 and 1863, the Punjab in 1868, 1872 and 1875. These constituted the long tours, the latter part of 1870 being occupied with a Metropolitan tour through Madras, Ceylon and Bombay, of which, unfortunately, the Bishop kept no journal, and has left the scantiest memorials. Burma was visited in 1867, 1870, and 1873 with unfailling regularity ; Assam and East Bengal with equal regularity in 1869, 1872 and 1875 ; the Andamans in 1870 and 1874. As the visitation of Bengal consisted of a series of small tours, it is hard to speak of the province as a whole, but we observe that Darjeeling and stations along the Loop line of the East Indian Railway, were visited in 1870, 1873 and 1875 ; Tirhut and North Bengal in 1869 and 1874 (during the famine), and Orissa in 1867-68 and 1872. The principal mission fields of the two Church Societies in Bengal, those of the Church Missionary Society in the Kishnaghur district and in the Santhal Pergunans, and those of the Propagation Society in the Sunderbunds and in Chota Nagpore, were tended with watchful care ; the Bishop's visits to them being at the least triennial, while to Chota Nagpore he went five times, in 1869, 1870, 1872, 1873 and 1875. It was always a matter of regret to him that, owing to the overwhelming size of his diocese, he could not visit these missions regularly every year. It would be impossible in the space at our disposal to give an epitome of these interesting tours. Their effect on India generally, is seen by the way in which the country was stirred from Cape Comorin to Peshawur at the news of the Bishop's death, and by the words in which a retiring Viceroy gave expression, at once to a strong personal feeling and to an universal grief. But we may, perhaps, just notice a few prominent feature

in these tours before passing on. The first impressions of a strange country on a man of thought are always worth noticing, and Burma as the scene of his first visitation tour, had always a special interest for him. "I have great hopes," he writes at Rangoon on May 30th, 1867, "that eventually great conversions may take place among the kindly and honest people, who like the English, and are much liked by them." He was much struck with the American Baptist Karen College under the direction of Dr. Binny, and constantly deplored the comparative weakness of the Propagation Society's missions; feeling, as his predecessor had done, that it was impossible for a Bishop of Calcutta to do justice to Burma, and that Rangoon needed a Bishop of its own to be at the head of the entire Anglican Church in that Province, and to head, in Bishop Cotton's words, missions "as vigorous, aggressive and widely spread among the purely Burmese population, as those of the American Baptists have been among the Karens." In 1870, and again in 1873, Bishop Milman continued his visitation up the Irrawaddy as far as to Mandalay, where a mission of the Propagation Society had now been established, and on the latter occasion he had an interview with the King. In 1867 there had been a difficulty, which the Bishop thus records in his journal: "I had asked for a seat, as I cannot sit on my haunches without difficulty. Moreover, it looks rather too like adoration, especially with this King. I find it is contrary to their etiquette for any but a religious, in the Buddhist sense of the word, to have such a recognition, and therefore it seems to imply an inferiority of Christianity, if I consent to waive the application." The Bishop did not regret the *contretemps*, as he thought he noticed a little too much tendency to connect the mission with the Court. "The King," he writes, "seems to have too much hold upon the school, and the impression seems to be general, that conversion to Christianity is unlikely to take place, in and through the school." A few conversions did take place in later years indirectly through the school, but the subsequent history of the Mandalay mission has shown the general correctness of the Bishop's views.

During the 1873 visitation, a Bishop for the first time visited Tonghoo; and the ecclesiastical questions which were submitted to him then for solution, were as tangled and difficult as the subsequent political questions connected with the boundary between the Karens and the Upper Burmans. The question was, whether to accede to the request of a large body of Karens, who had been converted by agency of American Baptists, that they might be admitted into the communion of the Church of England; and as a similar question arose in 1868 and 1869 in Chota Nagpore, it may be well without reopening controversy, to state that Bishop Milman entirely accepted the general principles of non-interference with the work and

the sphere of work, of other religious bodies, as his relations to them abundantly testify ; while at the same time he felt that circumstances might arise which would not justify the church in refusing to accede to the request of a large body external to it. He thought that such circumstances had arisen in Chota Nagpore with which his name will always be connected, and in this opinion he had the unanimous support of the local officials, and European residents. Even those who then thought him mistaken, now that bitter feelings have been allayed, and that in the place of one ill-supported divided mission, two strong missions are working side by side with ample scope for the energy of each, and are bearing Christian fruit to which there is no parallel in the diocese, will probably admit that the Bishop's action has been justified. Similarly, at Tonghoo, the Bishop gradually came to the conviction, after weighing all the evidence, that if the Church of England could afford to send missionaries to disaffected Karens who desired to join her communion, she would not be justified in refusing, in the belief that unless thus received and cared for they would, as some have since done, either join the Roman Catholic Mission or lapse into heathenism. The historic places which Bishop Milman visited on his first long tour in 1867, Patna, Meerut, Delhi, Agra, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Allahabad, and Benares, had for him an intense interest, and had we space, we could quote extracts from his journals which would have an interest even for those who are familiar with the scenes. At Agra he ordained four European missionaries. He was amazed at the grandeur of the Taj, but remarks, "Pity so much good work thrown away on a tomb." At Delhi he consecrated the excellent mission church, built as a memorial of the missionaries and native Christians of Delhi who fell in the Mutiny. Of Lucknow he remarks, "I have not seen any place in which there was so much educational activity, or in which the fruits were so promising, intellectually and socially." At Benares he writes, "the C. M. S. work seems very good and thorough as far as I could judge. They gave me a hearty welcome, and I gave them all the help and recommendation which I could. I am thankful for the comfort thus given and received."

In the Punjab the Bishop was specially struck with the mission work at Umritsur and Peshawur, and the Divinity College at Lahore. Of the Umritsur mission he writes in 1867 : "One of the most active and satisfactory that I have seen," and he retained this opinion to the last. Peshawur, indeed, has a sad interest, for his last days are connected with it. He had been much struck with the progress made since 1872, had entered into detail of the mission, held an Urdu confirmation, attended the bazaar preaching, administered the communion to the native communi-

cants. His last sermon was in the station church on behalf of the local mission; and the following morning, when too ill really to stand, he insisted on being present at the distribution of prizes at the mission school; and addressing those present upon the blessings of a Christian education, then left the school for the sick bed from which he was never to rise. But we must pass on from the notice of these visitation tours. What an impetus he gave to church building throughout the diocese, and how liberally he contributed himself, how munificently he supported the Additional Clergy Society, and laboured to provide his scattered countrymen with the means of grace, there are many in India who can testify. That Ajmere and Cachar have resident clergy is due partly, no doubt, to local liberality, but in no small degree to Bishop Milman's exertions; and to many a railway community throughout the country, his familiar face was not simply that of a carnal traveller, but of a messenger of peace.

We have said that the distinguishing feature of Bishop Milman's episcopate is to be looked for, not so much in administrative policy, as in the impression of a character upon the church. Of episcopal charges he has left but two, one written at the end of 1867, after nine months in India, and the other written in 1871; and these are remarkable rather for suggestive thoughts than as noting epochs in the history of a church. The ripened experience of the last five years has unfortunately never been summarised in a charge or pastoral. It seems that the Bishop was anxious to be able to report, in a third charge, that definite steps had been taken to extend the Indian Episcopate. The solution of this question, which had given him the greatest care and anxiety, and which was the cause of his summoning an important Conference of the India Bishops in November 1873, has now passed into other hands. It is far too large a subject for more than a passing allusion here, but a sketch of Bishop Milman's Episcopate would be very incomplete which did not place on record his entire concurrence with his predecessor, in the opinion, that the first great need for the diocese of Calcutta was the formation of two new dioceses which should relieve the Bishop entirely of all episcopal responsibility for Burma on the one side and the Punjab on the other. The foundation of these two Sees; at Lahore and Rangoon, was the main object of his projected visit to England in 1876; and it is satisfactory to know that there is every prospect of the Bishop's wishes being carried out with the co-operation of the Secretary of State, the diocese of Winchester having undertaken to raise an endowment for a See at Rangoon, while the Bishopric of Lahore is being founded as a special memorial of the life and work of Bishop Milman.

Yet, though the bent of his mind was rather towards spiritual

than towards administrative work, it could not but be, that during the nine years of his episcopate, important questions should press for solution. That excellent institution, near the General Hospital at Calcutta, which almost owes its existence to the Bishop, the Lady Canning Home—shows with what energy he could throw himself into the Christian work of providing trained nurses for the sick and suffering; and to omit other and smaller matters, there are two with which Bishop Milman's name will always be associated. One is the assignment of a definite sphere for lay work within the church. Very early in his episcopate he took up the question of church committees which had been bequeathed to him by his predecessor; and after due consultation, matured a plan whereby in each station, at least, two laymen should be associated with the chaplain in such church matters as are not strictly of a spiritual character. But a more important step was the appointment of sub-deacons and lay-readers. The Bishop noticed that many laymen would gladly assist the clergy in church, school, hospital, or district work if they could feel that they were not stepping out of their proper sphere, but were acting under diocesan sanction; and hence he proposed to give a commission to act as sub-deacons or lay-readers, to such as desired either office, and might be recommended for it by the clergy. The number of sub-deacons has steadily increased, the value of their work has been thankfully recognised; and, in a country like India, where we can never expect a sufficient number of clergy, the system admits of very large extension.

The other measure with which Bishop Milman's name will be associated, is the development of Anglo-Indian education on the lines laid down by Bishop Cotton. Though not naturally a great educationist, he threw all his energy into the work from the same conscientious sense of duty which characterised him through life. On September 21st, 1871, he consecrated the chapel of the "Bishop Cotton School," Simla; and with reference to this writes in his journal: "In my sermon I alluded to Bishop Cotton, and the blessing his work had been to the country in the preparation of good, manly boys and men. Certainly in this age more and more seems to depend on education and the real character of education. Its effect appears to me to remain more surely than it did in earlier times. I imagine it goes deeper into the heart and touches the springs of moral character more than it used in my own young days." Through the Bishop's activity a grant of £5,000 was obtained for Anglo-Indian education from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; and to this grant, in no small degree, are owing the excellent diocesan schools at Naini Tal and the Pratt Memorial School at Calcutta. We need not refer to his exertions last year in the same cause, to the special fund raised,

with the cordial support of the late Viceroy, for the purpose of bringing a good education within reach of the very poorest, or to the munificent liberality with which he aided all the educational projects in his diocese. How many children were supported at his own cost at these various schools will never be fully known. Nor is it necessary to add that his sympathies were not limited by race. An excellent Bengali school for high-caste native girls at Bhowanipore was almost entirely dependent on the Bishop; and we rejoice to hear that many of his native friends are trying to perpetuate his memory by placing this school on a permanent basis.

But, after all, it is the man, rather than the measures, that has made that distinct mark on the country of which we are all conscious. A rugged exterior and an occasional bluntness of manner, could not conceal the breadth and tenderness of the heart within. When death removes a great man from our midst, we lose sight of any little peculiarities and think only of the grand features of the character. India can ill afford to lose such self-sacrifice, devotion, learning, power of sympathy, as have been long associated with the name of the Bishop of Calcutta. We ourselves have to mourn the loss, not only of a great Bishop, but of a valued contributor to this *Review*.^{*} One who can reckon amongst his personal friends the highest and the lowest in the land, who can draw together men of all classes, all parties, all religions, is such an one as India needs and such an one as India mourns. The time must come when Bishop Milman's episcopate will be reckoned amongst the things of the distant past, and when men may be scarcely conscious of the impetus which he gave to Christian work in the country of his adoption; but while recollections are clear, and while the generation still lives which has known and loved him, we shall do well to gather up the lessons of his life, and by endeavouring to receive the impress of his character, to lay our wreaths of affection upon an already honoured grave.

^{*} Few of our readers will have forgotten two powerful articles that appeared in the *Calcutta Review* rather more than a year ago—one on Mill's *Three Essays*, the other

on *Papal Infallibility*. Both were from the pen of the great and good man whose loss we now mourn.—
EDITOR.

FRENCH MARINERS ON THE INDIAN SEAS.'

BY COL. G. B. MALLESON, C.S.I.

IN the history of the French in India, I have brought the story of the struggle for empire in the East of that gallant and high-spirited people to the year 1761. From that date the land contest really ceased. For although in 1782, France did despatch a considerable force to aid Haidar Ali, the decrepitude of its leaders and the death of Haidar combined to render its efforts fruitless. From 1761, indeed, the French ceased to be principals in the contest. Thenceforth the adventurous sons of her soil were forced to content themselves with the position of auxiliaries to native princes. The foremost amongst them, levying contingents of their own countrymen, took service in the courts which showed the greatest inclination to resist the progress of the increasing power of the English. Thus the younger Lally, Law, Raymond, de Boigne, Perron, Dudrence, and many others became the main supports upon which Haidar Ali, the Nizam, Sindia, and Holkar rested their hopes for independence, if not for empire. But, after all, although in many cases these adventurers accomplished much in the way of organising resistance to the English, they did not succeed in their own secret views. They failed entirely to resuscitate the dream of successful rivalry to England. One by one they disappeared before the steady advance of the foe they had once hoped to conquer. Sometimes, as at Haidarabad, dismissed on the requisition of an English governor; again, as in 1802, beaten by the English General, they gradually renounced the cause as hopeless, and finally ceased to pursue the struggle. The hopes which had glimmered but very faintly after the death of Haidar, which had again been somewhat rekindled by the prudent measures of Mádháji Sindia, were dealt a fatal blow by Lord Lake at Aligarh and at Delhi, and were finally crushed by that stalwart soldier on the field of Láswári.

But there was another element upon which the fortunes of France still flourished even after the blow dealt at her in 1761. Strange, indeed, it was, that during the contest which terminated in that year, she had never sent simultaneously to the field

* The principal authorities for this article are :—

(1) Extracts made from the Naval Archives of France ; (2) Transactions in India, published in 1786 ; (3) Dr. Campbell's Naval History of Great Britain ; (4) *Histoire de la dernière*

Guerre, written by a French officer engaged in it ; (5) *Histoire de la Campagne de l'Inde sous les ordres du Bailli de Suffren*, Trublet, (1802) ; (6) *Le Bailli de Suffren dans l'Inde*, Roux (1867) ; (7) *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, Wilks.

of action a capable general and a capable admiral. It is true that La Bourdonnais combined both qualities in his own person, and the great things he had then been able to effect ought to have served as an example for the times that were to follow. But they did not. La Bourdonnais' stay in the Indian seas was short. He was succeeded by the feeble D'Orde-lin. And subsequently, when the Government of Louis XV. made the greatest effort France had till then made to establish an empire in India; when it sent out a general who had won distinction on the battle fields of Flanders, and soldiers who had helped to gain Fontenoy and Laffeldt, it selected as the colleague of the general, an admiral of whom it has been written that "to an unproductive brain he added infirmity of purpose."

Subsequently to the capture of Pondichery in 1761, the position was reversed. When, eighteen years later, Bussy, gouty, infirm, and whom self-indulgence had made halting and undecided, was sent to command the land forces, he had as his naval colleague a man whose name, covered with an eternal ray of glory, still shines as one of the most illustrious, if not the most illustrious, in the naval annals of France. I allude to Pierre André de Suffren.

The Treaty of Paris, signed on the 10th February 1763, had restored Pondichery to France, but it was a Pondichery dismantled, beggared, bereft of all her influence. During the fifteen years which followed this humiliating treaty, Pondichery had been forced to remain a powerless spectator of the aggrandisement of her rival on Indian soil. Even when, in 1778, the war was renewed, the Government of France was but ill prepared to assert a claim for independence, still less for dominion, in Eastern and Southern India.

The natural results followed. Chandernagore fell without a blow (10th July 1778). Pondichery, ably defended for forty days against vastly superior forces by its Governor, Bellecombe, surrendered in the month of September following; the fleet, commanded by M. de Tronjoly,—a feeble copy of Count d'Aché,—abandoned the Indian waters without even attempting to save Mahé. All seemed lost. The advantages gained by the English appeared too great to be overcome; when the marvellous energy of Haidar Ali, the Muhammadan ruler of Mysore, gave a turn to events which upset the most carefully laid calculations, and communicated to his French allies the most brilliant hopes.

On the 4th April 1769, Haidar Ali had dictated peace to the English under the walls of Madras. By one of the articles of this treaty the contracting parties bound themselves to assist each other in defensive wars. But when, during the following year, Haidar was attacked and was hardly pressed by the Marhátás,

the English refused their aid. Haidar never forgave this breach of faith.

When, therefore, some nine years later, he saw the English embroiled alike with the French and the Márhátás, Haidar resolved to take his revenge. He first sent to the English an intimation that he should regard an attack on the French settlement of Mahé, contiguous to his own possessions on the western coast, as equivalent to an attack upon himself. The English notwithstanding took Mahé and endeavoured apparently to pacify the ruler of Mysore, by sending to him ambassadors charged with presents. These latter were, however, little calculated to produce such an effect. They consisted of a pigskin saddle and a rifle which it was found impossible to load. Haidar returned them with contempt, and prepared for war.

His first efforts in the autumn were eminently successful. Outmanœuvring the English general, Munro, he defeated and took prisoners (9th and 10th September) a detachment of 3,720 men, of whom upwards of 500 were Europeans, under the command of Colonel Baillie, at Perambákam. He then captured Arcot and some minor places.

But the ruler of Mysore had not been unmindful of the French alliance. Early in the year he had intimated to the representatives of that nation in India his determination to strike a decisive blow at their rivals,—a blow which must be fatal, if the French would only sufficiently aid him. But the ministers of Louis XVI. were not alive to the importance of the stake to be played for. In that year, when England was engaged in a life and death struggle with her own children in America, a fleet under Suffren, and 3,000 men under a skilled leader such as De Boigne, would have sufficed to clear of her rivals the whole country south of the Vindhya range. But though roused by the exhortations of Haidar, and catching, though dimly, a feeble idea of the possibilities before her, France, instead of sending a fleet and an army to India, contented herself with the despatch of a squadron and a regiment to guard the isles of France and of Bourbon, which the English had not even threatened.

This squadron, commanded by M. Duchesnin de Chenneville, found on its arrival at its destination that the French islands were perfectly well protected by the small détachement of vessels commanded by the French admiral on the Indian station, the Chevalier d'Orves. This officer, who had succeeded de Tronjoly, at once assumed the command of the new arrivals. He had then at his disposal six serviceable men-of-war, one frigate, and two corvettes. It was not a large fleet, but it carried with it one of the finest regiments in the French army, a regiment such as, if landed

in India, should have sufficed to render the campaign of 1781 decisive.

A glimmering of the chances thus possibly awaiting him seems to have decided d'Orves to take this small fleet and this regiment to the Coromandel coast. He sailed then from the islands on the 14th October and sighted the coast near Kadalúr on the 17th February following (1781.) Before referring to his subsequent conduct, let us take a glance at the position of affairs on the mainland on that date.

Haidar, having outmanœuvred Munro, beaten Baillie, and captured Arcot, had laid siege to Ambúr, Vellore, Wandewash, Permacól, and Chingleput. The first named of these places surrendered on the 13th January, but on the 18th, Haidar, having received intelligence that the new English general, Sir Eyre Coote, had left Madras the previous day, with the intention of attacking him, raised the siege of the other places and massed his forces. Haidar at first manœuvred to cut off Sir Eyre Coote from Madras, but Coote, careless of this, marched upon Pondichery—the inhabitants of which had shaken off the English yoke, and had begun to arm the natives—re-victualling the fortified places on his route. Haidar turned, and, following, overtook him on the 8th February, cutting him off from the country inland. As they approached Kadalúr, marching in almost parallel lines, Haidar caught a glimpse of the French fleet under d'Orves, guarding the coast, and preventing the possibility of any supplies reaching the English by sea. At last he thought he had them. Coote possessed only the ground on which his army marched. He was between the sea guarded by d'Orves and the grain-producing country shut out from him by Haidar. Sir Eyre Coote has recorded his opinion as to the fatal nature of his position. There seemed but one chance open to him, and that was that Haidar might be tempted to fight him. He tried then every expedient to induce that warrior to quit his lair. But the Asiatic was far too wary. He knew that, barring accidents, his enemy must surrender without firing a shot.

Haidar, meanwhile, had communicated with d'Orves and had begged him to land the regiment he had on board. He had pointed out to him likewise all the advantages of his position, the fact that the last army of the English was at their joint mercy, and that Madras was guarded by but 500 invalids.

Never had France such an opportunity. It was an absolute certainty. There was neither risk nor chance about it. The English fleet under Sir Edward Hughes was on the western coast. D'Orves had but to remain quietly where he was for a few days, and the English must be starved into surrender. Sir Eyre Coote saw it; Haidar Ali saw it; every man in the army

saw it; every man in the fleet saw it, excepting one. That man was d'Orves himself. Of all the positions in the world, that one which most requires the possession of a daring spirit, is the command of a fleet. That Government is guilty of the greatest crime which sends to such a post a man wanting in nerve, deficient in self-reliance. Once before had France committed the same fault by entrusting in 1757, to the feeble d'Aché, the task of supporting Lally. But at least d'Aché fought. His feebler successor, d'Orves, was not required to fight. He was required to ride at anchor in the finest season of the year, a time when storms are unknown in the Indian seas, and see an enemy starve,—and he would not.

D'Orves, described by his own countrymen as a man "indolent and apoplectic," saved Sir Eyre Coote. In spite of the protestations of Haider, he sailed for the islands on the 13th February, taking away every man he brought with him, and having accomplished nothing. The English force at once obtained supplies from Madras.*

Haider, thus left to himself, fought Coote on the 1st July at Chilambam, and, after a desperate contest, was beaten. On the 27th August following, he again engaged Coote at Perambakam, and this time not unequally. Haider, however, left the field to the enemy. On the 18th February following (1782). Colonel Braithwaite's detachment, after combating for three days, succumbed to the superior numbers of Tippú Sáhib. It was about the period of this last encounter that France appeared once again upon the scene, better, though not perfectly represented; for while she entrusted her fleet to the greatest of all her admirals, she committed the charge of her army, first to an incapable sailor, only to replace him by a gouty sexagenarian. But to recount the causes which led to this powerful intervention, we must for a moment retrace our steps.

*The Viscomte de Souillac, at that time Governor of the Isle of France, has thus recorded his opinion of d'Orves, in a memoir in the Archives of the French Navy: "By this astonishing obstinacy of M. d'Orves, which I reported to the ministry at the time, we lost an opportunity, such as will never recur, of becoming absolute masters of the Coromandel coast. This army of Kadalúr (Sir Eyre Coote's) 14,000 strong, of which 3 to 4,000 were English, comprised all the troops the English had in this part of India. Madras could not have held out, and the junction of

our forces with those of Haider Ali, would have enabled us to conquer Tanjore and Masulipatam with all their dependencies."

An English writer, the author of *Memoirs of the late War in Asia*, published in 1788, and who himself took part in the campaign, writes as follows:—"Had the French admiral left only two frigates to block up the road of Cuddalore, consequences might have happened as fatal to the interests of Great Britain in the East Indies, as flowed in North America from the convention of Saratoga."

II.

Still unconscious of the fact that the War of Independence in America offered them the rarest opportunity for striking a decisive blow at the English power in India, the French Government were nevertheless alive to the necessity of preserving from attack the Cape of Good Hope, then belonging to their allies, the Dutch, and of maintaining a respectable force in the Indian Seas. Early, then, in 1781, a squadron of five men-of-war* was fitted out, and on the 22nd March sailed from Brest, under the command of the Commandant de Suffren.

This illustrious sailor was born at St. Cannat in Provence on the 13th July 1726, the third son of the Marquis de Suffren de Saint Tropez. Destined for the navy he entered that service in 1743, and in the *Solide*, of 74 guns, joined the French fleet in the Mediterranean. He took part in an engagement with the English fleet under Admiral Matthews. Transferred to the frigate *Pauline*, he again had several opportunities of displaying his courage. The same year, serving on board the *Monarque*, he was taken prisoner. After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle he was released, and proceeding to Malta, became one of the Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. During the Seven Years' War he took part in the siege and capture of Port Mahon (29th July 1756) and was for the second time made prisoner at the combat of Lagos, (1759). Returning to France after a captivity of two years, he was promoted to the command of the *Camélion* of twenty guns, and sent to the Mediterranean to protect the French commerce. Subsequently, in the *Singe*, he so distinguished himself, as to be promoted to the grade of commander (*capitaine de frégate*). The seven years which followed offered little occupation to his warlike nature. In 1772 he was promoted to the rank of post captain (*capitaine de vaisseau*); and in 1778, in command of *Le Fantasque*, he joined the squadron under Count d'Estaing, sent to aid the colonists of America. In the campaign which followed he so distinguished himself that he was granted a pension, and marked for future command. A short cruise with two men-of-war in 1780 added to his reputation alike as a daring and skilful sailor and an unsurpassed manager of men. When, therefore, it was decided to send a squadron to the Indian seas, the choice of the minister fell naturally upon one who had shown himself the most promising captain in the royal navy of France.

* They were :

Le Héros	... 74	Guns.	Commandant de Suffren.
L' Annibal	... 74	"	Capitaine de Trémigon.
L' Artésien	... 64	"	de Cardailhac.
Le Vengeur	... 64	"	de Forbin.
Le Sphinx	... 64	"	du Chilleau.

Such had been the services of the man who was now starting with a squadron of five line of battle ships to maintain the honour of his country in the Eastern seas. Setting sail on the 22nd March in company with the fleet destined for the American waters under the Count de Grasse, Suffren separated from that admiral at Madeira, and continued his course towards the Cape of Good Hope. He had under his charge seven transports, conveying detachments of the regiment of Pondichery, and overlooking these was a corvette of sixteen guns, *La Fortune*. He had it very much at heart to reach the Cape as quickly as possible, so as to anticipate the arrival there of Commodore Johnstone, who, he had been informed, had sailed for that place from St. Helena with thirty-seven ships of sorts.*

Commodore Johnstone had sailed from Spithead on the 13th March 1781, with orders to attack the Dutch possessions at the Cape. Arriving at St. Iago, one of the Cape de Verde islands, he deemed it necessary to stop there in order to take in wood, water, and livestock for his voyage. He accordingly put into Porto Praya early in April.

It so happened that one of Suffren's men-of-war, the *Artésien* had been originally destined for the fleet sailing to the American waters, and her supplies of water had been regulated accordingly. As the French squadron approached the island of St. Iago, the commander of that vessel, M. de Cardailhac, suggested to his chief the advisability of his putting in to the bay of La Praya, in order to complete his supplies. Suffren assented, and ordered Cardailhac to stand in. At the same time, in order to guard against any possible danger, he followed in his track with the rest of the squadron.†

On the morning of the 16th April, favoured by a breeze from the north-east, the *Artésien* had just passed between the islands of Maio and St. Iago, when her captain discovered at anchor, at the entrance of the roadstead, an English vessel, and almost immediately afterwards there burst upon his view the thirty-seven ships of war and transports which Commodore Johnstone had brought from England. Cardailhac at once signalled to his commandant that enemies were in sight.

* The squadron consisted of one ship of 74 guns, one of 64, three of 50 and three frigates. The remainder were armed transports.

The names were the *Hero*, 74; the *Monmouth*, 64; the *Isis*, *Jupiter*, and *Romney* of 50 each. The three frigates carried each 32 guns, and the transports had 112 guns amongst them.—*Campbell's Naval History*.

† Campbell (Naval History) states that the French had received "by some means or other," information that Johnstone had put into Porto Praya; but his statement is quite unsupported. The same reason which had prompted Johnstone himself to put in, and that reason alone, guided the movements of Suffren.

It was a great opportunity for Suffren. He doubted not that the English were quite unprepared to receive him ; that they were dreaming of nothing less than an attack ; that the crews would probably be dispersed in search of water and provisions. And this was actually the fact. Of the crews of the English vessels nearly fifteen hundred were out foraging ; and Commodore Johnstone himself so little expected an attack, that he was at the moment engaged in giving directions for altering the position of some of his ships which had drifted too near to each other.*

Suffren did not forego his chance. Despatching *la Fortune* to collect and guard the transports, he at half-past 10 in the morning, led the way in the *Héros*, and standing in close to the shore, followed by the other ships of his squadron, he made for the largest English vessel, also called the *Hero*, and cast anchor between her and the *Monmouth*.

The concentrated fire of the English squadron was for a few moments directed on the daring invader ; but very quickly the *Annibal* came to her aid, and diverted to herself much of the enemy's attention.

The *Artésien*, which was following, was not fortunate. The smoke of the combat caused her captain, Cardailhac, to mistake one of the armed transports for a man-of-war. He was about to board her, when he was shot dead through the heart. La Boixière who replaced him was incompetent. He, too, mistook another transport for a frigate. Whilst engaged in boarding her, the freshening breeze took both his vessel and his prize quite out of the line of fire.

The *Vengeur*, which had followed, went along the line of the enemy, exchanging broadsides, but her captain's order to anchor not having been attended to, she made the tour of the roadstead, and then quitting it found herself unable to return.

The *Sphinx* owing to the mistake or disobedience of her captain did not anchor. She endeavoured to maintain her position by manœuvring, keeping up at the same time a heavy fire ; but she rendered little effectual aid.

Suffren found himself then with two anchored, and one unanchored, and therefore comparatively useless vessel, engaged with the whole English squadron. The odds were tremendous, but he still possessed the advantage always given by a surprise, and he continued, for an hour and a half, to maintain the unequal combat. At last when the *Annibal* had lost her main and mizen masts, and her captain had been disabled ; when the *Héros* had received considerable damage in her rigging, and had lost 88 men killed and wounded ; and when all hope of effectual aid from the other three vessels of his squadron had

* Campbell.

disappeared ; he deemed it advisable to discontinue the contest. Signalling therefore to the *Annibal* to follow him, he slowly sailed out of the roadstead, still keeping up a tremendous fire.

The *Annibal* essayed to follow him ; but, as she passed between the *Hero* and the *Moumouth*, her remaining mast fell by the board. Fortunately the wind had shifted and was now blowing strongly from the south-west. She managed thus to rejoin, though slowly, her consorts outside.

It was about half past 12 o'clock in the day when Suffren reunited his squadron outside the harbour and began to repair damages. Three hours later Commodore Johnstone followed him and appeared inclined to attack in his turn. Suffren, however, placing the *Annibal* in the centre of his line, offered so bold a front, that the English commodore, whose ships, especially the *Isis*, had suffered severely, drew off and returned to La Praya.* Suffren then continued his voyage without molestation, and on the 21st June, cast anchor in Table Bay. The convoy arrived nine days later.

Having landed his troops at the Cape ; having secured the colony against attack ; having completely repaired his damages, and having been joined by two corvettes, the *Consolante* and the *Fine*, Suffren sailed for the islands of France and Bourbon on the 28th August. He cast anchor in Port Louis on the 25th October following. He found there six men-of-war, three frigates, and some corvettes. But at their head was the indolent and incapable d'Orves, the same who, we have seen, had already thrown away the most splendid chance of establishing a French India ! It was under this man that Suffren was to serve as second in command !

Meanwhile the French Government had tardily decided to make in 1782 an attempt which could scarcely have failed if hazarded in 1780. It had resolved to strike another blow, this time in concert with Haidar Ali, for domination in Southern

* Dr. Campbell states that Johnstone "pursued the French, but he was not able to overtake them." The French authorities, on the other hand, assert that their fleet put on so bold a front, that Johnstone stayed his advance, although he was within two cannon shot of their fleet. "It was only at night," says Roux, "that the French continued their route, lighting their fires to provoke the enemy to follow them. The English, who had the advantage of the wind, dared not accept the challenge, but returned precipitately to La Praya." It is clear, considering the disabled state of the *Annibal*, and that the English

Commodore had the advantage of the wind, that he could have forced an action had he desired to do so.

On his return to the roadstead, Commodore Johnstone recaptured the transport taken by *l'Artésien*.

Much has been said by English writers regarding the fact that the Cape de Verde Islands were neutral ground. It is perfectly true, but in this respect the French only did as they had been done by. The harbour of Lagos, in which the vessel on board of which Suffren served in 1759 had taken refuge, was equally neutral ground, and yet the French had been attacked in it by the English.

India. With this object in view it had roused from his retreat the Marquis de Bussy, the man who in his youth and middle age had gained honour and glory and wealth in that fairy land, but who now gouty, worn out, and querulous, was incapable alike of decision and enterprise.*

The designs of the Court of Versailles had been communicated early in the year to M. de Souillac, Governor of the Islands, and it had been intimated that transports containing troops would gradually arrive at his Governorship, and that, concentrating there, they would proceed to India, escorted by a powerful fleet under the command of Count d'Orves. De Souillac, who was enterprising and patriotic, had at once set to work to organise a force with the resources at his command from among the colonists; and at the period of the arrival of Suffren, he had drilled and armed a corps of 2,868 men. Bussy had not then arrived. De Souillac therefore conferred the command of this force upon M. Duchemin.

It was an unfortunate choice. Duchemin was a sailor rather than a soldier. But he was strong neither on the sea nor on the land. He was as weak mentally as physically. A terrible fear of responsibility acted upon a constitution unable to bear the smallest fatigue. A man of moderate abilities would have sufficed for the occasion. The abilities of Duchemin were not even moderate.

These 2,868 men, well commanded, and escorted to a given point by Suffren, would have sufficed to give the preponderance to Haidar Ali in his struggle with the English. But moments were precious. The war with the American colonists still indeed continued, but many things presaged that its duration would not be long. It was necessary, then, that the French should strike at once, and should strike with vigour and precision.

Of this necessity no one was more convinced than the Governor of the islands, de Souillac. He hastened his preparations, so that on the 7th December 1781, the French fleet, consisting of eleven men-of-war, three frigates, three corvettes, one fireship and nine transports containing troops, was able to set out for its destination.

What was its destination? Suffren, with a precision natural to him, had advised that it should sail direct for Madras, and attempt to take that town by a *coup-de-main*. But the cautious and feeble d'Orves had overruled him. He would only proceed by degrees. He would feel his way. It was too much for him even to take a straight look at India. He therefore directed the fleet upon Trincomali.

But Providence had one good turn in store for the French.

* Bussy was then only 64 years old; had quite impaired his faculties, but twenty years of sloth and luxury

Happily for the success of the expedition d'Orves died on the way, (9th February 1782). He made over the command to Suffren, who had just received the rank of Commodore (*chef d'escadre*). Suffren at once altered the course to Madras.

Before this event had happened, Suffren himself in his ship, the *Héros*, had pursued and captured an English man-of-war of fifty guns, called the *Hannibal*. She was at once added to the French fleet under the title of *Le petit Annibal*. From the officers of this vessel Suffren learned, for the first time, that large reinforcements were on their way to the English squadron in the East.

Passing Pondichery, Suffren despatched to that town, in a corvette, Lieutenant-Colonel Canaple, with instructions to communicate at once to Haidar Ali the intelligence of his arrival and his hopes. On the 15th February, just three days before Colonel Braithwaite's detachment had succumbed to Tippú Sáhib, his fleet came in sight of Madras.* Anchored in front of Fort St. George and protected by its guns, he descried eleven † ships of war,—the squadron of Sir Edward Hughes. Suffren formed his ships in line of battle till he arrived within two cannonshots of the English fleet. He then anchored and summoned all his captains on board the *Héros* to a council of war.

It must always be remembered that the fleet of M. de Suffren was escorting transports conveying a *corps d'armée*, and that it was a main object with him to land his troops, and disembarrass himself of his transports before attempting an equal combat with the enemy. The proposal then of the captain of the *Fine*, M. Perrier de Salvart, to attack Sir Edward Hughes, lying as he was under the cover of the guns of Madras, appeared to him too hazardous. He determined therefore to direct the transports on towards Porto Novo, covering their course with his fleet.

In pursuance of this decision the fleet commenced its southward course that same evening. But as the breeze freshened Suffren observed the English vessels hoist their sails and follow him. Rightly conceiving that their object was to cut off his transports, Suffren gave the order that these should range themselves between the shore and his fleet, covered by the corvette, the *Pourvoyeuse*, and make all sail for Porto Novo, whilst the *Fine* should watch the enemy's movements.

In spite of these precautions, however, Sir Edward Hughes, favoured by the darkness of the night, glided unperceived between

* The currents and a southerly breeze had taken his squadron considerably to the north of Madras. Coming again under the influence of the N.-E. Monsoon he approach-

ed Madras from the north.

† Dr. Campbell mentions only nine. The other two were probably frigates.

the French squadron and the transports. These latter crowded sail to escape, and when day broke, they and their pursuers had sailed almost out of sight of Suffren's squadron: suddenly, however, the look-out man on board the *Fine* signalled the enemy to the south. Immediately every sail was set, and the *Héros* followed by the rest of the squadron soon approached the pursuers and pursued. Sir Edward, thus balked of this prey,* hove to, and ordered the chase to be discontinued.

In the battle now about to engage, the French had the advantage of two ships, having eleven against nine of the English. Yet this advantage, great as it was, was balanced, partly by the superior organisation of the English, partly also by the jealousy and dislike entertained towards Suffren by the officers of the ships which had joined him at the islands. The jealousy, so often evinced in the time of Dupleix, which could not subordinate personal feelings to duty, manifested itself in the manner now to be described in the course of the action.

The French fleet was formed into two divisions; the first was composed as follows:—

<i>Le Héros</i>	74	guns, carrying the Commodore's broad pennant.
<i>L' Orient</i>	74	„ one of the ships brought from Port Louis.
<i>Le Sphinx</i>	64	„ brought by Suffren from Brest.
<i>Le Vengeur</i>	64	„ ditto ditto.
<i>Le Petit Annibal</i>	50	„ captured from the English.

“ The second division, commanded by the captain of the *Annibal*, de Tromelin, consisted of:

<i>L' Annibal</i>	74	guns, brought by Suffren from Brest.
<i>Le Sévère</i>	64	„ „ from Port Louis.
<i>L' Artésien</i>	64	„ „ by Suffren from Brest.
<i>L' Ajax</i>	64	„ „ from Port Louis.
<i>Le Brillant</i>	64	„ „ ditto.
<i>Le Flamand</i>	54	„ „ ditto.

The armament amounted to 710 guns.

The English fleet was thus composed:—

<i>The Superb</i>	74	guns, Flagship	<i>The Monmouth</i>	64	guns.
<i>The Hero</i>	74	„	<i>The Worcester</i>	64	„
<i>The Monarch</i>	74	„	<i>The Barford</i>	64	„
<i>The Exeter</i>	64	„	<i>The Isis</i>	54	„
<i>The Eagle</i>	64	„	or a total armament of 596 guns.		

It was half-past three o'clock in the afternoon before the wind, which was light and variable, allowed Suffren to approach his enemy. Seeing even then that some of his captains did not take the post assigned to them, he signalled to them to

* Dr. Campbell says vaguely that he captured “several of them;” but the French accounts show that all the troops were disembarked subsequently at Porto Novo.

take the place in the line which each could reach the most quickly.

Rapidly advancing then, he exchanged a broadside with the *Exeter*, but noticing the flag of the English admiral, he directed the *Héros* towards the vessel that bore it, at the same time signalling to the second division to close within pistol-shot of the enemy.

• The combat lasted from half-past 3 to 7 o'clock in the evening. But it was not till quite the close of the action that all the French ships came into the line of fire. The entire first division, consisting of five ships, was engaged throughout; but of the second, the *Flamand* and the *Brillant* alone came to close quarters, the remaining four, disobeying the direct orders of the commodore, keeping up only a distant fire.

On the part of the English the brunt of the attack was borne by the *Exeter* and the *Superb*. The former, fought splendidly by Captain King, was terribly riddled. Her loss in killed and wounded was very great. The *Superb*, too, suffered severely.

At 7 o'clock the combat ceased as if by mutual consent. Darkness had come on, and Suffren was too ill-satisfied with the conduct of five of his captains to allow him to risk a continuance of the contest. Sir Edward Hughes on his side was well content that it should cease. He was expecting reinforcements from England, and by bearing down to the south he was likely to meet these. An opportunity would then offer to renew the battle on more advantageous terms. Taking advantage, then, of the quiescent attitude of the enemy, he made all sail to the south.

-It is probable that on this occasion, for the first and only time in his life, Suffren missed a great opportunity. He had, on the whole, had the advantage in the action. He had reduced one of the enemy's ships to an almost sinking condition,* and their losses had been heavier than his own. He knew that the English were expecting reinforcements. Why then did he not promptly pursue them? He did not do so because he could not trust all his captains.

The following morning Suffren summoned his captains on board the *Héros*. Those inculpated promised better conduct for the future. The squadron then quietly pursued its course to Porto Novo. Here he disembarked his troops, negotiated the terms of an alliance with Haidar Ali, and on the 23rd, having re-victualled his ships and been joined by one man-of-war and three frigates

* "At the close of the action when she (the *Exeter*) had been most dreadfully cut up, two fresh vessels of the enemy's squadron bore down upon her. The Master asked Commodore King what he should do with her

under the circumstances. His reply was "there is nothing to be done but to fight till she sinks." Just at this moment the two French ships were recalled. — *Campbell*.

he sailed for the south, protecting some transports he was despatching to the islands, and hoping to meet again his English rival.

On the 8th April his wishes in this respect were fulfilled. With his twelve line of battle ships he sighted, on the morning of that day, the eleven ships composing the squadron of Sir Edward Hughes* standing for Trincomali. For three days they continued in sight, Suffren finding it impossible to force an action. But on the morning of the 12th, Hughes, changing his course to gain Trincomali, unavoidably gave the Frenchman the advantage of the wind. Of this advantage Suffren made prompt use.

The action began about half-past 12 o'clock. Seven of the French ships were immediately engaged. But two, the *Vengeur* and the *Artésien*, notwithstanding the repeated signals of the commodore, kept at a distance, and their example was for some time followed by the *Sévère*, the *Ajax* and the *Annibal*. At last these three came up, and the action became general.

In the early part of the day fortune seemed to incline to the French. The *Monmouth* was dismasted and compelled to quit the line, having had 45 men killed and 102 wounded. The *Superb* was greatly damaged. The English admiral then gave orders to the squadron to wear. By this manœuvre the position of the rival fleets was reversed. Still, however, the battle continued* when suddenly at 6 o'clock a tremendous storm burst upon both fleets enveloping them in darkness, and forcing them, close to a lee shore, to pay attention to their own safety. Suffren at once signalled to anchor.

In this battle the English lost 137 killed and 430 wounded; the French 130 killed and 364 wounded. The *Héros*, the *Orient* and the *Brillant* had suffered severely. Nevertheless the next morning Suffren offered battle to Sir Edward, but the English admiral, having a large convoy under his charge, declined it. Suffren then sailed southward, whilst the English squadron entered the harbour of Trincomali. As to the captains of the *Vengeur* and the *Artésien*, Captains de Forbin and de Maurville, Suffren reported their conduct to the Minister of Marine. Subsequently, it will be seen, he deprived them of their commands, and sent them to France, where, on arrival, they were imprisoned.

A little more than a fortnight after this battle, Suffren brought his squadron into the anchorage of Batacoloa, a Dutch port in the island of Ceylon, about twenty leagues to the south of Trincomali, to which place the English squadron had repaired. By taking up this position Suffren gained all the advantage of the wind which was just beginning to set in from the south. He had previously

* The French ships carried 972 guns; those of the English 737.

despatched a brig, the *Chasseur*, to the islands to demand of M. de Souillac men and munitions of war, of which latter there did not remain to him a sufficient quantity for a single action.

Here, at Batacoloa, Suffren received despatches from France directing him to proceed to the islands to escort Bussy to the Indian coast.* But there were grave reasons which urged Suffren to defer obedience to these instructions. In the first place he could not place confidence in many of his captains. The senior next to himself, Captain de Tromelin, was a man whom he had reason specially to mistrust. To leave to such a man the charge of a squadron wanting in men and ammunition, at a time when an English squadron of almost equal force was ready to dispute with it the mastery of the Indian Seas, and when nearly 3,000 French troops, but just landed, required the support of French ships, was a course which prudence and patriotism alike spurned. Suffren preferred then to take upon himself the responsibility of not obeying the minister's order. He justified this line of action in a letter to the Governor of the Isles of France and Bourbon.

Fortunately for France the Governor of the islands was a man endowed with a cool judgment, a clear understanding, and large and comprehensive views. He, in his turn, justified the action of Suffren to the Minister of Marine. After detailing the various reasons which would render the absence of Suffren from the scene of action not only inexpedient but dangerous to French interests, he thus concluded: "It may truly be affirmed that the course M. de Suffren has taken will save India and pave the way for the success of the Marquis de Bussy."

The French fleet remained in the anchorage of Batacoloa till the 1st June. It was a trying time for Suffren. His greatest enemies were the recalcitrant captains who were sighing for the luxurious diet, the graceful forms, and the smiling faces of the Isle of France. These offered a covert resistance to all the plans of their Commadore. But Suffren saw through their motives, and, being a plain speaker, he told them bluntly that he would rather sink the squadron before the forts of Madras than retire before Admiral Hughes. "If there are any," he added, "who have formed the conception of such an infamy, let them give me their reasons, and I shall know how to answer them." It was in putting down the intrigues formed by these men, in repairing and re-victualling his ships, in tending on the shore the sick and wounded, and finally in welcoming reinforcements of men and munitions, that the six weeks at Batacoloa were spent.

* These despatches were brought to Suffren by Villaret-Joyeuse, subsequently distinguished as the Admiral who, with a revolutionary fleet, fought the battle of the 1st June against Lord Howe.

Meanwhile the troops under the feeble Duchemin, disembarked at Porto Novo on the 20th April, had begun their operations. It had been arranged between the French Commodore and Haidar Ali that 6,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry of the Mysore army should join the French force, and that these united should, under the command of the French General, act in concert with Haidar Ali, the latter furnishing supplies both in money and kind. These arrangements were quickly carried out. Haidar had wished that the French *corps d'armée* should at once attack Negapatam, a most important town on the coast, and the capture of which could then have been easily effected. Duchemin, however, preferred the easier conquest of Kadalûr. This place surrendered on the 6th May. A junction was then effected with Haidar Ali, and the united armies besieged and took Permacól, and a few days later invested Wandewash.

Then occurred another instance of the crime of intrusting important military operations to a man without brains and without nerve. Probably in private life Duchemin was amiable and inoffensive. He was certainly not tormented by a constant desire to dare. These somewhat negative qualities ought to have engendered a doubt as to the possession of the sterner faculties which fit a man for command. It has indeed been conjectured that he might have owed his selection to there not being a better man on the spot. Yet, judging by results, such a surmise must be a libel on all and every one of the 2,868 men he led to India.

Just imagine his position. The English had but one army in Southern India. That army consisted of about 12,000 men, of whom little more than 2,000 were Europeans. It was commanded by Sir Eyre Coote, a man who had been very good in his day, but who was then utterly broken down in health. That army defeated, Southern India would become Mysorean and French.

On the other side was the army of Haidar Ali, 60,000 strong, flushed with victory over Braithwaite, and but just joined by about 2,000* Frenchmen under Duchemin. For this army a defeat was comparatively unimportant; for the English had not the men to follow up the victory, and Haidar had another army to fall back upon. It was just the occasion when it was the policy of the English to avoid a decisive action of the allies to force one on.

Yet, it is scarcely credible that, whilst the English general so far played into his enemy's hands as to offer battle to them, the French commander declined it. If success justifies the neglect of all rule, then, and then alone, was Coote warranted in offering battle. Defeat would have ruined him. Yet his part, at least, was a noble and a daring part. But what can justify Duchemin?

* Deducting the sick in hospital.

Look again at the position. Haidar Ali and Duchemin with an army of over 60,000 men were besieging Wandewash: Sir Eyre Coote thought that Wandewash must be saved at any price. He therefore advanced with his army, 12,000 strong, and offered battle to the allies. His position was of no great strength. He had no advantages. He was overmatched in cavalry, in infantry, and in artillery. Haidar, old as he was, was eager to accept the challenge. Duchemin refused.

Why did he refuse? The fate of French India was in his hands. He had but to tell his countrymen to fight, as Frenchmen will fight, and, in all probability, Wandewash would have been the grave of the English. Why then did he refuse? It was an opportunity at which Suffren would have clutched, which the least of the generals of Napoleon would have made decisive. Unhappily for France, Duchemin was less than the least of her warrior children.

In reply to the urgent requisition of Haidar, Duchemin pleaded his health; he pleaded his instructions not to fight before the arrival of Bussy; he pleaded, not in words but in a manner not to be misunderstood, his own innate incapacity.

Haidar Ali saw it—saw it with disdain. In compliance with the urgent solicitations of the Frenchman, he abstained from attacking Coote; and raising the siege of Wandewash retreated towards Pondichery and occupied a strongly fortified position close to Kalinúr. But the loss of the opportunity chafed him. Such allies were useless to him. He determined to show them he could fight the English without them.

The occasion soon presented itself. Sir Eyre Coote, foiled in his endeavours to force on a battle before Wandewash, determined to make an attempt on the magazines of Haidar at Arni. There were all his stores; there his supplies of ammunition and weapons of war. To surprise that place would in very deed give a deadly wound to his enemy. Coote resolved to attempt it. His chances seemed good, for he had gained over the commandant of Arni.

Coote set his army in motion for that purpose on the night of the 30th May. But Haidar had had good information and had penetrated his plan. Whilst then he sent by forced marches Tippú and his own French contingent under the younger Lally to protect Arni, he broke up from his camping ground at Kalinúr, and marched on the track of Coote, hoping to take him in rear. He did not even ask the opinion of Duchemin, but left him and his *corps d'armée* behind.*

* To mark his sense of Duchemin's of provisions to the French army conduct, Haidar suspended the supply during his own absence.

Haidar Ali overtook the English force on the 2nd June just as they were in sight of Arni. The English leader was surprised. He had Tippú and Lally in front of him, and Haidar Ali in his rear. His troops were tired. Haidar had never had such a chance. But the skill of Coote, and the valour of the English baffled him. By dexterous manœuvring Coote made it a day of skirmishing, in the course of which he captured one of Lally's guns stuck fast in the bed of the river. In his main object, however, Coote was baffled. Haidar saved Arni. Four days later Haidar took his revenge for the loss of his gun by tempting the English into an ambuscade. They fell into the snare, and lost 166 men, 54 horses, and two guns. Haidar's loss was about 60 men. After this action Sir Eyre Coote returned to the vicinity of Madras. Haidar, unable to conquer the repugnance of Duchemin to action, proceeded to push on the siege of Vellore.

III.

It was whilst the events just recorded were progressing on land, that intelligence from time to time reached Haidar Ali of the gallant contests which Suffren had been delivering on the sea. The enthusiasm of the tried and gallant old warrior knew no bounds. "At last," he said to his confidants, "at last the English have found a master. This is the man who will aid me to exterminate them: I am determined that two years hence not one of them shall remain in India, and that they shall not possess a single inch of Indian soil." Then turning to the French agent in his camp, M. Piveron de Morlat, he begged him to write at once to his master, and to tell him of his own great desire to see him, to embrace him, to tell him how much he esteemed him for his heroic courage.

Before this message could reach the French commodore, he had sailed with his refitted and augmented squadron in the direction of Kadalúr. It had been his original intention to do the work which Duchemin had declined to attempt, *viz.*, to take possession of Negapatam, which would have formed an important dépôt for the operations of the land and sea forces. But the course of events induced him to change his determination.

The French fleet, consisting of twelve ships of the line and four large frigates, sailed first to Tranquebar, and then, making several captures *en route*, arrived, on the 20th June, at Kadalúr. Here for the first time Suffren became acquainted with the misconduct of Duchemin. Resolved by some daring measure, to atone for the shortcomings of this incapable soldier, Suffren embarked on board his transports, besides siege materials, 1,200 men of the

line, 400 of the levies of the islands, two companies of artillery, and 800 sepoys, intending to make a dash at Negapatam. He was on the point of sailing when intelligence reached him that the English fleet, emerging from Trincomali, had passed Kadalúr, and was bearing up northward, in the direction of the place which he had hoped to surprise.

Disappointed, but still determined, Suffren at once set sail in pursuit of the enemy. Coming in sight, on the 5th July, of Negapatam, he beheld the English fleet lying at anchor in the roadstead. Determined at all hazards to force on an action, Suffren signalled to clear decks and to be ready to anchor. His own ship the *Héros*, was leading, when at 3 o'clock, a sudden squall caused to the *Ajax*, which was following, the loss of her main and mizen topmasts. These, and other damages, almost as serious, forced her to drop out of the line. The squall settling into a steady breeze gave the English admiral the advantage of the wind. He accordingly weighed anchor and stood out to sea. That night the two fleets anchored within two cannon-shots of each other.

When the morning of the 6th July broke, the first care of the French commodore was to ascertain the condition of the *Ajax*. His rage may be imagined when he found that the necessary repairs remained uncompleted. The rage was increased to fury when he received from her captain a request that his vessel might be allowed to stand in for the nearest roadstead, and this in the presence of an enemy, and when an engagement was impending! He refused absolutely.

Meanwhile the English admiral, finding the enemy of about equal strength with himself,* determined to use his advantage of the wind and to force on an engagement. At 10 minutes past 7, then, he formed line ahead, and signalled to his captains that each ship should bear down as directly as possible upon her opponent and endeavour to bring her to close action. Suffren on his side tacked, putting the head to the wind, in order to form a new line. As he did this, he had the mortification to see the captain of the *Ajax* stand right away from him.

It was not till about half-past 9 o'clock that the English ships came within range of their enemy. Both fleets opened fire simultaneously at long distances. Soon, however, the fight closed. The *Flamand*, 50, drew on herself the fire, which she returned, of the *Hero*, 74, and the *Exeter*, 64; whilst the *Annibal*, 74, engaged in a murderous conflict with the *Isis*, 56. Simultaneously the *Sévère*, 64, and the *Barford*, 74; the *Brillant*, 64, and the

* The French fleet consisted, besides the *Ajax*, which took no part in the battle, of eleven ships of the line, carrying 706 guns, and of four frigates. The English had eleven line of battle ships, carrying 746 guns, and one frigate.

Sultan, 74; the French commodore's ship, the *Héros*, 74, and the English admiral's ship, the *Superb*, 74; engaged in an almost hand-to-hand encounter.

Of the other vessels it may be noted that the *Sphinx*, 64, fought the *Monarca*, 74; but the position of this latter, on the star-board quarter of the *Superb*, rendered it impossible for her to deliver any but an oblique fire. The *Worcester*, the *Monmouth*, the *Eagle*, and the *Magnamine*, which followed in her wake, could only form a line at an angle of forty-five with the French line. It followed that the fire between these and the *Petit Anni-bal*, the *Artésien*, and the *Vengeur* was at a long distance, whilst the *Bizarre* and the *Orient*, notwithstanding the efforts of their captains, remained in forced inaction. The *Flamand*, was the first French ship to feel the weight of her two powerful antagonists. She managed, however, to forge ahead and clear herself, and they were in too crippled a condition to follow her. The *Brillant* at the same time was suffering much from the well-directed fire of the *Sultan*, when Suffren, signalling to the *Sphinx* to replace him alongside the *Superb*, came to her rescue. The fight was then renewed with extraordinary vigour; when at one o'clock the wind suddenly changed, and threw both the combating parties into disorder.

This change of wind, according to the English writers, saved the French fleet from certain defeat. The French on their side, whilst admitting the shameful conduct of some of their captains, contend that the battle was still uncertain, and that they were combating with equal chances when the wind came to part them. The state of affairs after the change of wind had operated, as related by one of the English writers of the period, a decided partisan, shows, I think, that there could have been little to choose between the condition of the rivals. "After much manœuvring," he writes, "and the continuation of a partial engagement between such of the two fleets as came within reach of each other, the English admiral made the signal for the line of battle ahead, and was preparing, at half-past one o'clock, to renew the attack; but seeing at two, the enemy standing in shore, and collecting their ships in a close body, while his were much dispersed, and several of them ungovernable, he relinquished that design, and thought only of getting into such a condition as should prove decisive to the service next morning. Then, however, the French were observed under sail, on their way to Cuddalore, while our fleet was utterly incapable of preventing or pursuing them."* If this does not imply that the English ships had been at least as much damaged as their

* *Transactions in India*. London: was obstinate, well fought, but in 1786. Campbell says: "The action decisive."

enemies in the previous encounter there is no meaning in language.

The French statement corroborates substantially the account from which I have just quoted. "Sir Edward Hughes," it relates, "abandoning to us the field of battle, endeavoured to concentrate his ships between Negapatam and Naoúr, whilst Suffren, lying to, and seeing the English squadron disappear, gave orders to anchor off Karikál, two leagues to windward of it."

Suffren himself attributed the indecisive nature of the action to the conduct of his captains. He accordingly placed under arrest and sent to France the following three of their number, viz., M. de Maurville of the *Artésien*, for having on the 6th July, aggravated the faults he had committed on the 17th February, the 12th April, and the 5th June; M. de Forbin, for having on this occasion rivalled his misconduct on the 12th April; and M. de Cillart for having unbecomingly hauled down his flag.* M. Bouvet, who had not brought the *Ajax* into action at all, was deprived of his command, whilst three other inferior officers were sternly reprimanded. Having rid himself of these worse than incapable captains, Suffren anchored in the roadstead of Kadalúr and devoted all his efforts to repair the damages his ships had sustained in the action.

Yet, whilst actively engaged in this prosaic work, his brain, never idle, had conceived one of the most daring projects which ever entered into the head of a naval commander. Long had he noticed with envy the possession by the English of the only harbour on the east coast of Ceylon, capable of containing a large fleet, at the same time that it was strong enough to defy any hostile attack. He lay before Kadalúr in an open roadstead, liable to the storms of the ocean and the attacks of a superior force of the enemy. In this open roadstead he had to carry out all his repairs. The English admiral, he knew well, was about to be joined by the *Sceptre* of 64 guns and the *San Carlos* of 44. Were he to be attacked by the force thus increased to a very decided superiority, how could he effectually resist? Considerations of this nature pointed to the advisability of securing a harbour at once large, commodious, and safe. These advantages were possessed by Trincomali. Suffren then resolved to capture Trincomali.

It was a bold, almost an audacious venture. After the combat

* This occurrence is thus stated by the French authorities: "In one of the isolated encounters *le Sévère* was sustaining a fierce combat with the *Sultan*. All at once, in spite of the proximity of *l'Annibal*, *le Sphinx*, and *l'Héros*, du Cillart ordered his men to haul down his

flag. Fortunately his cowardice, which betrayed itself by unmistakable signs, remained without result. Two officers rushed to him, and apostrophising him severely, rehoisted the flag, and continued the combat."—*Roux*.

of the 6th July the English admiral had kept the sea for nearly a fortnight to the windward of Negapatam. With his ships much battered and urgently needing repair, it is not easy to imagine why Sir Edward Hughes wasted that precious fortnight in idle bravado. This at least is certain, that it gave Suffren the opportunity he was longing for.*

The state of his vessels and the necessity for procuring ammunition rendered it impossible for Sir Edward Hughes to keep the sea for more than a fortnight. He steered then for Madras and reached that place on the 20th July. He at once took the necessary measures for the repairs of his fleet. Here, also he was joined by the *Sceptre* and the *San Carlos*. Sir Edward Hughes thought, and he seemed to have reason for his opinion, that he had sufficient time before him. He knew to a great extent, though not to the fullest extent, the difficulties his rival had to encounter at Kadalûr. Had he known the whole truth, he would have felt still more confident, for, on the 30th July, ten days subsequently to his own arrival at Madras, the state of the French ships of war was so miserable, and the resources at the disposal of Suffren were so wanting, that action for the remainder of the year seemed for them impossible.

On that date Suffren thus wrote to the Governor of the Isle of France, M. de Souillac: "I assure you it is no easy matter to keep the sea on a coast, without money, without magazines, with a squadron in many respects badly furnished, and after having sustained three combats. * * I am at the end of my resources. Nevertheless we must fight to gain Ceylon; the enemy have the wind of us, and we have so many slow sailers, that there is little hope we shall gain that advantage. * * The squadron has 2,000 men in hospital, of whom 600 are wounded."

Even before thus writing, Suffren had broken up his prizes and transports, and had demolished houses and other buildings in Kadalûr to provide himself with the means of repairing his damaged ships!

Whilst thus engaged in these important duties, intelligence reached Suffren (25th July) that the great sovereign of Mysore had arrived within a few miles of Kadalûr in the hope of seeing him and of concerting plans for the future. The French commodore at once despatched an officer of rank to congratulate Haidar Ali, and the next day he landed himself in state, to pay him a visit of ceremony.

* The only English writer who attempts to justify the English admiral's delay before Negapatam, the author of *Transactions in India*, says that the situation of the army *may* have rendered this inaction necessary. But there are no grounds for this supposition. The English army was then likewise in a state of complete inaction.

His reception was magnificent. Met on landing by the principal nobles of Mysore, escorted by Haidar Ali's own bodyguard of European cavalry, he was greeted on the threshold of the state tent by that prince himself. The appearance of Haidar Ali was a signal for a general presentation of arms on the part of the troops drawn up in battle array. The drums beat, the trumpets sounded, the attendants sang hymns recording the prowess of the French. Not a single mark of respect or of honour was omitted.

The interview lasted three hours. Towards the close of it Suffren suggested to Haidar that he should come down to the sea shore to look at the French fleet dressed out in his honour. But Haidar, who was suffering, and who did not care to undergo the exertion that would be necessary, replied that he "had left his camp for one object only, that of seeing so great a man, and that now that he had seen him, there was nothing remaining that he cared to see."

The two following days were spent in giving and receiving presents, and in arranging as to the operations which should take place on the arrival of Bussy; just as they were engaged in discussing this question, intelligence was received of the arrival at Point de Galle of the advanced guard of Bussy's fleet under M. d'Aymar.

Bussy, in fact, had set out from Cadiz in December 1781 with two men-of-war, three transports, and a large convoy. His misfortunes set in early. The convoy was attacked, dispersed, and in part destroyed by English cruisers, so much so that only two ships laden with artillery joined him at the Cape.* He still, however, had the soldiers who had embarked on his three transports. Terrified, however, at a report that the English were about to attack the Cape with an army of 6,000 men, he left there 650 of his small detachment. Sailing then to the islands, the perusal of the despatches just arrived from Suffren seemed to give him new courage. In concert, then, with the Governor, M. de Souillac, he detached under M. d'Aymar, two men-of-war, the *St. Michel*, 64, and the *Illustre*, 74, one frigate, the *Consolante*, and nine storeships, carrying 800 men and laden with supplies and ammunition, to proceed at once to join Suffren, and to announce that he himself would shortly follow with the bulk of his troops.

It was of the arrival of this squadron at Galle that Suffren received information at Kadalûr on the 28th July, whilst still discussing affairs with Haidar Ali.

He lost no time in delay. Some preparations were still necessary. But these were soon completed, and on the morning of the 1st August, the French fleet, leaving the roadstead in which it had patched up its repairs, fired a parting salute

* Many subsequently made their way to the islands.

to the great warrior her commodore was never destined again to behold.

Suffren had two objects in view, the one avowed, the other concealed: the first to effect a junction with d'Aymar; the second to capture Trincomali: the first appeared certain; the second could only be accomplished by 'great daring.'

Passing Karikál, Naoúr, and Negapatam, the fleet arrived at Batacoloa, twenty leagues south of Trincomali, on the 9th August. Here it was joined by the *Bellona*, a frigate of 36 guns, just returning from an indecisive hand-to-hand encounter with the *Coventry*, 32. Her captain, M. de Pierrevert, a nephew of Suffren, had been killed in the action.

Suffren waited at Batacoloa till the 21st August, when he was joined by the *St. Michel* and the *Illustre*, escorting seven transports with troops and stores, and accompanied by the corvette *La Fortune*. Whilst lying at Batacoloa he had received despatches from France and the islands. Amongst those from the latter was one from Bussy, in which that general pointed out how much to be regretted it was that the French possessed no harbour on the eastern coasts equal to Trincomali. It cannot be said that this letter decided Suffren, for his mind had been previously made up; but it is probable that this opinion of a man who had a great reputation on matters connected with India, greatly strengthened his determination to strike for Trincomali.

The reinforcements brought by d'Aymar did not remain long in Batacoloa. One day was spent in distributing to the several ships the munitions and stores of which they were in need. The next day, 22nd August, the entire fleet set sail, and the same evening cast anchor in front of Trincomali. Early on the morning of the 25th, Suffren, having well examined the fortifications, moved his fleet to the east of the forts protecting the town, with the intention to land there his troops, to the number of 2,400. This was effected without opposition the same evening. On the 26th batteries were constructed to play on the eastern face of the fort. On the 27th, 28th, and 29th, fire was opened and continued until, on the evening of the last-named day, a breach had been effected in the fortifications. Early on the morning of the following day Suffren summoned the commandant to surrender. After a long debate, the commanding officer, Captain Macdowel, seeing that further resistance was useless, agreed to give up the place on the condition that he and his troops should be transported to Madras and be free to serve in the war. The French then entered into possession.

Trincomali capitulated on the 31st August. It was occupied by the French on the 1st September. On the 2nd the fleet of Sir Edward Hughes appeared in sight of the place.

IV.

We have seen that Sir Edward Hughes, after delaying for nearly a fortnight before Negapatam, at last took his fleet to Madras to refit. He arrived there on the 20th July, and there he was joined by the *Sceptre* and the *San Carlos*.

The damages which many of his ships had sustained were considerable, and he was forced to make extraordinary exertions to repair them. It had occurred to him that the French commander might take advantage of the state of his vessels, and the gain of a fortnight's time, to make an attempt upon Trincomali. To guard as much as possible against such an attempt, he despatched the *Monmouth* and the *Sceptre* with supplies of men and ammunition to that place.* Thinking this sufficient, his anxiety on the subject ceased. It was soon roused, however, to a greater extent than ever.

I have mentioned that the French frigate *Bellona* fought an indecisive action with the *Covenstry* off Batacoloa; but I did not then state that the combating vessels had approached sufficiently near to that place to enable the captain of the latter ship to see the whole French fleet at anchor. He at once crowded on sail to carry the news quickly to Madras. He reached Madras in the middle of August and gave the first intimation to Sir E. Hughes of the dangerous proximity to Trincomali of his enemy. Sir Edward used all the despatch possible to hasten his departure for Ceylon. At length he set out, but, delayed by contrary winds, he arrived before Trincomali only to see the French flag flying on all the forts, and the French fleet at anchor in the bay.

Suffren saw, not unmoved, the English fleet in the offing. It was not necessary for him to go out and fight it, for he had succeeded to the fullest extent of his expectations. He had taken Trincomali. There were not wanting officers in his fleet to urge upon him to run no further risk. The party which, ever since his departure from the islands, had constantly endeavoured to thwart his measures, had been weakened but not annihilated, by the deportation to France of de Cillart, de Maurville, and de Forbin. The head of this party was his second in command, M. de Tromelin, captain of the ship *Annibal*. Supported by de St. Felix of the *Artésien*, by de la Landelle of the *Bizarre*, and others, de Tromelin urged upon the commodore the advisability of resting upon his laurels. "The issue of a combat," he said, "was uncertain, and might deprive them of all that they had gained." Such was their ostensible reason; but it cannot be doubted that it was used to cover alike their jealousy of their

* These ships were despatched by off Negapatam. It is probable that the French fleet on the 3rd of August they did not go further.

chief, and their longing desire to return to the soft beauties of the Isle of France. As for de Tromelin, he had held back in every action, and it was a matter of surprise that he had not been deported with the others after the last engagement.

It is necessary to give this summary of the debates which preceded the action, because they exercised a momentous influence on the action itself.

Before giving a decisive answer to his peace-pleading captains, Suffren determined to ascertain the number of the enemy's vessels. He accordingly signalled to the frigate *Bellona* to reconnoitre. The *Bellona* in a very short space of time signalled back that there were twelve English ships. This decided Suffren. He had fourteen.* Turning to his advisers, he said, "If the enemy had more ships than I have, I would abstain; if he had an equal number, I could scarcely refrain; but as he has fewer, there is no choice; we must go out and fight him."

The fact is that Suffren saw, though his captains would not or could not see, that a grand opportunity, possibly the last, now offered to strike a decisive blow for dominion in Southern India. Could he but destroy, or effectually disable, the fleet of Sir Edward Hughes, everything was still possible. Bussy was on the point of arriving; Haidar Ali still lived, threatening the English possessions all round Madras; the attenuated English army, deprived of its fleet, would be unable to keep the field; and there was nothing to prevent the victorious French fleet from sailing with the monsoon wind to Madras, and crushing out the domination of the English in the countries south of the river Krishna. There was the one obstacle offered by the twelve ships of Sir Edward Hughes; and Suffren had fourteen.

That Suffren entertained such hopes is beyond a doubt. Writing to a friend on the 14th, after the battle I am about to describe, and alluding to the excellent conduct of the captain of the *Illustre*, M. de Bruyères de Chalabre, he used this expression: "No one could have borne himself better than he did; if all had done like him, we should have been masters of India for ever."†

But let us now turn to the events of this memorable day. Decided by the signal from the *Bellona* to fight, Suffren, after

* The French fleet consisted of the *Héros*, 74; the *Illustre*, 74; the *Orient*, 74; the *Annibal*, 74; the *Artésien*, 64; the *Sévère*, 64; the *St Michel*, 64; the *Brilliant*, 64; the *Sphinx*, 64; the *Ajax*, 64; the *Vengeur*, 64; the *Bizarre*, 64; the *Petit Annibal*, 50; and four frigates, carrying in all 1,038 guns. The English fleet comprised the *Hero*, 74; the *Barford*, 74; the *Sultan*, 74; the *Superb*, 74; the *Monarca*, 74; the *Exeter*, 64; the *Sceptre*, 64; the *Eagle*, 64; the *Magnamine*, 64; the *Monmouth*, 64; the *Isis*, 56; the *Worcester*, 54; and five frigates and one corvette, carrying in all 976 guns.

† This letter was published in the *Gazette de France* of 31st March 1783.

a short exhortation to his captains, weighed anchor, and stood out towards the enemy who appeared inclined to entice him gently away from the harbour. As he approached, he signalled to form line in the pre-arranged order. This signal, though repeated again and again, was so badly executed by some of the malcontent captains, that it appeared to the English as if their enemy was about, after all, to decline an engagement. At length, however, their intentions became clear. Their line, though badly formed—the ships being at unequal distances from each other, here crowded, there separated by a long interval—approached till within cannon-shot.

Suffren, dissatisfied with the unequal formation his ships had taken up, signalled then to his captains to reserve their fire till they should be at close quarters with the enemy. He endeavoured to enforce this order by firing a gun. The signal was misunderstood to signify the immediate opening of fire. The fire accordingly opened simultaneously along the whole line of the fleet. The compliment was quickly returned, and in a few minutes the action became general.

Leaving for a moment the van and rear guards of both fleets, we will turn our attention to the centre, in which the rival commanders were opposed to each other. The French centre was composed of the *Héros*, the *Illustre*, the *Sphinx*, the *Flamand* and the *Petit Annibal*. Of these five the *Sphinx* and the *Petit Annibal* had, by bad seamanship or ill-will on the part of their captains, mixed themselves with the vanguard, the *Flamand* had tacked herself on the rear guard, whilst, on the other hand, the *Ajax*, of the rear guard, had joined the centre. It was then with only three vessels, the *Héros*, the *Illustre*, and the *Ajax*, that Suffren came to close quarters with the English admiral.

Here he found ready to receive him, and arranged with that care for discipline and obedience to orders, which is one of the glories of the English services, the *Barford*, the *Superb*, the *Sultan*, the *Eagle*, the *Hero*, and the *Monarca*. For one hour the unequal combat lasted, fought with admirable courage on both sides; at the end of that period Suffren saw that the odds were too great, and that unless he received prompt assistance he must succumb. He signalled, therefore, to the *St. Michel* commanded by d'Aymar, and to the *Annibal* commanded by de Tromelin, to come to his aid. Neither obeyed. De Kersaison, however, brought up the *Brillant*, though not in a position to offer the most effectual assistance.

Whilst this murderous hand-to-hand conflict was going on in the centre, the two extremities continued pounding at each other at long distances. In this the French had somewhat the advantage. The *Exeter* was disabled, and forced to draw out of the

line; the *Isis* suffered severely, and her captain, Lumley, was killed; the *Worcester*, who lost her captain, Wood, and the *Monmouth*, were riddled. On the French side, the *Consolante*, a 40-gun frigate, which had been brought into action, lost her captain, Péan; the *Vengeur*, having fired away all her ammunition, retired from the action, and caught fire, with difficulty extinguished: the remainder of the squadron continued to fire without order, and at long distances, notwithstanding that the signal for close action was still flying on the commodore's ship.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the fight having lasted then one hour and a half, the situation of the French commodore had become extremely critical. The *Ajax* had been so riddled as to be able to retire only with the greatest difficulty. The *Héros*, the *Illustre*, and the *Brillant* had to bear unsupported the weight of the concentrated fire of the centre division of the English fleet. At 4 o'clock the *Artésien* came to the commodore's rescue; but even then the odds were too great. About 5 o'clock the mainmast, the fore topmast, and the mizen topmast of the *Héros* came down with a tremendous crash. The hurrahs of the English first showed Suffren that they thought he had struck his flag. Not for long did they remain under this delusion. Rushing on the poop, Suffren cried with a voice which sounded above the roar of the combat: "Bring flags; bring up all the white flags that are below and cover my ship with them." These words inspired his men with renewed energy. The contest continued with greater fury than ever. The *Barford*, the *Sultan*, and the *Superb* had already felt, and now felt again, its effects. Hope was beginning to rise, when at the moment it was whispered to Suffren that he had already expended 1,800 rounds of shot, and that his ammunition was exhausted!

Powder, however, remained, and with powder alone he continued the fire, so as to delude the enemy. But he had begun to despair: already he was thinking of spiking the guns, and, enticing the enemy's ships close to him, of blowing up his ship and her neighbours with her, when an event occurred which changed the fortunes of the day.

Suddenly, at half-past five, the wind shifted from the south-west to the east-south-east. This enabled the vanguard of the French fleet to come to the aid of, and to cover, its centre. At the same time the English fleet wore. But on resuming position it had no longer the hardily-pressed ships of the French centre to encounter, but those of the vanguard which till then had only engaged at a distance and were comparatively fresh.

The battle then re-engaged. But now it was the turn of the French. The *Héro* lost her mainmast at twenty minutes past six and her mizenmast soon after. The main topmast of the *Worcester*

was shot away about the same time. The *Superb*, the *Barford*, the *Eagle*, and the *Monmouth* had previously been disabled.

At length night fell, and the engagement ceased—another drawn battle. Both fleets remained all night near the scene of action. The next morning that of the French entered the harbour of Trincomali, the English set sail for Madras. *

Such was the great sea fight off Trincomali. That the majority of the French captains behaved disgracefully was broadly asserted by Suffren, and was admitted by his adversaries. In the English accounts published in India at that period, those captains were stigmatised as being 'unworthy to serve so great a man', whilst even in the *Calcutta Gazette* it was admitted that Suffren had been very badly seconded. There can scarcely be a doubt that he was right in saying as he did in the letter I have already referred to, that if all had fought like the captain of the *Illustre*, he would have mastered Southern India. As it was, the battle was not without its effect on the campaign.

The Madras Government was so sensible of the damages sustained by the English fleet, and so cognizant of the enterprising spirit of the French commodore, that they ordered their army to fall back on Madras. Had there been at the head of the French land forces a man possessing but the atom of a brain, the dream of Dupleix, of Lally, and of Suffren, might even then have been realised!

The consequences to some of the French captains were serious. On the 13th September de Tromelin of the *Annibal*, de St. Félix of the *Artésien*, and de la Landelle of the *Bizarre*, were shipped off to the Isle of France. They were accompanied by de Galles of the *Petit Annibal*, whose health rendered necessary the change.

The French fleet having repaired damages, and having lost one of its vessels (*l'Orient*), which struck on a rock the morning after the action, sailed from Trincomali on the 30th September, and arrived off Kadalúr on the 4th October. Here Suffren had the misfortune to lose the *Bizarre* which, taken too near the shore, ran aground. On the 15th, he set out with the remainder of his ships to winter at Achin. He arrived there on the 7th November.

It is time now to take a glance at the land operations.

* It is very difficult to reconcile the accounts given by the rival actors of the latter part of the action. The English writers assert that the French entered the harbour that very night. Vice-Admiral Bouët-Willaumez and the French authorities of the time assert that Suffren signalled to chase the English, but that they

got away; and that the French entered Trincomali the next morning. Truth would appear to be that both sides were thoroughly exhausted, and were glad to discontinue the battle; that both anchored that night near to where they had fought, and that the French entered the harbour early in the morning.

V.

We left the French auxiliary land force under Duchemin in the strongly fortified position of Kalinúr,—a position in which Haidar Ali had left them in disgust at the conduct of their commander, to go in person with his own troops alone to baffle the designs of Coote on Arni (2nd June 1782). We have seen how he accomplished that task. Shortly after the action which took place before that fortress, and the more trifling skirmishes that followed, the English army retired to the vicinity of Madras.

On his side Haidar Ali cantoned his main army on the high ground near the river Poní, sixteen miles north of Arcot, conducting thence the siege of Vellore. Thence also he despatched his son Tippú, with a considerable force, to counteract the manœuvres of the English on the western coast. The French auxiliary force under Duchemin remained intrenched near Kadalúr in a state of complete inactivity. Here on the 13th September Duchemin, who had been long ailing, died. He was succeeded by Count d'Offelize, the colonel of the regiment of Austrasia, a man respected for his judgment and good sense.

But it was soon seen that active hostilities had by no means ceased. Taking advantage of the absence of Haidar at Kadalúr, whither he had repaired for his interview with the French commodore, Sir Eyre Coote had succeeded by a sudden and rapid march, in introducing a six months' supply of stores and ammunition into the threatened fortress of Vellore. Haidar, who had too late received intelligence of his enemy's movement, hastened to attempt to defeat it, but arrived only in time to witness its successful execution. Haidar then returned to his camp on the river Poní. Coote, waiting until the excitement caused by his recent raid should have subsided, thought it might just be possible to steal a march upon the ruler of Mysore, and, pouncing upon Kadalúr, not only to seize that fortified depôt, but to destroy at a blow the French auxiliary force. He had every hope that in this attempt he would be supported by the frigate and transports containing stores and a battering train, which had been expedited from Madras for that purpose. He therefore attempted it.

Succeeding in eluding the vigilance of Haidar, Coote found himself, on the 6th September, on the red hills near Pondichery. He commanded thence a complete view of the sea. But to his disappointment not a sail was to be seen. There was but a march between him and the French encampment. Without a battering train, however, the chances of success were slight, and repulse would be fatal, for Haidar would not long delay to act on his communications. As it was, even his position was full of peril. Still he maintained it for some days, straining his eyes towards the sea. Nor did he cease to hope, until an express

from Madras informed him that Trincomali had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and that the fleet, badly treated in an encounter before that place, was in full sail for Madras. He at once resigned hope and fell back on the presidency town.

Seldom, it may be safely affirmed, have English interests in Southern India been exposed to greater danger than they were on this occasion. Haidar was encamped in an impregnable position within easy distance of Madras; two thousand of the famed horsemen of Mysore encircled the capital, endeavouring to cut off supplies; a large addition to the French land force was momentarily expected; the fleet, by the capture of Trincomali, had been deprived of the only possible place of refuge on the Coromandel coast during the N.E. monsoon, then about to break; and, added to all, a famine, such as had not been known for years, was devastating the country.* It seemed that it required but one energetic push on the part of the enemy to make the whole edifice of British supremacy topple over.

The damages sustained by the English ships in the action off Trincomali rendered it dangerous for them to wait the first burst of the monsoon in the open roadstead of Madras. Sir Edward Hughes, therefore, immediately after his arrival, announced to the Governor, Lord Macartney, his intention to take his fleet round to Bombay as soon as he should be able to patch up the injured ships. In vain did the Governor remonstrate. Sir Edward Hughes was obdurate, and rightly obdurate. He knew well the force of the monsoon and his inability to brave it. He therefore adhered to his resolution.

His efforts to put his ships in order, to re-victual and re-equip them, were stimulated not less by the close proximity of the monsoon, than by a report which reached Madras that Suffren was about to make an attempt on Negapatam.† With all his efforts, however, Hughes could not sail before the 15th October; but on the 15th October he sailed.

The morning of the 15th had been threatening, showing every indications of a storm. The result did not belie the promise.

* A contemporary, the author of *Transactions in India*, writing three years after the event, thus describes the famine and its consequences: "At this moment a famine raged in Madras and every part of the Carnatic, and, by the tempest now described, all foreign resources that depended on an intercourse by sea were at an end. The roads, the outlets and even the streets (of Madras) were everywhere choked up with heaps of dead, and crowds of

the dying. Two hundred at least of the natives perished every day in the streets and the suburbs. *** All was done which private charity could do; but it was a whole people in beggary; a nation which stretched out its hand for food. *** For eighteen months did this destruction rage from the gates of Madras to the gates of Tanjore."

† He had been seen off Negapatam on the 1st October.

The following morning the long line of coast off Madras was strewn with wrecks ; many vessels foundered, some were driven on shore. Of the small craft containing the rice supplies which had been sent from the more northern ports and roadsteads, not a single one remained.

The ships of Sir Edward Hughes though they escaped absolute destruction, met with little short of it. For a whole month no two ships of the fleet could speak with each other. The *Superb*, which carried the admiral's flag, had been at an early date reduced to such a condition that Sir Edward took the first opportunity to shift his flag to the *Sultan*. They were upwards of two months in making the voyage to Bombay. And when the admiral arrived there on the 20th December, he arrived with a shattered fleet and with sickly crews.*

Four days after the departure of Sir Edward Hughes from Madras, Sir Robert Bickerton arrived there with five ships of war and a large number of transports, having on board about 4,000 infantry and 340 cavalry. Having landed these he, too, sailed for Bombay.

Meanwhile Suffren had arrived at Achin (7th November). He stayed there till the 15th January, engaged in refitting his ships, in attending to his crews, and in sending cruisers into the Bay of Bengal, where they made some important captures.† Early in January he heard of the death of Haidar Ali (7th December). He determined therefore to return at once to the Coromandel coast to concert fresh measures with Tippú Sultan.

Suffren, sailing on the 15th January, arrived off Kadalûr early in February. He was surprised to find there neither tidings of Bussy, nor any news regarding two ships of his fleet, the *Annibal* and the *Bellona*, which he had sent to cruise in the Bay of Bengal. He stayed there but a few days; then, having detached two of his ships, the *St. Michel* and the *Coventry*, towards Madras to intercept an English convoy, he sailed for Trincomali, and arrived there on the 23rd February.

Here he was joined not only by his missing ships, but, on the 10th March, by the squadron which was escorting Bussy, consisting of three line of battle ships, one frigate and thirty-two transports.

* It is a curious circumstance connected with the law of storms, first that Suffren, who left Kadalûr the same day as that on which Sir E. Hughes left Madras, experienced only fine weather; he noticed the coming storm and avoided it; that Sir R. Bickerton reached Madras with five sail of the line on the

19th October without experiencing bad weather; that he left it, the very day he had landed his troops, for Bombay, and arrived there some weeks before Sir E. Hughes, without experiencing any bad weather in transit.

† Amongst others the *Coventry*, a frigate carrying 32 guns.

The troops under the command of the Marquis de Bussy, consisting of about 2,300 men,* were escorted to the Coromandel coast, and were landed safely at Porto Novo on the 19th March. I propose now to show the state in which the new commander found the affairs of the French and their ally.

The English having concluded peace with the Márhátás had, early in the year, made in communication with them so strong a demonstration on the western coast, that Tippú had been forced to start with the bulk of his army to defend his own dominions. But before this had happened General Stuart had succeeded Sir Eyre Coote in command of the English forces at Madras. Reinforced, as we have seen, Stuart moved in February on to Karangúli and Wandewash, the fortifications of which places he destroyed. The Mysorean army under Tippú and the French auxiliaries under d'Offelize were occupying a position at the time within twelve miles of Wandewash, and an action between their army and the English seemed at one time imminent; but Tippú's preparations had not been completed when Stuart offered battle, and when Tippú's plans had matured Stuart had retired. It was immediately after this that Tippú started with the bulk of his army and one French regiment for Mysore, leaving 3,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry at the disposal of d'Offelize.

The English authorities still clung to the plan of wresting, by a combined attack by sea and land, the fortified depôt of Kadalúr from the French. Arrangements having been concerted with Sir Edward Hughes, Stuart set out from the vicinity of Madras on the 21st April, at the head of about 15,000† men. As he advanced towards Wandewash, d'Offelize, whose European force had been reduced to about 600 men, fell back in the direction of Kadalúr.

Bussy, we have seen, arrived at Kadalúr on the 19th March in plenty of time, by an active initiative, to prevent the investiture of that place. But the Bussy who returned to India in 1773 was no longer the hardy warrior who had electrified Southern India in the years between 1754 and 1760; who had made of the Subadar of the Dekhan a French prefect, and whose capacity to dare had supplied the want of soldiers. If the Bussy of 1756, by his genius, his activity, his daring, his success, foreshadowed in some respects the illustrious warrior who, just forty years later, displayed the same qualities to conquer Italy, the Bussy of 1783, corrupted by wealth, enervated by luxury, and careful only of his

* They consisted of detachments from the regiment of de la Mark, from the regiment d'Aquitaine, from the Royal Roussillon, and of 300 artillery men.

† He set out with about 3,000 Europeans and 11,500 natives, but was joined almost immediately by 600 Europeans just landed.

ease, more resembled that scion of the house of Bourbon, once his sovereign, who consecrated all his hours to his mistresses, who left the nomination of the generals of the armies of France to a de Pompadour, and who banished a Choiseul on the requisition of a Du Barry!

Bussy, then, instead of acting with vigour, did nothing. He did not even show himself to his men. He kept himself—to borrow the language of one of his countrymen—"invisible in his tent like a rich Nabob." Instructed by Colonel d'Offelize of the advance of the English, and informed by that officer that he pledged himself to maintain his force at Permacól, if he were but supported, Bussy not only refused, but abandoned every outlying fortification and fell back within Kadalúr.

The fort of Kadalúr was a quadrangle of unequal sides, extremely weak in many respects, and possessing an indifferent flanking defence. From two to four miles from its western face inland were the hills of Bandapalam. A little estuary formed by the sea covered the eastern and southern faces. It was defended by the whole French force, reduced now by sickness and detachments lent to Tippú to 2,300 Europeans, and by a Mysorean force of 3,000 infantry and 7,000 horse.

The English army arrived before Kadalúr on the 4th June. On the 7th, secure of the support of the fleet, which had arrived at Porto Novo, it made a circuit round the hill and took up a position two miles southward from the fort, its left resting on the hills, its right on the estuary. In making this circuit Stuart so exposed his left to the enemy, that the Major of the regiment of Austrasia, de Boisseaux, ventured to disturb the "French Nabob" in his tent, to point out the capital crime the English were committing. But Bussy, not with difficulty, restrained himself. He had arrived at a time of life when men no longer attack.

It was only when Stuart had definitely taken up his position to the south, that Bussy formed up his force outside Kadalúr, in a line nearly parallel to the enemy, and began to cover it with intrenchments.

On the 13th General Stuart ordered an attack on the right of the French line under the command of Colonel Kelly. The attack, after gaining two positions, was, thanks to the skill and energy of Colonel d'Offelize, repulsed with great loss at the third. The success of the French seemed assured, but they pursued the retiring enemy too far, and General Stuart, noticing his opportunity, came up between them and their intrenchments, and gained a position which would enable him the next day to command the entire French line of defence. Upon this the fight ceased, and Bussy, who for the day had exchanged his tent for a palanquin, withdrew his troops during the night within Kadalúr.

All this time the sea had been commanded by the English fleet. But on the evening of the day on which the French had been driven within Kadalúr, a circumstance occurred which brings again upon the scene the illustrious French admiral* at the hour of the direst needs of his country.

We left Suffren on the 19th March landing the army of Bussy at Porto Novo. Coasting then southwards, he arrived on the 11th April, after a slow and difficult journey, within sight of Trincomali. In spite of the presence of the English off the coast he entered the harbour, and at once set to work to refit his fleet. Of his fifteen ships all but five were still under repair, when on the 24th May, the English fleet again passed Trincomali in full sail to the south. Imagining that this demonstration was but a feint to draw him towards Kadalúr, so that Trincomali might be captured in his absence, Suffren contented himself with sending some transports escorted by frigates to Kadalúr, and continued his repairs. Again, on the 31st May, the English fleet appeared, bearing northwards, and this time it even made a demonstration to attack the harbour. But it was only a demonstration. At the end of two days Sir Edward Hughes went on to take up at Porto Novo a position which was to support the attack of the land army on Kadalúr. Two days later the French frigates and transports which had been sent to convey stores to Kadalúr returned to Trincomali. The senior captain of the expedition brought with him a letter from Bussy, written early in June, painting his needs and imploring assistance.

Suffren was not the man to turn a deaf ear to an exhortation of that nature. It is true that he knew his fleet to be inferior in number, in condition, and in weight of metal to that of the enemy;† but he felt that the interests of France would be better served by his provoking an unequal contest, the issue of which might however be favourable, than by allowing her last army to succumb without a blow.‡ He therefore did not hesitate for a moment. He did not even consult any one: but summoning on board the flag ship the captains of his fleet he informed them in a few spirit-stirring words that the army at Kadalúr was lost unless the fleet went to succour it; that the glory of saving it was reserved for them; and that whatever might be the result, they would at least attempt it.

These words were received by the assembled captains with the greatest enthusiasm. Instantly every hand lent itself to the

* Suffren had been promoted in March 1873 to the rank of *lieutenant-général* a title corresponding to that of vice-admiral.

† The French fleet consisted of fifteen ships of war and one frigate carrying 1,008 guns; the English of

eighteen ships of war carrying 1,202 guns.

‡ The conduct of Suffren on this occasion may well be contrasted with that of d'Aché in 1761. *Vide History of the French in India.*

work. The crews of all but three of the frigates were transferred to the line of battle ships to bring up the complement of these to working capacity. On the 11th June the fleet left Trincomali. On the evening of the 13th it came within sight of Kadalúr to gladden by its appearance the hearts of the soldiers who had been forced that day to retire within its fortifications.

Sir Edward Hughes was at Porto Novo. His light ships having signalled the French fleet, he at once stood in for Kadalúr, and anchored in front of it. The 14th and 15th the state of the wind rendered it impossible for Suffren to force on an action, and the English admiral, rightly regarding the capture of Kadalúr as the main object of the campaign, conceived that he best contributed to the accomplishment of that object by covering the besieged fort. On the 16th, however, the wind changed, and the French fleet bore down on its enemy. The English admiral at once weighed anchor and stood to sea, hoping that by standing out and catching the light breezes which he thought he detected in the open, he might bear down in his turn and take Suffren at disadvantage. But this did not happen, and Suffren, still bearing towards the coast, reaped the fruit of his happy audacity by occupying, without firing a shot, the place in front of Kadalúr which had just been vacated by his English rival!

It is impossible to speak in terms of too high commendation of this display of combined genius and daring. To beat on the open sea a fleet of equal or of greater numbers is no doubt a splendid achievement; but it is an achievement in which the lower nature of man, that which is termed brute force, has a considerable share. But to gain all the effect of a victory without fighting, to dislodge an enemy superior in numbers from a position of vital importance without firing a shot,—that indeed is an exercise of the highest faculties of man's higher nature, a feat of intellectual power not often bestowed, but generally combined, when given, with that strength of nerve which knows when

* It is curious to note the manner in which this achievement is alluded to by English writers. Wilks, with his usual straightforwardness, writes thus: "On the 16th, he (Hughes) weighed anchor, with the expectation of bringing the enemy to close action, but such was the superior skill or fortune of M. Suffren that on the same night, at half-past 8, he anchored abreast of the fort, and the dawn of day presented to the English army before Cuddalore the mortifying spectacle of the French fleet in the exact position abandoned by their own on the previous day,

the English fleet being invisible and its situation unknown." The author of *Memoirs of the late war in Asia*, himself a combatant, speaks of the French fleet as "a crazy fleet, consisting of 15 sail of ships, half of them in very bad condition." He merely mentions that "it occupied the place vacated by Sir E. Hughes' fleet consisting of 18 coppered ships (their crews greatly debilitated by sickness.)" Campbell and the writer of the *Transactions* pass over the event in silence. Even Mill ignores it; but it is a well-attested fact.

and how to dare.* The clocks of Kadalûr were striking half-past eight when Suffren anchored before the town. With the prescience of a true commander, he had discovered that of the two enemies before him it was necessary to drive off the one before attacking the other. Were he to lend his sailors to join in an attack on General Stuart, he might at any moment be assailed at a disadvantage by Admiral Hughes. Instead, therefore, of disembarking his own men, he embarked a thousand soldiers to strengthen his ships.

This embarkation took place on the 17th. On the 18th Suffren weighed anchor and stood out, but neither on that day nor on the day following could he succeed in bringing the enemy to action. On the 20th November, Sir Edward Hughes, whose men were suffering from scurvy, and whose supplies of water were running short,* found it absolutely necessary to accept a contest or to bear up for Madras. He chose the former alternative.

In the contest which was about to commence Suffren was in number of ships, in their condition, and in weight of metal, considerably inferior to the English.† On the other hand his ships were better manned. But that which gave him the greatest confidence was the quality of his captains. For the first time the ships of his fleet were commanded by men whom he could trust.

At $\frac{1}{4}$ -past 4 in the afternoon, the two fleets, having come within range, almost simultaneously opened fire. Immediately afterwards the *Flamand*, 50, attempting to pierce the enemy's line, was attacked on both sides by the *Exeter* and the *Inflexible*. Her captain, de Salvart, was killed, but the first lieutenant succeeded in rescuing her from her perilous position.

Whilst this was being attempted the *Héros* and *Illustre* engaged at once the *Superb*, the *Monarca* and the *Barford*; the *Argonaute* the *Sultan*; the *Petit Annibal* the *Africa*; the *Vengeur* the *Magnamine*; the *Hardi* at once the *Bristol* and

* He had lost, during little more than a month, nearly 3,000 men from the same cause. It is to this that the English writers attribute his unwillingness to accept an engagement.

† The English fleet consisted of the *Gibraltar*, 80, the *Défence*, 74, the *Héro*, 74, the *Sultan*, 74, the *Superb*, 74, the *Cumberland*, 74, the *Monarca* 70, the *Barford*, 70, the *Inflexible*, 64, the *Exeter*, 64, the *Worcester*, 64, the *Africa*, 64, the *Sceptre*, 64, the *Magnamine*, 64, the *Eagle*, 64, the *Monmouth*, 64, the *Bristol*, 50, the *Isis*, 50.

The French fleet, of the *Fendant*, 74, the *Argonaute*, 74, the *Héros*,

74, the *Illustre*, 74, the *Annibal*, 74, the *Sphinx*, 64, the *Brillant*, 64, the *Ajax*, 64, the *Vengeur*, 64, the *Sévère*, 64, the *Hardi*, 64, the *Artésien*, 64, the *St. Michel*, 60, the *Flamand*, 50, the *Petit Annibal*, 50, and the *Consolante* frigate, 40, brought into the line. The French had also three frigates, the *Fine*, the *Cleopâtre* and the *Coventry*. On board of one of these, in consequence of an express order of the king, provoked by the capture of Count de Grasse in his contest with Rodney, Suffren hoisted his flag during the action. The English had also two frigates, the *Active* and the *Medea*.

the *Monmouth*. In the rear division the *Fendant* encountered first the *Inflexible* and then the *Gibraltar*, whilst the *Sphinx* tackled the *Defence*. The other ships of both fleets were not less actively engaged.

At about half-past 5 the mizen topmast of the *Fendant* caught fire, and her commander was forced to take her for a moment out of the line. The *Gibraltar*, with whom she had been engaged, seized this opportunity to attempt to break the French line, but the *Flamand* covered her consort and kept the enemy at bay till the fire was extinguished, and the *Fendant* returned to her position.

The murderous contest was kept up on both sides until past seven o'clock, when darkness supervened and the firing ceased. Neither fleet had lost a ship, both had been severely handled; but the practical victory would be naturally to that which would be able to compel the other to retire from the vicinity of Kadalûr. That question was soon decided.

During the night the French fleet beat about endeavouring to remain close to Kadalûr, but the currents took it down to Pondichery. There, in the course of the following day, it anchored, but early on the morning of the 22nd, his light ships signalling the English fleet bearing N.-N.-E., Suffren immediately weighed anchor and stood out in pursuit. When, however, he reached Kadalûr the enemy was no longer in sight; Sir E. Hughes had borne up for Madras.*

Thus then had Suffren, by combined skill and valour, attained one of his objects. He had driven one enemy from the coast; he would now aid in forcing the other to retreat. That same evening, the 23rd June, he landed not only the thousand soldiers he had borrowed from the fort, but added to them 2,400 men from his sailors.

More he could not do. He could command and win battles on sea. He could send his men on shore, but on the land his own men, he himself even, came under the orders of Bussy. And we have seen what the Bussy of 1783 was. Yet this man, once so distinguished, had now an opportunity at the like of which he

* The impartial historian, Lieutenant-Colonel Wilks, by no means a lover of the French, states that "The English Admiral, after receiving the detailed reports of the state of each ship, found the whole of his equipments so entirely crippled, his crews so lamentably reduced, and the want of water so extreme, that he deemed it indispensable to incur the mortification of bearing away for the

Roads of Madras, whilst Suffren wresting from his enemies the praise of superior address, and even the claim of victory, if victory belong to him who attains his object, resumed his position in the anchorage of Cuddalore." The italics are my own. Campbell and the author of the *Transactions* are, as usual, vague when the matter refers to the success of the French.

would have clutched in his younger days. Covered by the fleet, he could make an assault on the enemy,—the landing of whose battering train had been prevented by the success of Suffren,—with numbers superior to their own. Suffren urged him to this course; d'Offelize urged him; the officers of his staff urged him. But he would not. He let the golden moments slip. Then Suffren, disgusted, returned on board his ship, asking Bussy as he left him "if he expected that he could take his ships to beat the enemy on shore."

At last, after many hesitations, when General Stuart had recovered from the moral depression which the defeat of the English fleet had caused him, Bussy determined to risk a sortie. But a sortie to succeed must be composed of picked men, and those men must be well commanded. Bussy omitted both these necessary precautions. The men he ordered for the work were not only not specially selected, but their number was insufficient for the purpose; their leader, moreover, the Chevalier de Dumas, was the least trusted officer in the French force*. The result corresponded to the plan. The sortie, made at 3 o'clock in the morning of the 26th June, was repulsed with the loss of about 40 men killed, and 100 taken prisoners.†

Notwithstanding this repulse, the English general was too well aware of his own comparative weakness to attempt an assault. He restricted himself therefore to a blockade, and that of merely a nominal nature. The French troops drew in unopposed all their supplies from the country, and Bussy, even the Bussy of 1783, had become so emboldened as to talk of an attack on the besiegers' camp with his combined force, when suddenly the intelligence that the preliminaries of peace had been signed in Europe, induced both contending parties to agree to a suspension of arms.

This suspension assumed, on the 3rd September following, a permanent character, by the announcement of the conclusion of the peace known in history as the treaty of Versailles.

The suspension of arms was most unfortunate for France. The army of Stuart before Kadalûr represented the last hope of the English in Southern India. It was reduced then by the want of supplies to the last extremities. An attack by the French in force could have scarcely failed to annihilate it. With its destruction

* C'était un vil intrigant d'une incapacité reconnue. *Roux*. Wilks says he was inconsolable at not having been wounded.

† Amongst the prisoners taken on this occasion was Bernadotte, afterwards Marshal of France, Prince of Pontecorvo, and King of Sweden. He was then a sergeant in the regi-

ment of Aquitaine. After he had attained greatness, Bernadotte seized the earliest opportunity of expressing to Colonel Langenheim, who commanded the German legion at Kadalûr, and whom he met again in Hanover, his sense of the kindness with which he had been treated on that occasion.

Madras and all Southern India would have passed over to the French.*

But it was not to be ; nor, even if it had been, can it be imagined that the scion of the House of Bourbon who then governed France, well-intentioned though he may have been, would have refused to restore it without conditions. His predecessor, after having lavished French blood and spent French treasure in a war which was costly, and in spite of himself successful, restored at the peace which followed† all his conquests, and agreed even to dismiss his guest from his hearth, saying he "would not treat as a tradesman but as a king." This kingly method of benefiting one's adversaries at the expense of one's country would seem to be an heirloom of the House of Bourbon. For, with respect to India, the treaty of Versailles carried out precisely the same principle. The war which that treaty terminated had been a most disastrous war for England. She had lost, and rightly lost, her American colonies ; she seemed, for the moment, shorn of her prestige ; the French could have insisted at least on the restoration of her possessions in India to the *status quo ante* 1761. This was a cardinal point which neither the Republic nor the Empire would have foregone. But the Bourbons "treated as kings and not as traders." Consequently, though England had but one army in Southern India, and that army was exposed to destruction, Louis XVI. renounced every advantage, and allowed French India to accept, after a victorious campaign, conditions almost identical with those which had been forced upon her after the capture of her capital in 1761.

Yet the indifference of the ruler of France, noxious as it was to French interests, could not detract in the smallest degree from the merits of the illustrious man who did, for a time, restore French influence to Southern India. That man was the Bailli† de Suffren. His five contests with an English fleet, of always nearly equal, sometimes of greater force, stamp him as being inferior to none of the great seamen whom France and England had till then produced. This has been virtually admitted by the writers on naval subjects of both nations. Mr. Clerk, whose work on naval tactics, originally published in 1778, is said to have inspired Rodney with the famous idea of breaking the line, republished, in 1790, an edition in which he cites the manœuvres of Suffren as constituting a lesson to all ad-

* Professor H. H. Wilson thus writes on this subject : "It seems probable that but for the opportune occurrence of peace with France, the South of India would have been lost to the English. The annihilation of the army at Cuddalore would have been followed

by the siege of Madras, and there was little chance of defending it successfully against Tippoo and the French."

† The Peace of Aix la Chapelle.

‡ In 1782 he had been nominated Bailli of the order of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

mirals to come, and indicates him, as having been the first commander to introduce the principle of fighting at close quarters, subsequently carried to so great a perfection by Nelson. Vice-Admiral Bouët-Willamez, in his work entitled '*Batailles de terre et de mer*,' says of Suffren that he was "the first to disdain the routine professed by the admirals of his epoch, consisting of ranging the squadron in one single line of battle. He cared not for the traditions which required one to fight at a moderate distance. He engaged within pistol-shot." The naval historian, Dr. Campbell, whose anti-French sympathies are strongly marked, is forced to admit that Suffren was "worthy of being the rival and opponent of Sir Edward Hughes." I have already cited the opinion of Colonel Wilks. Amongst all the works I have consulted on the subject, I have not found a divergent sentiment.

The character of Suffren is thus justly summarised by M. Hennequin :* "To an imperturbable coolness in action, Suffren united an extreme ardour and activity. Courageous even to rashness, he showed an inflexible rigour towards officers whom he suspected of weakness or cowardice. In a word, he united in his person all the qualities which make a warrior illustrious, a sailor skilful, and a man esteemed. Those who knew him, and especially the officers who sailed under his orders, never pronounce his name even now but with respect and admiration."

Suffren returned to France in 1784, to receive high honours from his Sovereign, but he did not long survive to enjoy them. He was killed in a duel in 1788 at the age of sixty-two.

Had he but lived, would he have been too old to command the fleet which fought Lord Howe on the 1st June 1794? Could he have occupied with advantage the place of Brueys and Villeneuve? These are questions which the French at least, who owned him and who glory in him, do ask, and which they have a right to ask. Nor will we, we English, who honour genius, and who recognise that genius in the man who, though a foreigner, was still the precursor of our own Nelson, grudge them the answer which their pride and their patriotism alike dictate.

Meanwhile peace between the European rivals reigned again in Southern India. By the interval of nine years which elapsed between the signature of the treaty of Versailles and the outbreak of the war of the Revolution, the English profited to fix their domination on a basis so substantial as to be proof against further direct hostility on the part of their great rival. But the indirect efforts which were then attempted were coloured by a tinge of romance almost entirely wanting in the history I have just recorded.

G. B. MALLESÖN.

* *Essai historique sur la vie et les campagnes du Bailli de Suffren.*

HURDWAR.

By G. R. C. WILLIAMS, ESQ., C.S.

IF stenic effect can prepare the mind to receive the impressions of superstition, the situation of Hurdwár harmonises admirably with its mythology, of which a brief account has been given in a former paper.* The holy place stands on the right bank of the Ganges, at the very point where that river, bursting through the Sewálik hills, debouches upon the plains nearly two hundred miles from its source, about a thousand feet above the level of the sea. It seems to nestle in the bosom of the gorge formed by the disruption of the mountain chain, whose jagged ridges, grotesquely picturesque in their rude barrenness, though wanting, it is true, in real grandeur, overlook the waters of the mighty river, which here rushes over a bed of boulders and shingle, sloping rapidly downwards from the forests of the Doon. This gorge is from one to one-and-a-half miles broad, so that the Ganges is not confined to one narrow course. The main stream, the Nil Dhárá, so called from its often assuming a dark blue colour under certain atmospheric conditions, washes the foot of Chándee Devée Puhár, a conical hill sacred to a goddess whose temple crowns its summit several hundred feet above the shore, dividing the Bijnour district of the North-West Provinces from British Gurhwál. On this side the scenery is more imposing, and boasts a somewhat richer vegetation than the heights commanding the town itself, past which flows a smaller channel that feeds the Ganges canal and rejoins the parent stream below Kunkhul, some two miles lower down. The space thus enclosed by the Nil Dhárá and its offshoot forms an island of considerable extent, chiefly composed of sand and shingle, but culturable in parts, and elsewhere clothed with under-wood, known as the Roree or Majhárá. Similar islands covered with jungle, sometimes bearing forest trees, occur here and there higher up. The neighbourhood once swarmed with game of every description, from a tiger to a jungle fowl; and a legend of the death of a lion at no great distance from Hurdwár, in years gone by, still flatters the imagination of enthusiastic sportsmen. The climate is perceptibly milder than that of the plains, and although, from the beginning of April till the commencement of the rains, the noontide sun beats down with tremendous force upon the valley, the heat is generally tempered after nightfall by a strong breeze blowing from the highlands, popularly termed the *Dadoo*, more poetically the *Ranee ka punkah*, or Queen's fan. In the whole of its majestic course from the Sewálíks to the sea, the Ganges presents us with no scene better calculated to impose upon the imagination of the

* Vide, *Calcutta Review*, No. cxvi. Art. i.

devotee or please the eye of the ordinary spectator, and the advantages of the site are enhanced by associations inseparably connected with the traditional history of the Hindoo race.

Brahminical authority places Hurdwár within the boundaries of Menu's Bramháverta, and those who may feel inclined to doubt the correctness of this, will perhaps be prepared to admit that we should look for Bramárshi, the supposed mother-country of the Brahmans, somewhere in its vicinity. Its proximity to the earliest so-called Aryan colony of which anything is known, is also significant in connection with the veneration in which a place of such slight intrinsic importance, a small town consisting of only one street, whose existing shrines possess neither magnificence nor antiquity, has been held from time immemorial amongst the higher castes throughout the whole of India. In fact, pilgrimages elsewhere are but the reflection of the one ideal pilgrimage to Hurdwár. One would therefore naturally expect to find some allusion to it in the great national epic. We are accordingly told that Arjun bathed there during his self-imposed exile of twelve years. This episode has indeed been condemned as a Brahminical interpolation in the Mahabhárata, but why, it is not easy to understand, although the original passage may well have been altered and embellished to suit the taste of a modern audience, for the Bhurutkund Ráj is said to have extended northward to the foot of the Sewálíks, and Hustinapore is not much more than fifty miles south of Hurdwár, as the crow flies. To deny the deification of the Ganges, in common with that of many other rivers, a much more remote and deeper origin than Brahminical ritualism seems preposterous. The probable emotions of the first Aryan adventurers at the sight of the mighty stream might be compared, without any great effort of imagination, to those of Pizarro's followers at the sight of the Amazon, to those of the fugitives from Cunaxa at the sight of the sea, both in character and intensity. When these subsided, the natural impulse of a semi-barbarous horde would have been to adore the great river, and the simple element-worship that would thus spring up in such a community need not be confounded with the mummery of priestcraft, however anxious the priesthood may be to reconcile the two by means of a system elaborately devised for the purpose of confusing the understanding, and admirably calculated to do so. From this point of view, the union of Santunu, Bharata's great-grandson, with the goddess Gunga, should be regarded rather in the light of a national legend, symbolical of real facts, than as "one of those senseless myths by which the Brahmans sought to glorify the ancestry of the later Rajas,"* for has not the river

* Wheeler's *History of India*, vol. 1, p. 50.

proved a fostering mother to the descendants of those who settled on her banks?

While sojourning at Hurdwár, Arjun met Uloopee, daughter of Básukey, King of the Nágas, the inhabitants of Khánde Bun, a still familiar name applied to a great portion of the Meerut division from Bolundshehr to Saharunpore. Her immediate occupation was the same as his. She was *bathing*, and the story of her subsequent union with the Pandava is most probably typical of early intercourse between the Rajpoot and Takshac races. It is, however, remarkable that, whereas the Agurwál and other Suraojee Buneas, who pretend to trace their descent from Vásuk's daughters by the sons of Agur or Oogur Seyn, King of Oude, an alliance the account of which is at least curious, if not instructive, avoid Hurdwár itself religiously, they hold an annual fair at Hustinapore (*Kartik* 8th to 15th *Sudee*) and bathe there to their hearts' content; other sects, on the contrary, with perversity most provoking to the ethnologist, absolutely neglect Hustinapore, in spite of its close connection with the early history of their race. This anomaly renders the episode, whether authentic or interpolated, all the more significant. The narrative plainly implies that the sanctity of Hurdwár dates from a period anterior to its celebrity as a Brahminical *Tirth*, a character which it must have assumed long after the downfall of the Hustinapore Ráj. This conclusion is warranted by the admissions of the Brahmans themselves, who, when once induced to deal with sober facts, assign its earliest terrestrial glories to the close of the fourth century A. D. Towards the middle of the seventh, we at length learn something of the place from a credible eye-witness, unfortunately a most narrow-minded and one-sided observer, the ubiquitous Hwen Thsang (635 A. D.)*

Hurdwár was then situated on the eastern confine of Shrugná, a kingdom extending in breadth from the neighbourhood of Thanesor to the Ganges, and reaching in length from the Himalayas to Mozuffernugger, thus including a strip of Sirhind, a large patch of the Upper Doáb and the whole of Dehra Doon, besides part of the Kyárdá Doon, a circumstance corroborating the tradition of a Gurhwálee descent upon the plains in early times. The famous Khálsee stone may indicate one of its boundaries, and the pillar removed by Sháh Feroze from Khizrâbâd, twenty-seven miles south-west of that venerable landmark, was most probably one of its public monuments. General Cunningham has identified the site of its capital with Sugh, a village on the right bank of the Boodhee Jumna, near Booreea. As

* Vide, *Memoires de Hiouen Thsang*, Vol. ii., p. 213 seq.

might be expected, Buddhism had become unpopular at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit. Nevertheless, the principality maintained several monasteries, of which the remains discovered at Behut, in the north-west of the Saharunpore district, by Captain Cautley in 1834, perhaps mark the site of one. Notwithstanding their heterodoxy, the Chinese traveller bears testimony favourable to the disposition of the inhabitants. They were, he says, frank and sincere, virtuous and studious. Virtue and literature are now at a discount, but the Goojur and Rajpoot population is still mainly composed of what may be considered, for Asiatics, fine manly fellows. Then they appear to have been more refined. Idolatry had, however, already obtained a pernicious ascendancy over their minds. The pilgrim specially notices the Ganges:—"In the profane histories of the country it is called Fo-chour, "or the waters which bring happiness (Mahâbhadrâ). Even "though one be steeped in crime, a dip therein is sufficient to "wash out all sin on the spot, and those who drown themselves "there out of contempt for life, are born again to everlasting "bliss among the gods. If the remains of a man are immersed "in it after death, he is saved from future punishment, and, "as the swelling waves flow onward with the current, his soul "is wafted to the opposite bank." A parable is here introduced, which seems to favour the suggestion that the local cultus may have been affected by Buddhist influences*:—"There was "a man belonging to the kingdom of Tchi-sse-tsen (Sinhala— "Ceylon), named Ti-po-pousa (Dêva Bôdhi-Sattva), who possess- "ed a profound knowledge of the truth and understood the nature "of all the laws. Pitying the ignorance of his fellow-creatures, "he visited this country for the purpose of instructing them and "acting as their guidé. So all, both men and women, young and "old, assembled on the banks of the river, whose waves were "agitated and rushing impetuously along. Then Dêva Bôdhi- "Sattva, softening the light of his countenance, tried to draw "some of the water, but it receded violently the moment he "stooped his head. Now he wore an air different from the "common herd. A heretic accordingly asked him, 'what, oh "doctor, is the reason of your strange demeanour?'

"Dêva Bôdhi-Sattva answered:—"My father, mother and "nearest relations are in the kingdom of Tchi-sse-tsen (Sinhala) "and I fear they are suffering from hunger and thirst, but I hope, "notwithstanding the distance between us, to relieve them with "this refreshing water.'

"The heretics rejoined:—"You are mistaken, doctor. Why "did you not think twice before making such a foolish ex-

* Vide *Calcutta Review*, No. cxvi, p. 213 seq.

"periment? Your native land is a long way off, and is separated from this by an immense tract of country, with many mountains and rivers between. If then you make the water spring away from you for the purpose of appeasing the thirst of your relatives, it is just as though you were to walk backwards for the purpose of going forwards. In fact, no one ever heard of such a thing."

"Dêva Bôdhi-Sattva replied :—' Even those who are kept by their crimes in the path of darkness experience the good effects of this water, and, though mountains and rivers separate us, why should they not get relief from it? '

"The heretics, then at length understanding the difficulty propounded to them, acknowledged themselves beaten and abjured their errors. They received the true law, corrected their faults, were reformed, and finally expressed a desire to become his disciples."

It is not easy to understand the exact nature of the problem propounded by Dêva Bôdhi-Sattva to the wretched heretics, still less the manner of its solution. At the same time, the description of the sage's proceedings has a peculiar significance with regard to the present subject, for his desire to convey Ganges water to his relatives can hardly fail to remind one of the fable about the resuscitation of Sâgur's sons, and the enunciation of a Brahminical canon by an apostle of Buddhism is very striking :—" Even those who are kept by their crimes in the path of darkness (hell?) experience the good effects of this water." It is also remarkable that effigies of Buddha have been discovered amid the vestiges of the ancient structures that must once have covered the right bank of the river from the great bathing ghaut down to Myapore, which Hwen Thsang may be allowed to describe in his own words. " On the north-west frontier of this kingdom, (Madâwur, now Bijnour), close to the eastern (?) bank of the river King-Kia (the Ganges) stands the town of Mo-you-lo (Mâyâpoor), which is twenty li ($3\frac{1}{3}$ miles) in circumference. The population is very large, and streams of pure water encircle it like a belt. The country produces Tecu-chi (brass), crystal and vessels made of precious stones.

" At a short distance from the town, near the Ganges, there is a large temple sacred to the gods (Devâlaya), where many miracles are performed. Inside there is a tank, the sides of which are built of stones fitted together with great skill. A conduit has been made to let water into it from the river. The inhabitants of the five Indies call this place the *Gate of the Ganges* (Gungâdwara). Here happiness is obtained and sins are washed out, and people assemble at all seasons by hundreds and thousands to bathe. Kings who

"love to do good, have here established a charitable institution" (Pounyasálá), which is provided with choice viands and drugs "of all sorts, for the purpose of distributing alms to widowers "and widows, and assisting orphans and men who have lost "their families."

Moyoulo is obviously Máyourea or Máyápoor, the town of Máyá, not "la ville du paon," as suggested by St. Julien. But Hwen Thsang's topography presents one difficulty. Myapore is situated on the western or right bank of the Ganges, not on the eastern or left. General Cunningham in his archæological report for 1873-4* simply treats this as an undoubted mistake, an expedient which appears to me far preferable to the theory subsequently advanced in his *Ancient Geography of India*, that an old channel of the river may have once flowed close under the hills over "ground now covered with the houses of Hurdwár," which is a physical impossibility. Another alternative is left. It should be remembered that Máyápooree Kshetr is not confined to the site of Máyápoor Proper at the head of the Ganges Canal, but includes a very extensive tract reaching a long way south. Hwen Thsang's Moyoulo may have been identical with Kunkhul, a town of great antiquity and sanctity, and it is likely enough that the very same branch of the Ganges which now washes its eastern outskirts may have formerly flowed on the other side of the town, west of which the trace of an old channel can be easily detected. The Chinese traveller too explicitly mentions that the place was *surrounded by water on all sides*.

It is observable that the worship of Vishnu and Mahádev had not yet superseded that of the goddess Gunga, nor the name of Hureedwá or Hurdwár that of Gungadwár, so that Hwen Thsang's tour must be supposed to have taken place in the Treta Yuga, a fact which further stultifies Brahminical chronology. The temple signalled by him must have stood on the rising ground behind the ghaut leading down to the Brimh Kund (the Hur Kee Pairee), where the Brahmans exhibit a ruin that evidently belonged to a magnificent structure in former days, said to be the remains of a temple erected by Shunker Swámeé in honor of Mahádev.†

After Hwen Thsang's visit, Hurdwár disappears from the pages of authentic history for hundreds of years, and we hear nothing of it till the time of Timour's invasion, except from the traditions of the Poondeers, the predominant Rajpoot clan in the Upper Doáb, who love to associate their earliest permanent settlements between the rivers, about the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century, with this interesting spot.

* Vide, *Published Report*, vol. ii, † Vide, *Calcutta Review*, No. cxvi, p. 231, of *Ancient Geography of* p. 98. *India*, vol. i., p. 315.

They are as vague about their antecedents previous to that date as the priesthood on the subject of their religion before the appearance of Shunker Acharj. This practical disclaimer of any very ancient civilization follows the usual prelude of fiction, to which we must now return.

The Poondeers are Sun-born (Surajbunsees). Their eponymous hero is Polustya, the sage of Kedáru—whence the name Polust or Polist, their family designation (*gote*). This famous Rishee, properly speaking, one of the ten primeval beings who sprung from Brahma's body at the creation, appears in the local genealogies as the son of Srádhádev. The Polist predigree between which and one collated by Mr. J. Prinsep from various lists * there is, in many respects, a surprising agreement, is far too long to reproduce *in extenso*. It will be sufficient to note the most striking points in it. We first find the Polists, according to their own account, located in lower Bengal under the leadership of Rohtás or Rohtáswa, the supposed founder of Rohtásgurh, twenty-third in descent from Mareechee, twentieth in descent from Srádhádev. Twenty-fifth in descent from him comes the illustrious Ram Chunder, whose second son Kush, was the progenitor of the true Poondeers. Indeed he is generally admitted to have been the first who bore this soubriquet. Opinions differ about its origin. Some say his father and mother went to Kulkshetr (Thanesur) to make an offering to the *manes* of his grandfather Dusrath, and Seeta sat down by the edge of the sacred pool to wait for her husband, while he went to purchase the ingredients necessary for preparing a votive cake (flour, rice, &c.), but he stayed away at the bazaar so long that she got tired and determined to do the business herself. So she kneaded a ball of clay (*pind*) into the semblance of the real thing and threw it into the water. The old man's spirit was thus appeased, and a shadowy hand, rising from the depths of the pool, grasped the gift as it fell. Kush, being born shortly after, was nicknamed Pindeer, which was jingled into Pind Poondeer and afterwards became Poondeer. Others tell a quite different story. After being rescued from Rávana, Seeta took up her abode in the woods with the blind Rishee Valmeekee, and there brought forth her elder son Lava. Now the old man used to take care of the infant every day, while the mother went out of doors to bathe. But one day she happened to take the boy away with her during his absence. When he returned, he groped about in vain, looking for the child, and could not make out what had become of it. Convinced at last that it was lost, he resolved to provide a substitute, and, moulding an effigy out of a lump of clay (*pind*) stiffened with Kusha grass, in the likeness of the boy, he inspired it with life, so that Seeta,

* *Essays on Indian Antiquities, &c.*, Edited by E. Thomas, vol ii, p. 232.

on her return, found herself the mother of two children, the second of whom was distinguished by the jingling title of Pind Poondeer. Another much more probable derivation will be noticed presently.

Telingdev, the eighth in descent from Kush, emigrated from Oude to Behár, which was called Telinga or Telingdesh after him, and is generally known by that name up country. A descendant of his (seventh in descent?), Raja Jurásur of Laharoo, was the victim of a strange phenomenon. A long hair grew out of the palm of one of his hands and persisted in growing longer and longer, in spite of every effort made to eradicate it. His advisers came to the conclusion that the consecration of a white elephant to the gods was the only sure means of getting rid of the excrescence. White elephants were, however, almost as scarce as white crows, and the king eventually had recourse to a pilgrimage to Thanesur. During the performance of his ablutions at that place, he accidentally learned that Raja Sondhoo, the principal local magnate and a Kolee Rajpoot, had an animal that would suit his purpose exactly. He consequently made a bid for it, but Sondhoo would not come to terms. Jurásur, being a much more powerful chief, accordingly announced his intention of seizing the prize by force of arms, and at once proceeded to do so. Sondhoo then compromised the matter by giving his daughter Alupdey in marriage to Murásur, the stranger's son, with the white elephant, a very valuable mare and other presents as a dower (672 S.) Jurásur was thus placed in a position to perform the needful ceremony, and returned to his seat of government with his hand perfectly bald.

Murásur settled at Poondree, not far from Kaithul. His career was short and came to a tragic end. Incompatibility of temper proved the bane of his married life. Ranee Alupdey was a woman of an imperious intractable disposition, utterly devoid of humour, whereas her husband had a keen sense of the ridiculous and loved a joke at her expense. His favourite witticism was to tell his syce 'to be quick and saddle the Kolin,' in allusion to his wife's caste, whenever he wanted to have a ride on the mare. This he repeated once too often, for the Ranee at length lost patience and got her brothers to assassinate him.

Having had her revenge, Alupdey felt it her duty to immolate herself upon her murdered husband's funeral pyre, where she made the necessary arrangements for self-cremation, after decently disposing the household property around her in the time-honoured Scythian fashion. But just as the attendants were kindling the pile, Rae Sham Das, the family bard (Bhát), solicited the donation usual on such occasions. The lady answered that she had nothing to give him, all her goods and chattels having

been dedicated to the gods. He still persisted, and a sublime idea suddenly struck her. She was seven months gone with child, and there was no reason why the life of the infant should be sacrificed as well as her own. So she asked for a knife, cut her belly open, and extracting the babe with an unflinching hand, consigned it to the care of the importunate bard, as the only gift she had to bestow.

Modern history affords an instance of similar fortitude. When the news of brave Daood Khan's death at the battle of Bhurhanpore reached Ahmedabad, his wife, the daughter of a Hindoo zemindár, happening to be in the same condition as Alupdey, seized a dagger, a love token from her husband, and ripping herself up with amazing dexterity, carefully drew forth the child, which she handed to a bystander, and then expired.*

The pith of the earlier precedent lies in the fact that pregnancy was a bar to the suicidal rite of *suttee*, for which Alupdey having thus qualified herself calmly submitted her body to the flames. Sham Das fulfilled his trust religiously. Adopting the boy, he called him Soma Singh (corrupted to Ism Singh †), apparently from Soma, the Moon, a name indicating the relationship of his family to the Lunar rather than the Solar race, and, in process of time, had him betrothed to the daughter of the Rájá of Lowkee, a town situated a few miles south of Sumána. When the lad reached man's estate, the story of his father's fate filled his heart with a desire for vengeance, but this was plainly impossible without the assistance of his relatives in Behár. He therefore sought the help of his grandfather, and, returning to Poondree at the head of 12,000 Rajpoot cavaliers, declared war against King Sondhoo, whose stock was soon extirpated. The young Raja then led a colony to Myapore, whence his descendants spread over the land, colonising 1,444 villages, half on this side of the Ganges, half on the other. I may here pause to suggest the strong probability of Poondeer being a local title derived from Poondree, where the Poondeers rested before permanently occupying the Antarbéd.

Baisákh Budee 13th, 721S. is the generally accepted date of Ism Singh's arrival at Myapore, where he assumed the title of "King of Hurdwár," erecting a sacred standard on the Hur-kee Pairee. The Polist genealogy places only seventeen generations between him and Ram Chunder, detracting immensely from the antiquity of the Ramáyana, unless his intermediate ancestors be supposed to have had very long lives. The Poondeers also insist upon attributing the revival of the glory of Hurdwár, not to

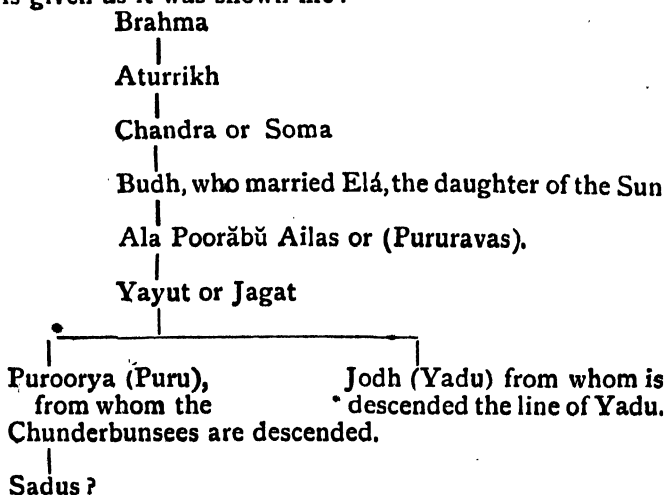
* Translation of the *Sáir-ul-muta-khureen*, Calcutta Edition, Kour, and sometimes Ismdo. 1789, vol. i., p. 103. † *Alids* Usmásur, Sopa or Sobah

Shunker Acharj, but to Ism Singh, three hundred years later. The place, they add, was then desolate and the whole country in a state of anarchy, foreshadowed, perhaps, by Hwen Thsang's observations, thirty years before, on the decay of the capital, and his silence on the subject of a local Government. At all events there was no community in the neighbourhood powerful enough to resist the encroachments of the Rajpoot colonists, who continued to organize expeditions in search of fresh acquisitions year after year. In this manner they gradually pushed their way as far as Koel and Etah, becoming, in the meantime, the back-bone of the population of Saharunpore. Although the leader of each successive band of adventurers arrogated to himself the title of Rájá, which no one cared to dispute, it is acknowledged that the minor heroes of the race were nothing more than influential zemindárs, owing their independence to what produced a great abundance of Rájás and Maharájás in later days, the absence of any paramount authority. Sometimes the head of the family preferred trying his fortune abroad, yielding his birth-right to a younger brother. Thus Jouálá or Jálup, grandson of Rájá Chand, gave his name to Jouálápore (1132, S.), a town two miles south-west of Hurdwár, now a hotbed of Muhammadanism, in spite of the strong Brahminical element in the population, while his elder brother, Náhtuh, founded a well-known colony composed of twelve villages, called after him the Náhtuh Bárah, on the northern border of the Mozuffernugger district. The story goes, that he was riding along through the forest that still covered the greater part of the country, when he chanced to see a ram fighting with a goat. The augurs in his suite decided this to be an auspicious omen, for the land that had a good breed of animals would be sure to breed good men, and was made for warriors to dwell in. At this the chieftain cast his horsewhip—the sceptre of the mounted Rajpoot—upon the ground, in token that the soil was henceforth his, but his counsellors rebuked him, foretelling that the rule of one who threw his sceptre away could not abide. Nevertheless, Rájá Náhtuh pitched his tents upon the spot, calling it Sona (सोन), because it was desolate. From Sona sprang eleven off-shoots, the whole twelve constituting the Náhtuh commonwealth.

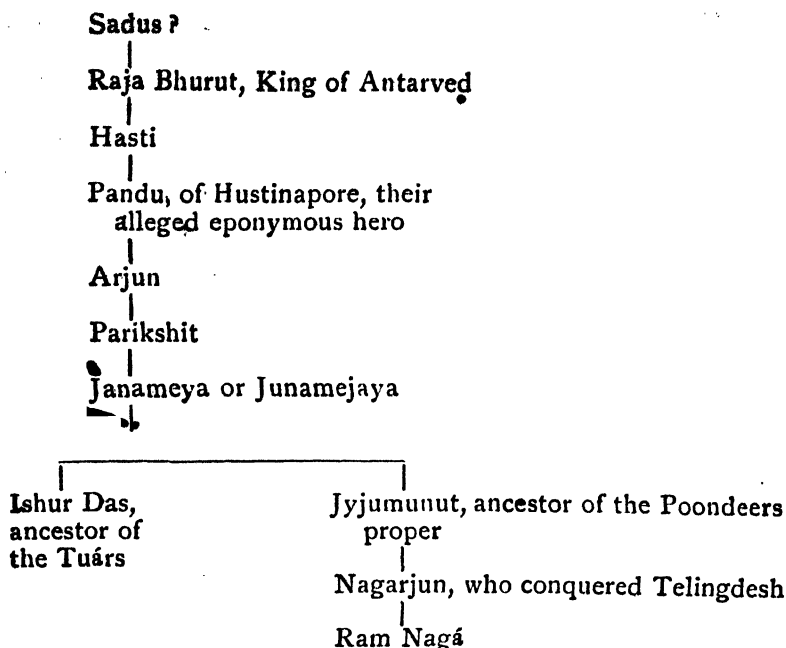
With Náhtuh came his brother Chondá, who rested at Nulherá Burabás, a few miles eastward. Burabás is the equivalent of Theeká, a designation commonly applied to the principal of a homogeneous cluster of villages. His people eventually spread over the Khátah, a tract comprising forty-two townships, occupied by a robust and turbulent peasantry, who acquired an unenviable notoriety during the earlier Sikh invasions and have maintained their reputation in the present century.

The power of the Poondées had reached its zenith by the time of the Muhammadan conquest, and they retained considerable local influence down to the decline and fall of the Empire, when the Goojur chieftains of Juberherah and Bysoomha organized a confederacy capable of making head against them. To this day the whole of the triangular tract traversed by the Ganges and Jumna watershed, extending from the village of Kujoor-wálá near Deobund, in the heart of Saharunpore, due north to the foot of the Sewálíks, and north-east to the town of Jourasee, sixteen miles from Hurdwár, is called the Rotálá. the land of the Ráwuts or Raos, the kinsmen of the Ráná, the titular Chief of the clan, who is still regarded with sentimental reverence by all except the Muhammadan perverts of the Jouálápore stock, notwithstanding poverty and misfortune.

The Saharunpore legends about the settlement of the Poondeers at Hurdwár receive curious confirmation from those of Etah,* where these Rajpoots appear under the name of Poor-eers, an obvious corruption of the original title. It is, however, strange that, whereas those of the Upper Doáb stoutly maintain their descent from the sun, in the face of Ism Singh's suggestive surname Soma, the Etah men are equally positive that they are descended from the moon, and claim Pandu as their eponymous hero; but this apparent contradiction probably denotes nothing more than a missing link between two separate classes of tradition. The Etah genealogy, apparently a mutilated abstract, is given as it was shown me:—



* Communicated to me by Mr. W. Police, Mozuffernugger.
Williams, District Superintendent of



They thus distinctly connect themselves with the Takshac race, and give a very remarkable account of their settlement at Hurdwár. Ram Nagá's son or descendant, Rájá Ben, having married the daughter of "the Rájá of Hurdwár," was assassinated by his father-in-law, because he turned iconoclast and forbade the performance of all religious rites and ceremonies. It is also alleged that he was transformed into a snake by the curse of the sage Durvasa, and still haunts Bishn Tirth in that shape.* His son Sopa Kour, a name by which Ism Singh is perfectly well known in Saharunpore, on succeeding to the throne of Telingdesh, straightway avenged his parent's death by slaying his maternal grandfather, and annexed the Hurdwár Ráj. Such, according to Etah folk-lore, was the origin of the Poondeer settlements in the Upper Doáb. Now there is a sufficiently close resemblance between the history of Ben, the supposed site of whose fort at the foot of the Sewálik, below Myapore, is an object of interest to antiquarians, to justify his identification with Murasur, and this being admitted, we here have the old story of the Poondeer immigration repeated almost word for word by perfectly independent authorities, with one marked distinction, that the new-comers, far from being ritualists, friendly to the priesthood, belonged, on the contrary, to a hostile sect, whose representative has not yet fully expired.

* Vide, *Calcutta Review*, No. cxvi, p. 200.

his impieties. Rájá Chánd, whose name has been already mentioned, is said to have emigrated to Etah about one thousand years ago. Dheer or Dheer Sávunt, a hero famous in Rajpoot tradition, appears as one of his sons both in the Saharunpore and the Etah pedigrees. Another was Bijey Singh, the founder of Bijey Gurh in Bundelkhund,* where, according to some authorities, their descendants are called Bondelas, Bunáphul and Chundele. Although this identification of the Poondeers with the Bondelas may, of course, be simply an accident of fiction, it agrees most happily with General Cunningham's identification of Tri-Kalinga, whose Rájás assumed the title of Lords of Kálanjjarapura, Kalinjer in Bundelkhund, with Telingáná or Telingdesh.† The same authority places the kingdom of the 'Pundirs or Pándayas' west of the Jumna, corroborating the Saharunpore tradition of their sojourn at Pae Poondra, before they entered the Doáb. The *Gote* of the Etah Poondeers is 'Parusur,' from the sage Purushuru, son of Shuktru by Ila, daughter of the Sun, to whom there is a tank sacred at Thanesur.

The various accounts of their progress can hardly be reconciled with the generally received theory of an Aryan invasion from the West and the subsequent colonisation of the country by the invaders at a very remote period, except on the supposition of an exodus in consequence of pressure from without, followed by a return to their more ancient seats when that pressure was removed; a conjecture warranted by the discrepancies between the cognate legends just noticed, in which Pandavas of Hustinapore are confounded with Polists of Oude, Chunderbunsees with Surajbunsees, the godless Ben with the pious Ism Singh, Nágá scions being at the same time grafted on to a pure Rajpoot stock. Their neighbours, the Khoobur Goojurs, the next most powerful clan in the Upper Doáb, preserve some recollection of a descent from the race before which they, in all human probability, receded,—from the line of Jugdeo Puwár of Sreenugger in Gurhwál; a claim supported by the pretensions of the Chandpore dynasty, said to have been founded either by Kunuk Pál of Dhârânugger or Dhâr, in Malwa, the cradle of the Khooburs, or by Bhog Dunt of Gujerát.‡ If this be true, these Goojurs must be connect-

* This is, however, contradicted by a different account received from Mr. R. Hobart, C.S., according to which Dheer Singh and Bijey Singh, invading Coel, defeated the Aheer King Sumra, and changed the name of his stronghold, situated in the Sekundrah pergunnah of the Allygurh district, to Bijeygurh. The principal Pooreer settlement in Etah is in the

Bilram pergunnah of the Kasgunj Tuhseel. It was originally a cluster of eight villages (since split into thirteen), whence the inhabitants style themselves the "Athgaen Pooreers."

† *Ancient Geography of India*, vol. i., p. 518 cf. 136.

‡ Vide *Historical and Statistical Memoir of Dehra Doon*, p. 81.

ed with the Bogsás,* a half savage people inhabiting the borders of Kumaon, who reckon Jugdeo and Bhog Dhunt among their ancestors. Kunuk Pál is supposed to be identical with the famous Kanishka, and that both these tribes are of Scythian origin can hardly be doubted, though they style themselves Thákurs who have lost caste. The chances are that they are hybrids sprung from an intermixture of the Scythian and Rajpoot races. However this may be, the catastrophe of the great local epic,† the departure of the five Pandavas through the country of Banga towards the rising sun and their final disappearance in the Himalaya, if it be allowed to have any meaning at all, must be typical of a Rajpoot emigration eastwards to Oude, Behár, and Telingáná, where a more oriental position would naturally suggest the title of Surajbunsee in preference to that of Chunderbunsee.

The Tagas of the Upper Doáb, who are identical with the Bhoinhárs of Benares and Ghazeepore, and whose settlements will be almost invariably found to have been made under the wing of the Rajpoots, imitate the Saharunpore Poondeers in referring their origin to the far East, but, like those of Etah, allude to an ebb and flow of population under the influence of contact with aliens. Parikshit, Arjun's grandson, having died by the bite of a snake (Nágá), at Sukertal on the right bank of the Ganges in the Mozuffernugger district, his son, Rájá Janamejaya, resolved to expiate his father's death by extirpating the obnoxious race in

* The literal meaning of the word Bogsás is "sorcerer." See Batten's report on the Bhábur.

† The Brahminical account of this is, that the Pandavas passed through the Doon, penetrated into the Himalayas, and immolated themselves at Máhá Panth, a peak behind Kidár—a palpable invention designed to associate comparatively modern shrines with venerable national traditions. The whole of Saharunpore and Mozuffernugger teems with reminiscences of the Mahabharata. Deobund or Devee Bun, the grove sacred to Devee, is one of the places where the Pandavas tarried during their twelve years' exile. The Tuláh Soorá fair, once extremely popular, is annually held in memory of the preliminary operations ending in the decisive struggle at Kurukshetr. The Pandavas at first intending to deliver battle on this side of the Jumna, halted at Bhaoopoor close to the town of Saharunpore, and

Bheema proceeded to have a tank dug for the purpose of providing the army with water, but an image of the cow Soora was exhumed during its excavation. Unwilling therefore to shed blood on the spot, they marched westward. The foundation of Nukoor, an alleged corruption of Nukur or Nukul, is attributed to the hero Nukul, Suhadev's brother. The town of Jusmore in the south-eastern corner of the Mozuffernugger district likewise stands on classic ground, for its founder was the old king Dhritárashttra, called Jusrut in the modern vernacular, and its glories are commemorated in the dogrel:

"Jusrat ká Jusmore."
 "Bijey ká Bijnore."

The two strongholds being situated opposite to one another on the ridges overlooking the trough of the Ganges, the towers of the one are supposed to have been visible from those of the other.*

one general holocaust. The presence of two pure Brahmans, an apparently rare commodity at the period, was essential to the efficacy of the sacrifice. Now the Levites of Gaur* in Lower Bengal, anxious to avoid a disagreeable duty and yet afraid of offending the monarch, deputed two boys to officiate, charging them to abstain from accepting any remuneration for their services. They consequently declined to receive the presents offered them, but the king determined not to put himself under an obligation. So he had deeds conveying certain lands to the young Brahmans and their heirs for ever rolled up in the betel presented to them at their departure. On the road, back they discovered the trick, which compelled them to abandon their own profession (whence the name Taga, from त्याग "abandon") and betake themselves to agriculture. The town of Jansuth, now a Seyud colony, was included in their estates. This hackneyed tradition is current throughout the length and breadth of the North-West Provinces. A well-known descendant of the recipients of Janamejaya's bounty is H. H. Ishree Pershád, the Bhoinhár Maharájá of Benares. They were also the progenitors of the various Taga clans scattered over the Doáb north of Delhi, most of whom, notwithstanding their anxiety to establish an ancient connection with Gaur in Bengal, say that their forefathers came directly from the country west of the Jumna, following in the train of their Rajpoot patrons, notably the Neemtán Tagas of Churthawul in Mozuffernugger, whose last resting place before settling permanently between the Ganges and Jumna was the Páe Poondree of the Poondeers (730S.) A striking point in the myth of the serpent sacrifice is the pardon of Básukee, the Nágá King of Pátala, Arjun's father-in-law, and of Tukshuk, at the intercession of the Brahman Astiku, himself the latter's nephew, an incident denoting occasional friendly intercourse between the antagonistic races, a fact which would at once explain the presence of such names as Nág Arjun and Ram Nágá in the genealogy of a tribe priding itself in an unsullied Aryan descent. The Brahmans, on the other hand, assert that the line of Parikshit maintained its original purity until the assassination of Kshemuk, Khemrâj or Khevanraj, the twenty-eighth king of Indraprastha, about 600 B. C., † an event placed by them at the commencement of the Kál Yug, a period in their parlance, marking the ascendancy of Buddhism under the protection of Mahánund of Canouj. It was, in fact, that of the Indo-Scythian supremacy. At length (71 B. C.), the last King, Rajpal, lost his life in battle with Shukuditya or Sukwanti, King of Kumaon, who may be

* One authority says, with much greater show of reason, Cashmere.

† Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. i, p. 45. Vide *Census Report* of 1865, vol. i. Table ii.

Appendix, p. 32.

safely identified with Shuktee Pál, Raja of Gurhwál,* and "the sons of Himáchul," a Scythian horde, seized upon the capital, Vikram the Great succeeded in repulsing the invaders for a time (57 B. C.), but he succumbed to the prowess of the Saka Saliváhana, and henceforth, according to the Ráj Tarangini, "princes from the Sewálíks or northern hills, held Delhi," till they in turn were ousted by the Tuars. The local appellation of the intruders is "Mulekchee" (Mlechcha), which endorses Prinsep's opinion that the 'Mlechchas of the Indus' were Indo-Scythians. † Among them may be reckoned, (besides the Goojurs, who are so numerous in Saharunpore that a large portion of the district is called Gujerát in contradistinction to the Rotálá), the Játs, some of whom ‡ cherish traditions of an immigration from Gurh Gujnee, apparently Ghuznee in Afghanistan, not far from the confines of Gundhárá, an appanage of Kanishka, the Tartar Prince who introduced Buddhism into Cashmere under an hierarch named Nagarjun, possibly the prototype of, if not actually identical with, the Nagarjun of the Etah Poondeers. Now it is remarkable that, while the ethnological relationship of the Játs and Goojurs may be presumed, *firstly*, from their being invariably found in juxtaposition from the banks of the Indus to those of the Ganges; *secondly*, from their observance of the practice of *kurao*, that is to say, marriage with a deceased brother's wife; *thirdly*, from the nature of their claims to Aryan parentage, namely, that they are Rajpoots whose ancestors lost caste in consequence of adopting the said custom, and, *fourthly*, from their both being regarded in exactly the same light by the Rajpoots, who do not acknowledge any material difference between them; coins of the Kanishka or Kanerkos series have been discovered at Behut near the foot of the Sewálíks, under circumstances of peculiar interest, for it can hardly be an accidental coincidence that, the foundation of the Gurhwál dynasty being generally attributed to Kunuk of Dhâránugger in Saurashtra (Gujerát), the ancient home of the Khooburs, the emigration of a Kunuksain, identified with Kanerkos, from Khoshala-desha to Gujerát is also on record § and that the Saurashtra coins are linked with the Behut group by a common symbol, the *Chaityá*, the title of Sáh being likewise common to the Gurhwál and Saurashtra dynasties. It does not therefore appear unreasonable to refer the advent of the Goojurs and Játs to the period of the invasion signalised in the Ráj Tarangini and to connect a part at least of Cautley's discoveries at Behut with the same event. A different series of coins, some specimens of which have been found

* *Memotr of Dehra Doon*, p. 84, c f. Tod, vol. i., pp., 51-105.

† *Antiquities*, p. 397, vol. i.

‡ e. g. the Gunthwal or Gunthwára

Játs. who have a Baonee south-east of Shamlee.

§ *Antiquities ut supra*, pp. 253-283 c f. p. 84. &c.

at Hurdwár itself, bearing the impression of a hill-goat on one side and of a warrior on the other,* probably found their way into Saharunpore together with those of the Kanerki mint.

The restoration of Indraprastha in 792 A. D.† is ascribed to the Tuars, whose relationship with the Poondeers is preserved in the Etah genealogy. The date here given contradicts the oral history of the Rajpoot anabasis to Hurdwár by a hundred years, and, as might be expected, the Brahmans have another version of the story.

After the pure Hindoo dynasties had melted away before the race of Sisunāg, Sakya Sinh Gautum propagated the religion of Budh without let or hindrance, until it reached its acme in the reign of Mahanund. At last the Brahmans, determined to restore the true faith, created four new tribes of genuine Kshatriyas from a pond of fire on the summit of Mount Aboo, the Pamars, the Chbuhans, the Solunkies and the Purihars (359 ante Vikram.) The fire-born warriors nobly fulfilled their mission and completely extirpated the Buddhists by the eighth century after Vikram. Meanwhile, in the fifth century, an Andhrabunsee Rájá, Pulomarchee by name, came to bathe at Hurdwár with a large retinue of Rajpoot Sirdárs. He was, of course, delighted with Máyápoor, having never before beheld so fertile a soil and such beautiful scenery, and was charmed with the meek devotional character of the inhabitants. He therefore entrusted the place to the keeping of one of his Poondeer chieftains, whose descendants, as we have seen, eventually occupied a large portion of the province. Pulomarchee then ascended the throne of Delhi and extended his sway to the confines of China. This potentate was king of Andhra or Telingáná, and is supposed to have been contemporary with Shunker Acharj. He is also dubbed Pulom, a name recalling Tod's Beelun Deo,‡ the Thákur crowned King of Delhi in 772 A.D., under the name of Anungpal, who, like Pulomarchee, became terrible even to the "Lords of Seemar" (the Snowy range). Perhaps Pulom and Beelun Deo are one and the same, but Pulom looks suspiciously like Polomun or Polomen, the Chinese for a Brahman. Professor Wilson has expressed the opinion that Shunker Acharj "flourished, in all likelihood, in the eighth or ninth century,"§ which, if correct, would make him contemporary with this monarch.

There is reason to believe that the Poondeer colony, said to have been planted by him under the Sewálíks, formed a part of the famous Dahima tribe whose supposed disappearance is lamented by Tod,|| for Dheer, the guardian of the Lahore

* Vide, *Prinsep's Antiquities*, pl. vii, fig. 4.

† *Rajasthan*, vol. i., p. 51, note.

‡ *Rajasthan*, vol. i., p. 255.

§ *Vishnu Purana*, Preface ix-x.

|| *Rajasthan*, vol. i., p. 119 seq.

frontier under Prithiráj, who repulsed Shaháb-ud-Deen Ghoree's forces seven times (!), belonged to that stock and also bore the title of Poondeer. The defeat and death of the Chowhán King are ascribed to the hero's absence at Hurdwár during the campaign that ended in the capture of Delhi. Chand Rae, the Khandirai of the Mahomedan historians, was his brother.

The Joulapore branch of the family seceded from Hindooism in the reign of Mahomed Toghluk, shortly after the foundation of Saharunpore by the same Emperor. This result is attributed to the influence of a missionary rejoicing in the sonorous appellation of Shah Mukdoom Juhanyán Juhángusht. The wife of Rájá Dhunee Chund, descendant of Jálup's, was barren, but the pious Sheikh demonstrated the efficacy of prayer to the one God by working a miracle, in consequence of which she bore her husband two sons, Bhopál and Mán Sing. The saint happened to be absent, pursuing his avocations in another province, during the lady's confinement, but, being intuitively aware of the event, speedily returned and asked to see the children. Dhunee Chund hid the elder and produced the younger. The holy man, however, demanded the former, Bhopál, as an offering to the true faith, and had him circumcised under the name of Rao Jumál-ud-Deen (12th Sudee Asauj, 1401 S.) The convert's descendants spread to Gurh Suleempore, Sekrowdah and Kheree along the crest of the highlands running parallel with the Sewálik hills from the Ganges to the Mohun Pass, twenty-eight miles north of Saharunpore.

At the close of the same century Hurdwár received a terrible visitation, which cannot be properly described without another digression.* On the 1st January 1399, Tamarlane's army crossed the Jumna, after the sack of Delhi, laden with booty, and encamped at the village of Mundowlah,† four miles beyond Lonee, in the Meerut district. The Tartars next encamped at Kátah, then at Baghput, and, reaching Suráee, a village some ten miles east of Baghput, on the road to Meerut, by the 9th January, halted, while several of the principal officers hastened forward to Meerut itself, expecting that the garrison would gladly capitulate. They were mistaken, for the Afghán Kotwál, Eleias, bade them defiance. This sealed the fate of Meerut and of the whole province. No sooner did Teimour receive intelligence of the Kotwál's presumption than he set out with the flower of his cavalry, 10,000 strong, and appeared before the walls of the devoted town, on the forenoon of the 7th. On the following day

* The principal authority used in what follows is the *Tosak-i-Taimouree*. See also Price's *Mahomedan Historians*, iii i 257 seq, and

Dowson, iii 450 seq.

† The Mundowlah of the G. T. S. Map.

the place was taken by storm, and Slegman is responsible for the statement that all the Hindoo inhabitants were flayed alive.* The older authorities merely mention that the garrison and infidel non-combatants were butchered in cold blood.

This success suggested to Teimour the idea of extending his investigations further north. He split his army into three divisions; the first, under the command of Ameer Jehán Sháh, was to march up the left bank of the Jumna; the second, under that of Sheikh Noor-ud-Deen, who had charge of the heavy baggage, was to follow the course of the Kalee Nuddee; while the third, under the direction of the Commander-in-Chief himself, guided by the river Ganges, kept pace with the two former. The evening after the fall of Meerut, the third division encamped at the village of Musooree,† ten miles north-east of that unfortunate town, and reached Ferozepore on the right bank of the Boodhee Gunga, six miles north of Hustinapore, the day after (9th January). Here Ameer Sulimán Sháh and Peer Mohammed forded the river with a detachment, the main body continuing its progress and halting a few miles higher up, when Seyud Khwájáh, Sheikh Alee Baháder and Jehán Málik were sent with reinforcements to the support of the commanders who had already crossed over. Teimour himself was with difficulty dissuaded from joining them. On the morning of the 10th January he continued his march towards Toghlukpoor, a village in the Poor Chupár Pergunnah of the Mozuffernugger district, situated on the right bank of what is now the Solanee, a stream which issues from the Mohun Pass, and, after receiving the drainage of the triangular tract lying between it, the Sewálíks and the Ganges, discharges itself into that river near Sukertál. The lower part of its present course must have been occupied by an old branch of the Ganges, the same apparently crossed by Ameer Sulimán Sháh lower down. This is clear from the context.

On the way to Toghlukpoor, news was brought that the enemy had collected in great force in the *Khádir*, and, while Mubáshir Baháder and Alee Sultán Tuwatchee were reconnoitering with five thousand horse, it was announced that a fleet of boats fully equipped for battle and manned by unbelievers was coming down the river. Teimour happened at the moment to be troubled with the chronic swelling in his knee, to which he owes his popular nickname, Tamerlane or Tamerlang, but in spite of the infirmity, he jumped on horseback, and galloped forward to meet the presumptuous infidels with a body-guard of

* *Rambles and Recollections*, vol. ii, p. 196. go factory; the Munsoorah or Mansú'a of the books.

† The site of a well-known indi-

one thousand picked men. The action commenced with continual discharges of arrows from both sides, and the archery of the Hindoos does not seem to have been inferior to that of their opponents. The troopers consequently dashed into the water, and, coming to close quarters, boarded the boats, whose crews were soon *sent to hell*, as the royal autobiographer grimly puts it. The prospect before them would account for the desperation with which some of them are said to have fought.

This naval combat must have been a very poor affair, because the stream can have been navigable to none but the very smallest craft, such as rafts, manned perhaps by Goojurs and Rajpoots from the Saharunpore and Mozuffernugger borders; possibly, a detachment from the army of Mubárik Khán, an imperial general posted on the far side of the river.

It took place a few miles south of Toghlukspoor, where Teimour made another short halt, sending on Ameer Allahdád with two other officers to look for a ford and obtain information about the enemy's movements. During the night, Allahdád sent word that he had discovered a ford, made his way across, and found a large force of Hindoos rallied round Mubárik Khán's standard. Tamerlane determined to give them no breathing time, started with his body-guard about midnight by torchlight, leaving the rest of his troops to follow more leisurely, and, reaching the ford before daylight, immediately crossed the river, which, being that flowing past Toghlukspoor, cannot have been the Ganges proper, as is invariably stated, but must have been either an old branch of the Ganges, which has since dwindled away and become lost in the Solanee, or the Solanee itself. It is also necessary to bear in mind that the stream forded by Ameer Sulimán Sháh and Peer Mahommed in front of Ferozpoor was not the true Ganges but a branch of it, the Buddhee Gunga, whose channel has not yet completely dried up, and the probability of whose ancient connection with the Solanee is strengthened by the existence of a chain of swamps (*jheels*), running directly between the two along the south-eastern border of the Mozuffernugger district. If these two points, as well as another that will be presently noticed, be kept steadily in view, all the difficulties hitherto existing about the topography of Teimour's campaign in the Upper Doáb will at once melt away.

On the morning of the 11th January Tamerlane, with only 1,000 men, suddenly finding himself opposed to Mubárik Khán with 10,000, devoutly said his prayers, in answer to which Seyyud Khwájáh and Jehán Málik providentially appeared at the head of 5,000 horse. This good omen dictated speedy action. Sháh Málik and Allahdád led 1,000 cavaliers to the charge. The enemy did not abide the result. They fled panic-stricken without attempting any resistance, and were mercilessly pursued, until

the survivors found refuge in the intricacies of the surrounding jungle. Ample booty in 'women, children, cows and buffaloes' fell into the hands of the Tartars. The action probably took place on the borders of the Puthree Nuddee forest, a tract intersected with ravines and swamps, which might have been supposed to be comparatively safe from intrusion.

Teimour now marched for the valley of the Ganges proper, in the direction of Hurdwár, then called Kowpileh, hearing that there was a prospect of more plunder on the road, where a great crowd of Hindoos had assembled in a strong position not far from the river. Pressing onwards with 500 troopers, while the rest secured the spoil, he swept down upon these wretched people, in all human probability, villagers who had sought the protection of some mud fort on the edge of the *Khádír* below Bhojepore. A ruthless massacre followed, in which Ameer Sháh Málik and Alee Sultán Tawatchee especially distinguished themselves. After the butchery was over, the Moghuls being now for the most part employed in the equally congenial occupation of collecting and packing up the plunder, an incident occurred that nearly cost the tyrant his life. Málik Sheikha, an Indian chief of great stature and courage, having rallied a few staunch followers, made a dash at him in the vain hope of ridding the world of the monster. Favoured by his resemblance to Sheikha Googuree, one of Teimour's own vassals, he might have succeeded in his design, had not the premature vehemence with which he laid about him on all sides undeceived the Tartars, who brought him to the ground with an arrow sticking in his belly and his skull cleft in twain. He was then bound hand and foot, and laid by the head and heels before the conqueror, who straightway commenced propounding questions to him. He expired during the process of examination.

Although Teimour, then sixty-three years of age, had endured the fatigue of a long march and two fights, after a sleepless night, fresh intelligence rendered him equal to further exertions. Another assemblage of the sacred inhabitants had collected for mutual protection some three or four miles further on, still in the "valley of Kowpileh," and the prospect of exterminating them urged him forward. The road lay over difficult, broken ground, encumbered with thick jungle, and his immediate followers had dwindled down to a mere handful of men, so that he could not help regretting the absence of Peer Mahommed and Ameer Sulimán Sháh, who, we have seen, had separated from him three days before. Strange to say, they suddenly appeared in the very nick of time to take part in the enterprise, which had

the usual monotonous result. Thanks were then solemnly offered up to the Almighty for all these mercies, and the whole army encamped upon the scene of the second encounter, there being no other place at hand where the tents could be pitched.

The fact that the second and third battle-fields are both placed in the "darah Kowpileh," or "the valley of Hurdwár," is consistent with the definition of Máyápooree Kshetr given in a former paper.* The sacred precinct extends eighteen *koss* (the short local *koss* of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles) south of Hurdwár. The writer of the Tozuk-i-Teimoureé doubtless heard the term Kowpileh applied widely, and use it accordingly. My conclusion therefore is that, on the night of the 11th January 1399, the Moghul camp was pitched close to the southern border of the hallowed tract; for the locality answering to the description of the holy town itself is said to have been fifteen *koss* beyond the encampment, which Price imagines to have been "at no great distance from Láldháng," in the extreme north of the Bijnour district, a conjecture so palpably improbable that it need not be discussed.

The Imperial Journal thus continues:—Fifteen *koss* higher up the river, again in the defile of Kowpileh, stood the image of a cow cut out of the solid rock, whose mouth was the source of the Ganges. People went thither on pilgrimages from all quarters, performed their ablutions, got shaved, offered up prayers, and distributed alms to ensure their salvation in the next world. Price† warns us against confounding the place here described with Gungootree, but erroneously concludes that it was Deoprág. It is now generally admitted to have been Hurdwár. The Moghuls left Meerút on the 8th, and it was no extraordinary performance to reach Hurdwár by the 12th, the date of their arrival at the reputed source of the Ganges; on the other hand, to lead an army to Deoprág in five days would be practically as much out of the question as to march to Gungootree in the same space of time.

The alleged position of the "Cow's Mouth" at the end of the fourteenth century tends to show that the Sub-Himalayan range then sheltered the *Ultima Thule* of Hindoo superstition, which has since receded into the very bosom of the hills, unless, indeed, we suppose that a Mahommedan fanatic, careless about profane mythology, hastily confounded the *débouché* of the Ganges on the plains with its actual source. A comparison, however, of the marches given in Teimour's memoirs with any good map will

* *Calcutta Review*, No. cxvi., p. 195.

† He seems to think that Teimour, having left Toghluks poor on the night of the 10th January and cross-

ed the Ganges, reached Hurdwár the next day, encamped at Láldháng east of Hurdwár the evening after, and reached Deoprág the day following.

show that the writer, whether the savage monarch himself or one of his admirers, has been wonderfully precise and accurate in the matter of distances.

Price's rendering of the passage from the Roozut-u'-Sufa descriptive of the Brahminical town is extremely quaint and worth reproducing:—"The sacred spot was the resort of numerous pilgrims from the remotest limits of this quarter of the Asiatic continent. Such, in short, is described to have been the blind stupidity of these uninstructed idolators, that, although commonsense and experience might have generally taught them that nothing good was to be expected from a mass of inert and insensate matter, they were, nevertheless, induced to bring the ashes of their dead from places most remote, and to commit them on this spot to the hallowed stream, accompanied by the richest oblations in gold and silver, as the surest means of averting present evil and of securing the highest gradations in a future state. Lastly, these simple enthusiasts conceived their devotions consummated in performing their ablutions, leg-deep, in the stream, casting its sacred waters over their heads, and shaving their heads and beards, before they quitted this scene of superstitious folly and puerility."

The Tarter reformer, learning the degraded moral condition of these miserable devotees, and, moreover, that they had assembled in great numbers with an immense quantity of goods and chattels, that might be converted to some useful purpose, resolved to bring his crescentade to an appropriate conclusion by killing, if he could not cure, them. The season happened to be peculiarly auspicious. A *Kumbh* fair* was not far off, and in *Kumbh* years crowds of pilgrims come and go to and from Hurdwâr, for many weeks before the great gathering, so that the profits anticipated from the venture were out of all comparison with its danger. In those days, the Hindoos were either fired with remarkable religious zeal, or had an extraordinary capacity for receiving punishment. Their recent experiences ought to have dictated flight to the fastnesses of the hills, but, instead of flying, they appear to have calmly awaited the invaders with a bold front. Their confidence may have been in a great measure derived from the strength of their position, a narrow defile with a river on their left and a mountain chain on their right flank, only approachable by an ascent from the plains, steep enough to have given them a decided advantage, had they been in other respects on a par with their antagonists, who, setting out at

* The Saharunpore district was it, consequently, took place in the invaded in 1399, and the last *Kumbh* former year.
fair was in 1867. The fortieth before

early dawn, can hardly have arrived at Hurdwár before the afternoon of the 12th.

The apparent resolution of the enemy rendered Teimour more cautious than he had hitherto been, and he made a very careful disposition of his forces. He entrusted the right wing to Prince Peer Mahommed and Ameer Sulimán Sháh, the left to other leaders of inferior note, keeping the centre under his own immediate orders. Ameer Sháh Málik led the van. The host advanced with fierce war-cries accompanied by a hideous clashing of cymbals and rattling of kettle-drums, well calculated to inspire the enemy with dismay, but they bravely withstood the first charge. A second was more successful. The Hindoo-ranks broke, the Moghul cavalry rode in among them, hewing right and left, and the fight degenerated into a sickening massacre. No quarter was given, and none escaped except those who managed to slink away into the recesses of the Sewálíks. An incalculable amount of booty rewarded the victory, and the satisfaction of the conqueror was intensified by a complacent conviction, that the souls of his victims had been at length consigned to the eternal punishment appropriated by the believer to the invincible ignorance of the unbeliever in every age.*

Such an unvaried series of successes began to pall even upon the coarse taste of the insatiable Tamerlane, who consequently resolved to make a retrograde movement. He therefore said his prayers, and, leading his army five (?) *koss* south of Hurdwár, encamped upon the right bank of the Ganges.† On the 13th he resumed his progress, marching several miles in a north-westerly direction so as to meet the heavy baggage, which was at no great distance in front. He now learned that a vast multitude had assembled, with hostile intent, in one of the Sewálík passes, under the command of a powerful chief, Rae Behroz, presumably a Rajpoot, to judge from his title of Rae, most probably one of the old Poondeer stock, because he is particularly mentioned by the Mahommedan historians as a local potentate. Be this as it may, he seems to have been the most formidable antagonist the Moghuls had yet encountered, a foe well worthy of their steel; a fact due to the general law, that the strength of individual chieftains bears a direct ratio to the weakness of the supreme power. Tamerlane made preparations accordingly. He effected a junction with the second division at the foot of the hills, after another short march of five *koss* (14th January), and recalled the

* In plain English, "they were sent to hell."

† This, I apprehend, is the real meaning of the words *ابن قرون ادم* *not*, that "he re-crossed the Ganges,"

and assuming the above rendering to be correct, it becomes unnecessary to discuss the difficulty presented by the supposition that Hurdwár was then situated on the opposite side of the river.

first under Ameer Jehán Sháh, suspending operations during the concentration of his forces. The ferocity of the Moghuls was evidently tempered with prudence, for the Ameer attempted in vain to dissuade Teimour from coming to close quarters with the enemy, whose position placed them at a great disadvantage, rendering the employment of cavalry impossible. Conscious of the danger of leaving behind him an unbroken force, which might hang on the rear of his army and harrass its retreat, ultimately perhaps embolden the people to rise *en masse* against the invaders, he remained resolute and calmly awaited the arrival of Ameer Jehán Sháh, thus giving his men three days' rest. By the 17th January his arrangements were complete, and on that day he advanced to the pass where Rájá Behroz bade him defiance.

The Moghul's were here compelled to abandon the advantage derived from their equestrian skill, which had constituted the chief element of their superiority over the Hindustances in every previous encounter. Old Tamerlane himself was the first to set the rest a good example by dismounting; and, like him, his generals all led their men forward on foot. Standing at the entrance of the defile, he directed a simultaneous attack from three different points. Peer Mahommed and Sulimán Sháh commanded the right wing, Mirza Sultán Hussain and Ameer Jehán Sháh the left, Sheikh Noor-ud-Deen and Sháh Málik the advanced guard of the centre. It is unnecessary to enter into the monotonous details of the sanguinary conflict that ensued. Suffice it to say, that, although the infidels were, as a matter of course, at length overpowered, the battle does not appear to have been one of those one-sided butcheries dignified with the ill-merited title of victories by the somewhat partial author of Teimour's Memoirs, and we learn with satisfaction that, on this occasion at least, blood was freely shed on both sides. Such a wealth of booty in treasure, cattle and other property as was found in the Hindoo camp after the engagement had never been seen before. Its magnitude may be judged from the fact that many of the stouter soldiers appropriated from three to four hundred head of cattle each, to the detriment of their weaker comrades, which necessitated a re-distribution of the spoil. The enormous amount of live-stock accumulated in the stronghold illustrates the severe nature of the calamity that had befallen the country, more vividly than the longest list of killed and wounded. The miserable inhabitants of the villages in the plains had fled thither, driving their flocks and herds before them, trusting vainly to the apparent inaccessibility of the Sewálik hills and the valour of their Rájá for protection against the inexorable foe of the Hindoo race. The remains of the rude forts used as cities of refuge by the

people in those days of bloodshed and disaster may be still distinguished here and there along the spurs of the Sewálíks.*

The information given in the Tozúk-i-Teimouree about Rájá Behroz is most tantalizing, being just sufficient to excite the curiosity of the reader without affording any definite idea of the chieftain's personality. We are merely told that he was "Governor" (*hakim*) of the province and opposed the Tartars with the help of the Raes or Raos ; but since the term Rao is peculiar to the Saharunpore Rájpoos, and gives a name to a large portion of the district, the Rotálá, it is not unreasonable to infer that he was the Ráná, the leader of the clan whose legendary history has been related in connection with the immediate subject of this paper, and there is a tradition that the Poondeers narrowly escaped extermination during Teimour's invasion. The scene of his defeat is even more doubtful than his identity, because the length and direction of the marches from Hurdwár to the defile where the great battle was fought are not noted with the autobiographer's usual precision. In my opinion, the Mohun Pass (Lal Durwázá), a gorge piercing the Sewálíks at a point nearly equidistant from the Ganges and Jumna, and marking the northern extremity of the Rotálá, has the strongest claim to be identified with it. Its entrance affords a better site for a large temporary encampment than any other part of the range, fugitives converging to one place for mutual protection would naturally select the most central point as a rendezvous, and my view is supported by the length of time occupied in marching from this last battle-field to the Jumna, about three and a half days. The first town mentioned during the retreat is Behrah Tuwáyá, which must be Tuwáyá near Behrah, nineteen miles south-west of Mohun on the direct line of march to Saharunpore. Some readings give "Behrah Tuwáyá in the Myapoor district," others "Behrah Tuwáyá in the Sárpoor district." Myapoor was, it is true, a well-known name of pretty wide application long before Saharunpore was ever heard of. Still I believe Saharunpore to

* See the description of the *wulsa* of Southern India given in Colonel Wilks' *Historical Sketches*, vol. 1, p. 309, *note*, which applies exactly to the case in point :—"On the approach of an hostile army, the unfortunate inhabitants of India bury under ground their most cumbrous effects, and each individual, man, woman and child above six years of age (the infant children being carried by their mothers), with a load of grain proportioned to their strength, issue from

their beloved homes, and take the direction of a country (if such can be found), exempt from the miseries of war ; sometimes of a strong fortress, but more generally of the most unfrequented hills and woods, where they prolong a miserable existence till the departure of the enemy." This custom struck the observant Baber forcibly. See translation of his *Memoirs* by Leyden and Erskine, p. 315, from which I have extracted the above quotation.

be the correct reading, because, when written in the Persian running hand, there is hardly any perceptible difference between it and "Sárpoor;" and the next march (19th) of four *koss* must have brought Teimour either to, or right through, that town, then too insignificant a place to merit special notice. On the following day the army halted at Kundah close to Sirsáwah, and re-crossed the Jumna on the 21st January, carrying away with it an incalculable accumulation of spoil and the bitter curses of those who survived its coming. So crushing was the effect of this terrible incursion, that it has bequeathed little or nothing to the folk-lore of a highly imaginative people beyond a vague tendency among apostates to Mahommedanism to attribute the conversion of their ancestors to the persuasive eloquence of "Tipperlang." But that grim potentate busied himself rather with the destruction of the body than the salvation of the soul; and could an eye-witness rise from the dead to describe the deeds of the invaders, his words would be those of the fugitive from Bukhára, after its capture by Chengeez Khán,— "they came—they exfoliated—they bound—they massacred—and they consumed."*

(To be continued.)

G. R. C. WILLIAMS, B. C. &

TRANS-HIMALAYAN MISSIONS AND THEIR RESULTS.

- 1.—*Report of a Mission to Yarkund in 1870.* By Mr. T. D. Forsyth, C.B. Supplement to *Gazette of India*, January 7th, 1871.
- 2.—*Report of a Mission to Yarkund in 1873, under command of Sir T. D. Forsyth, C.B., K.C.S.I.* Foreign Department Press: Calcutta, 1875.
- 3.—*Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet, and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa. With notes and an Introduction, &c.* By Mr. Clements R. Markham, C.B., F.R.S., Geographical Department, India Office. Trübner & Co.: London, 1876.
- 4.—*Narratives, Maps, &c., of Trans-Himalayan Explorers in the Reports of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India for 1866-67, 1867-68, 1869-70, 1871-72, 1873-74, 1874-75.*
- 5.—*Geographical Magazine*, June 1876. With a map illustrating Pundit Nain Singh's journey in Tibet in 1874.
- 6.—*Map of Turkestan in four sheets.* Third Edition, June 1875. Compiled under the orders of Colonel J. T. Walker, R.E., Superintendent of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India.
- 7.—*Sheet No. 9, of the Trans-Frontier Skeleton maps of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, showing Nepal, Sikkim, parts of Great Tibet, parts of Bhootan.* Compiled under the orders of Colonel J. T. Walker, R.E., November 1873.
- 8.—*An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal.* By Colonel Kirkpatrick. Miller: London, 1811.

THE character of Warren Hastings has suffered from the brilliant essay of Lord Macaulay, so that few think of him except as the instigator of Nuncomar's violent death, the despoiler of Cheyte Singh and the Begums of Oudh, and the oppressor of the Rohillas. It is not that the necessary shading is altogether wanting to the picture. There is an occasional reference to good qualities, but in such an apologetic and half-hearted tone as serves only to throw into greater prominence the defects on which the critic has preferred to dwell. Whether from ignorance too, or from indifference, Lord Macaulay has been silent on matters connected

with the Indian career of the first Governor-General, concerning which if he had sought diligently he might have gained valuable information. Thus it happens that while he tells in glowing language how, in order to meet the imperious demand of his honourable masters for money, Warren Hastings hired out British soldiers to a native Prince for a campaign which he could neither justify nor control, and how to this illgotten wealth he added by force the treasures of Benares and Fyzabad, he has omitted to notice the facts that, when Warren Hastings had reasonable grounds for pursuing the Bhootanese with vengeance, he listened to the intercession of their Pontiff Suzerain, the Teshu Larma of Tibet, and refrained from further warfare, and that he promptly profited by the opportunity which that potentate's communication afforded him of endeavouring to establish commercial relations, from which he is not the only person who has expected great pecuniary results to follow. That he was mistaken in his estimate of the wealth which was to be derived from Trans-Himalayan countries does not affect the question. After a lapse of nearly a century the mistake has been repeated in regard to Eastern Turkistan, and the assumptions of enthusiastic pioneers of trade have only been disproved at the cost of two expensive missions. What concerns us is that the evidence of Warren Hastings not being always so unprincipled in his financial policy as Lord Macaulay has led his readers to believe, existed at the time when the essay was written ; and it is to be regretted that the author thought more of counteracting the effect of Mr. Gleig's partial biography than of extending his own researches so as to do justice to the memory of his subject.

For the historical details that were wanting we are indebted to the industry of Mr. Clements Markham. It had never been forgotten in official circles that Warren Hastings sent an Envoy to Tibet in the person of his friend, Mr George Bogle of the Bengal Civil Service, for the purpose of developing trade ; but only one of his reports has hitherto been found amongst the archives of Government. The coincidence by which the original correspondence is missing in India and the copy in London is to be deplored. Fortunately Mr. Bogle's own papers have been carefully preserved by his family, and from these, which include minutes by Warren Hastings, letters from and to him, reports, journals and the like, a fairly connected narrative has at last been drawn up. The volume which contains it includes, besides Mr. Manning's account of his visit to Lhasa in 1811-12, extracts from the letters of some of the Roman Catholic priests who penetrated into Tibet during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and an introduction, notes and biographical sketches of the two English laymen by Mr. Markham.

Warren Hastings, himself Resident at Moorshedabad at the early age of twenty-four and Governor-General before he was forty, had the rare faculty of discerning talent in others, and surrounded himself with a band of young men whose ability was only equalled by their devotion. Of the number of these was Mr. Bogle, who landed in Calcutta for the first time at the age of twenty-three, and of whom four years later, in 1774, his chief was able, when selecting him as his representative to Tibet, to declare that he was well known for his intelligence and assiduity, and possessed of great coolness and moderation of temper. The sequel justified the choice. Unruffled under circumstances which might have provoked a more experienced diplomatist, displaying much tact and judgment in negotiation, with a winning manner amongst strangers, yet with a firmness which resisted imposition, ever looking on the bright side of things, able in various ways to beguile the monotony of his life beyond the border, with considerable power of observation and with a natural bent for acquiring information, which he has recorded in a fresh and lucid style, he was eminently the man to depute on such a mission. When obstacles were thrown in the way of his onward journey at Tassisdun he insisted on a further reference to the Teshu Lama, and whilst awaiting the reply was careful not to do anything which might compromise his prospects of advancing northwards or to imply that he had any expectation of aught but a favourable answer. The Calmuc pilgrims at Teshu Lumbo were not so dirty but what he enjoyed many a hard-fought game of chess with them. Amid the constant din of cymbals and the beating of drums around his lodgings he taxed his memory and his attention to write for the Teshu Lama a history of contemporary Europe, in which the description of political institutions was diversified with an account of the state of society, its inns and its stage coaches, its highwaymen and its duels. When the Teshu Lama offered to give him a detailed map of Tibet from Ladak to the frontier of China, he had enough self-restraint to decline the prize, lest the news of its acceptance should tend to confirm the Lhasa Regent's suspicion that his visit was made with ulterior views of conquest, not trade. Crowds came to see him "as people go to look at the lions in the Tower," and with easy good nature he gratified their curiosity, denying himself to no one. The consequence was a daily succession of callers who added much to his knowledge. He would exchange a pinch of snuff with one, and a joke with another, and pick up a few new words in return. On the road he would amuse himself with throwing stones down the hill side. At another time he would be sliding on the ice, or he would be listening to the chime-like tones of a singer, or watching the wild irregularity of a Tibetan dance. Or he would get a dirt-begrimed Tibetan to infringe

the national custom by washing his face, and would enjoy his confusion amongst his companions afterwards. Nothing seemed to put him out, not even when at a country house his midnight slumber was disturbed by a fight between two of his host's pets, a wolf and a tiger-cat, with a pack of howling dogs as spectators. "Some said it was thieves, but as I could not think "anybody would be so wicked as to attempt to rob the Lama's "family, I had nothing for it but to conclude it was the devil." His little epigrams and humorous comments on passing events are charming. After the monotony of the priestly society in Tassisudon he comes across a man of real sagacity, whereon he draws the comparison that an ounce of mother-wit is worth a pound of clergy. We can fancy him in fits of laughter as Dr. Hamilton, in order to illustrate the power of his microscope, went to catch a fly, and frightened the Dhurm Rāja out of his wits lest he should have killed it. The Deb Rāja of Bhootan being human said grace before meals. The Teshu Lama of Tibet was divine, so dispensed with it. The sight of a cleverly-devised churn and straw-cutting machine calls forth the remark: "As I remember what a great discovery the cutting of straw was considered in England, I mention it only to show that nations, under-valued by Europeans, can, without the assistance of Royal Societies, find out the useful arts of life." A religious disputation, carried on with much clapping of the hands and shaking of the heads on both sides, was, no doubt, in its gestures, "very improper and ridiculous, because they are quite different from those used by European orators, who are the true standards of what is just and what is graceful." A negligent priest was, by way of punishment, being held down on the ground by four persons whilst a fifth was bastinading him. "Let no one who has been at a public school in Europe cry out against the Tibetans for cruelty." His Persian studies curiously influence his English sometimes, as when he answered the Teshu Lama that he wished to attend his stirrup, and when he describes a fall of snow as six fingers deep.

Mr. Bogle has left valuable testimony of the state of Bhootan and Tibet. In both countries the clerical element is numerous. In Bhootan the priesthood is often the stepping-stone to temporal power. As its members are taken from the people at large and maintain their intercourse with their families, they have an easy means of influencing the country and ensuring its support to their measures. At the head of the Lords Spiritual are the three Lamas, incarnations of the body, heart and mouth of the leader of the Dukpa (red cap) seceders from Tibet, who conquered the country several centuries ago. These are known as Lama Rimboche, more familiar to English ears under the style of Dhurm Rāja, Lama

Shabdong and Lama Giassatu, the Lam-Sebdo and Lam-Geysey of Mr. Davis. In Mr. Bogle's time Lama Shabdong was a minor, and Lama Giassatu was not traceable, his last bodily appearance having ceased twelve years before, and the person into whom his soul had passed not having been discovered. Though nominally supreme in the Government the Lamas, from the fact that their authentication as the true embodiments of holiness and their education depend on the priests, are much under their control. Their former seclusion necessitated the appointment of a temporal deputy, known as Cusho Debo or Deb Raja, who is elected by the Lamas conjointly with the priests, and who is entrusted with the nomination to civil posts, the collection of the revenue, mostly made in kind as till lately was the case in Cashmere, the command of the forces, and the power of life and death. The Deb Raja is liable to be set aside by the clergy, and a case of deposition occurred shortly before Mr. Bogle's mission, in which the Lama Rimboche took a prominent part, and which is curious as having been to some extent a protest against an act of the deposed Deb Raja, implying Chinese suzerainty over Bhootan. As in Burmah, so in Bhootan, there is no hereditary aristocracy, and therefore official rank is the only source of distinction. Next to the Deb Raja are the members of the council, composed of a Chief Judge, a Dewan, two Secretaries and six Provincial Governors, amongst whom are Mr. Eden's old friends, the Penlows of Tongso and Paro.

In Tibet the body of the priests have less political power. But their religious chiefs, the Dalai and Teshu Lamas of Lhasa and Teshu Lumbo, have an infinitely greater and wider reputation, being credited with direct spiritual succession from Adi Buddha himself, whilst the Lamas of Bhootan are no more than the incorporation of a spirit emanating from their terrestrial forms. The Dalai and Teshu Lamas are at the head of the Gelupka (yellow cap) sect, which is in the ascendant in Tibet, and which originated in a protest against magic, clerical marriage and other innovations on pure Buddhism. The bestowal of his title by the Emperor of China is supposed to give the Dalai Lama superiority over the Teshu Lama, but it has happened, as indeed in Mr. Bogle's time, that during a minority of the former the latter has gained pre-eminence, notwithstanding the appointment of a Regent (Gesub Rimboche or Ngmen Khan) to watch over the minor's interests. This Regent has at times continued to direct the temporal administration until the Dalai Lama has arrived at a mature age. When the Dalai or Teshu Lama assumed political functions they were called Gyalpo. Early in the eighteenth century the control of foreign relations was usurped by the Chinese Government, which has ever since been represented at Lhasa by its Umbas or Residents. Theoretically the Dalai Lama does not interfere in temporal

matters, so internal affairs are directed by a council of five, of which Gesub Rimboche is the President, and the other members are called Kahlons.*

In Bhootan public expenditure is small, the chief demands on the treasury being for the annual tribute, or donation as the Bhootanese prefer to call it, to the Teshu Lama and the maintenance of the clergy. Every man possesses the rude weapons of warfare and must give his services as a soldier, a porter, or in any capacity in which the State may require, and in return he has his plot of lightly-taxed ground. The people are strong and well-built, fairly truthful, unaddicted to crime, and good-humoured. The women bear the brunt of domestic and field work. In Tibet the lot of the women is easier and the respect for them greater. The home Government of Tibet is more centralised than that of Bhootan, the revenue being collected by officers specially deputed from the capital for this purpose, and all orders of importance to local Governors, who are its nominees, emanating from the council. There is a small standing army, supplemented by Chinese troops at Lhasa, and a national militia as in Bhootan, but the more sacred character of the Lamas tends, it is said, to discourage aggressive warfare. In Eastern Turkistan, on the contrary, that which has been won by the sword has to be held by the sword, and centralization is carried to a fault. There every one is subject to the stern will of the present-Puritan ruler, who, as Vamberg justly remarks, might have been another Zenghis Khan or Tameilane, but for the accident of having been born in the nineteenth century. His sway is a reaction against the laxity of the Chinese Government which he helped to overthrow. In the days of Chinese supremacy disorder and insecurity were general. Now a man may, to repeat a common saying, drop his whip and return and find it in the same place a year later. Such a change has not been effected without much severity. Executions have been frequent. Espionage is as prevalent as under the Second Empire. Mutilation is a punishment often resorted to. No private person may possess a firearm or a sword without express permission. Ladies of rank, who uncover their faces in the street, run as much risk of the heavy blows from the censor's leathern thong as the commonest brawler or drunkard. The civil administration is exercised through local Governors, who receive their orders from the Amër direct. The army, a mixed force of Andijanais, Kipchaks and Kara Kirghiz, Yarkundis and other men of the Altï Shuhr, Chinese and Tunganis is also under Yacoob Beg's immediate command.*

Books of travel not unfrequently bring to light similarity of

* Vamberg's *Central Asia*, pages 322-323.

customs in countries which have not always the tie of kinship to account for it. An Englishman's first impulse is to ask a stranger to dinner. The Bhootanese and the Tibetans have the same fashion, and anybody less facile than Mr. Bogle would probably have sought deliverance from the everlasting tea-drinkings, and the repetition of mutton boiled and minced. The people of Eastern Turkistan are equally hospitable, only they invert the European order of the meal, and begin with sweets and dessert and end with soup. The feminine dress of the Shigatze Killedars recalls the ludicrous petticoats of the Sirdars of Jodhpore when *en grande tenue*. The Bhootanese burn their dead like the Hindoos, whose healthy example the nations of Europe are too slowly following; the Tibetans, as a rule, like the Parsees, expose their corpses. The reason for the difference of practice in nations of the same religion is to be found in the abundance of fuel in the one country and its scarcity in the other. It is against the Gorkhali's creed to execute a Brahman, against a Buddhist's to execute any man at all. So in Nepal a peccant Brahman is sent to the Terai and fed on curds and plantains till he sickens with fever and dies, and in Tibet a criminal is shut up and left to die of starvation. You may tell a well-fed Turkoman by his boots, to which he transfers the surplus grease from his fingers after meals. The hill men of Bhootan do not wear boots adapted for this operation, but they are at one with the Turkomans in licking the platter clean. Does this betoken a common origin at some remote era in the Altai Mountains? The lofty palaces of Bhootan and Tibet with their long galleries, their massive beams, their steep and numerous back stairs, no better than the ladder which leads to an English hay loft, and their doors working on pegs cut out of the planks, which are received into two holes top and bottom, and the ordinary stone cottages of Tibet, substantially built so as to keep out the cold, are repeated in Nepal, and so are the mummers with their antics and their visors resembling the heads of wild animals. The peculiar swing and wooden pile bridges, the latter with road-way formed by successive layers of projecting beams, gradually lessening the distance till only an interval remains which planks of ordinary length can span, seem common throughout the Himalaya. In Tibet the iron suspension bridges vie in length, though not in safety, with the more modern constructions of Europe.

The main object of Mr. Bogle's mission was "to open a mutual and equal communication of trade" between Bengal and Tibet, and to this end he was the bearer of a letter from the Governor-General to the Teshu Lama, proposing a general treaty of amity and commerce; he was supplied with samples of such articles

as were likely to be in request in the country whither he was bound, and was ordered to ascertain what other commodities might be profitably added. The cost of transport was to be carefully noted, and he was to make himself acquainted with the extent of the existing trade and with the manufactures and products, specially those of great value and moderate bulk, which could be given in exchange for British goods. The nature of his route and of the intervening region, the means of communication between Lhasa and neighbouring countries, the different forms of government, the revenues and the manners, the customs and the commerce of the inhabitants, were to receive his attention. If he thought fit he was to arrange for the establishment of a Residency at Lhasa, and if he himself had to come away prematurely he was at liberty to leave agents for the temporary conduct of business till a Resident was appointed. Nor were the interests of natural history and geography overlooked. He was to send specimens of the shawl goat and yak, of rare or valuable seeds and plants, and to inform himself concerning the course and navigation of the Brahmaputra,* and of the condition of the countries through which it flows. To these instructions are appended a memorandum in which Warren Hastings embodied what he knew about Tibet, as the best line for guiding his envoy in further enquiries, and which is a creditable contribution to the literature then existing on the subject. The remark as to the similarity in figure of Persians and Tibetans we commend to Mr. Talboys Wheeler's notice as a possible link in the chain of reasoning with which he proposes to establish the fact of an ethnical connection between Mongols and Rajpoots. Thus instructed, and with the necessary passports and credentials, Mr. Bogle, accompanied by Mr. Alexander Hamilton as his medical attendant, left Calcutta in the middle of May 1774, and travelling by way of Moorshedabad, Dinajpore and Cooch Behar, reached Tassissudon, the capital of Bhootan, about a month later. With a keen eye to business even in small matters, Warren Hastings had enjoined him to plant potatoes at each halting place in the hills; and, according to Mr. Markham, Pundit Nain Singh more than ninety years later saw the results of this forethought in the potatoe gardens round Lhasa. In Nepal, too, we may remark the tuber is a favourite article of food; and our old friend at the top of the Haymarket has his countertype, with more primitive apparatus, in Katmandoo, just as the itinerant pie-man has in Yarkund. At Tassissudon the jealousy of the Chinese Umbas, to whom an Englishman is the incarnation of aggressiveness, caused a

* We assume on the very ample reasons given by Colonel T. G. Montgomerie that the Brahmaputra has its longest and fullest feeder in the great river of Tibet (Report of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India for 1866-67, pages, xci-xcvi.)

delay of four months. The Regent of Lhasa was their creature, and the Teshu Lama was constrained by them on this occasion to write and deter Mr. Bogle from advancing, an act of obstruction which he explained afterwards and made amends for, as far as his own conduct went. The Deb Raja also urged his return, but was induced, though with reluctance, to refer the matter back again to his religious superior. The delay was not compensated for by the acquisition of much knowledge regarding trade. The place was unfavourable to commercial enquiries, being "monkish to the greatest degree." At length the Teshu Lama's permission to enter Tibet was received and Tassisudon left behind on October 13th. Ten days later the party were within the Tibetan border at Parijong, a place now more generally shown on the maps as Phari. Here they had struck the table-land of Central Asia, of which the Himalaya is the southern wall. From this point their route lay over a treeless, cheerless, almost houseless tract, with a gradual descent, after passing the lakes on which Turner subsequently skated, along the valley of the Painomchu* to the Brahmaputra. Not till they reached the valley of Gyangze, well cultivated and full of the whitened villages which hillmen love, was there any relief to the eye, wearied with the bare aspect of the surrounding mountains and the sterility of the plain. The river at the point where they crossed it in a ferry-boat was so sluggish that they lost but little ground between the two banks. Their journey was then nearly at an end, and on the 8th of November they reached the small palace of Desheripgay, near Namling, where the Teshu Lama had been living for three years past, to avoid a long protracted outbreak of small-pox in his capital of Teshu Lumbo.

At this country retreat Mr. Bogle stayed a month. Whilst there he witnessed some of those ceremonies which irresistibly lead to comparisons between the Buddhism of Tibet and the Roman Catholic religion. The mind reverts to the scene at Saint Peter's on Easter-day, as we read of the Teshu Lama seated under a canopy in the court of the palace and a vast crowd around awaiting his blessing. But there are different degrees of blessedness in Tibet, and the Lama Pontiff is quick at distinguishing the priests and superior laymen on whose heads his hand may rest, the nuns and inferior gentry between whose heads and the sacred palm a cloth must be interposed, and the lower orders for whom a touch with a tassel is enough. As the nuns and some orders of the priesthood dress very much alike, the chance of confusion is increased, but how should an incarnation of divinity make a mistake? The similitude in external forms between the two religions, attributable perhaps to imitation of the practices of the Nestorian Christians, whose settlements in

* Sometimes called Penanangchu.

Central Asia were nearly simultaneous with the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet, may be further traced in the tonsure, the celibacy of the clergy, and the monastic orders, both male and female, the frequent church services, the chanting and intoning, the gorgeous processions, the rite of extreme unction, the prayers for the dead, the mitre* of the Pontiff, the chasubles of the priests, the prostration before the altar, the burning of incense, the rules of discipline and the repetition of litanies "not understood of the people." Doctrinally there is a strong analogy between the system of Buddhist incarnations and the dogma of Apostolic succession. As an instance of what the wit of man can devise, we are inclined to give the preference to the Buddhists' invention, there being to our mind something much higher and purer in the idea of the spirit of a deceased Lama passing without human intervention into the body of a child, than that in which the same result can only be attained by the imposition of hands in the first stage, and by the election of a college of Cardinals in the last. For those who care to consider the analogy further we recommend a comparison of the first five verses of Saint John's Gospel with the Buddhistic account of the manifestation of the word Om.

Early in December 1774, Desheripgay was exchanged for Teshu Lumbo, and there, with the exception of a week's absence on a hunting excursion, Mr. Bogle passed the remaining four months of his sojourn in Tibet. Teshu Lumbo is to the adjacent town of Shigatze what Potala is to Lhasa or the Vatican to Rome. Wisely holding that in the interest of the mission entrusted to him it was his business to conciliate the Teshu Lama, to win his confidence and to gain his consent and support to measures for the development of trade, he made a point of remaining near him. For fear of further misconstruction of his motives at Lhasa he would not even enter the walls of Shigatze. His self-denial was rewarded by frequent intercourse with the Teshu Lama, soon resulting in mutual regard and affection. This man, remarkable for his liberal and enlarged views, partly by his own force of character, and partly owing to the accident of the Dalai Lama's minority, although comparatively young and not without a rival in the person of the Regent, was at this time the object of universal respect in his own country, his blessing was sought by Buddhist followers from remote parts of Mongolia, and he deemed his influence at the Court of China such, that he could obtain commercial privileges for the English in Peking. This belief Mr. Bogle shared, though, as it proved in the end, both were too enthusiastic on the subject. In virtue of

* The Deb Raja of Bhootan wears a hat like a Cardinal's.

his spiritual office the Teshu Lama sought to be the peacemaker amongst his turbulent neighbours, of whom the most aggressive was Singh Pertab,* son of Prithi Narain, the Gorkhali usurper in Nepal. His generosity to the poor and to strangers was not wholly disinterested, for, in entertaining the Hindoo and Mahomedan mendicants who flocked to his court, he reaped the worldly advantage of satisfying his curiosity regarding foreign countries and of having his praises sung by his guests on their return to their homes, or in their wandering through other lands. From the knowledge of Hindustani which he had acquired from his mother, a lady of Ladak, he was able to converse directly with Mr. Bogle, who was quite the man to appreciate his power, of telling a pleasant story with a great deal of humour and action, and his dislike of empty compliments. "Although venerated as God's Vicegerent through all the Eastern countries of Asia, endowed with a portion of omniscience, and with many other divine attributes, he throws aside in conversation all the awful parts of his character, accommodates himself to the weakness of mortals, endeavours to make himself loved rather than feared, and behaves with the greatest affability to everybody." And again with a quaint antithesis writes Mr. Bogle, "I endeavoured to find out in his character those defects which are inseparable from humanity, but he is so universally beloved that I had no success, and not a man could find in his heart to speak ill of him." As Captain Turner laid equal stress on the veneration in which this same Lama was held nine years later, Mr. Bogle may, we think, be acquitted of over-partiality in his portrait.

With many expressions of mutual regret and sorrow Mr. Bogle and the Teshu Lama parted from one another in the first week of April, 1775, and the former quickly regaining the route which he had before traversed found himself again at Tassisudon on May 8th, and after little more than a twelvemonths' absence from British territory he crossed the border into Cooch Behar. We gather that he lost no time in travelling thence to Calcutta so as to communicate personally with the Governor-General, who had already signified thorough approval of his proceedings.

Mr. Manning's narrative suffers by comparison with that of Mr. Bogle. The latter is so genial and accommodating, the former so peevish and so inclined to look on the dark side of things. It is curious that a man of such high education, who had by long residence in Canton been preparing himself to accomplish the dream of his life, should have borne the difficulties of a strange country in so complaining a spirit. As to his grudge

* Prithi Narain conquered the valley Tanahung, Soomcysur, Oopadrung, and of Katmandoo. Singh Pertab added Jogimara to his father's conquests.

against the Indian Government for giving him no commission, it may be said that, after the complete failure, in a commercial point of view, of Warren Hastings' overtures, Lord Minto was quite justified in not re-opening negotiations; that the temper of Mr. Manning was not so suave and deliberate as becomes an Envoy, and that even if there had not been these objections, the time was not propitious for another venture. Bhootan rejected friendly intercourse, and Nepal was persevering in that course of aggression which at last brought down retribution on her head. It is much to Mr. Manning's credit that, with small private means and without the official position and credentials which, if they are not essential, do so much to smooth a traveller's progress in the East, he managed to overcome Chinese exclusiveness and realize his hope of gazing on the face of the Dalai Lama. His journal is specially valuable for its corroboration of Nain Singh's account of that part of the route which they both have traversed, and therefore by implication of the Pundit's accuracy in regard to other parts of Tibet concerning which he is the sole modern authority.

After much inquiry Mr. Bogle came to the conclusion that there was no likelihood of immediately reviving the trade with Tibet through Nepal. He errs sometimes in his references to current events in the latter country, as when he makes Singh Pertab* to have succeeded to the throne in the year which, as a matter of fact, witnessed his death; but any confusion of names and dates does not affect the main difficulty that the country was in such a disturbed state owing to the encroachments of the Gorkhalis as to make it unsafe for merchants, and that there was no prospect of a more peaceful policy being soon adopted. Under these circumstances Mr. Bogle turned his attention to the routes through Bhootan. Here he encountered an obstacle in the fact that the trade in valuable commodities was wholly in the hands of the members of Government. Had the Tibetans not been averse on the score of climate and distance to resort to marts in British territory, and had there been a good understanding between Sikkim

* The Genealogical Table of the Goorkhali Kings of Nepal, is as follows:—

A. D.
Prithi Narain 1769-1771.

Singh Pertab 1771-1775.

Run Bahadoor 1775-1800 (and a short interval in 1804).

Girvan Jodh Bikrum 1800-1816 (with exception of the interval above mentioned).

A. D.
Rajendra Bikrum 1816-1847.

(deposed and still alive),

Soborendra Bikrum 1847.

(the reigning Sovereign).

Mr. Markham is wrong in making Girvan Jodh Bikrum to be the son of Singh Pertab, and in omitting all mention of Run Bahadoor. (See his footnote to page 159).

and Nepal, an alternative route to the plains of Bengal through Darjeeling might have been adopted. As circumstances then were, there was no option but to make an arrangement by which British and Tibetan dealers could have direct relations with each other at some place in Bhootan, and the consent of the Deb Raja to this plan, which was a partial blow to the monopoly enjoyed by him and his officers, was gained by the abolition of dues hitherto levied on their caravans in Bengal, and by the restriction of trade in such valuable items as sandalwood, indigo, skins, tobacoo, betel-nut and *pau* to the Bhootanese. For the rest, Hindoo and Mahommedan merchants, but not Europeans, were to be allowed to pass freely through Bhootan, and to be at liberty to dispose of their goods at Paro, the entrepot which Mr. Bogle selected, or to carry them into Tibet. This was not as great a step in the direction of free trade as Warren Hastings hoped for, but it was all that much negotiation could obtain, and it was more than the Bhootanese, although subsequently bribed by the cession of the districts of Ambari Falacottah and Jalpaish, could be induced to act up to. There was of course every reason to believe that the Teshu Lama would readily agree to any conditions which the Deb Raja accepted. In the negotiations leading up to this point Mr. Bogle seems to have displayed great judgment. His view of the duty of Government in regard to the development of trade is thoroughly sound. "In matters of commerce, I humbly apprehend that freedom and security is (*sic*) all that is required. Merchants left to themselves naturally discover the most proper manner of conducting their trade, and prompted by self-interest carry it on to the greatest extent." His mistake, and we believe that had he not died so soon he would have admitted it, was in considering that a country, which he allowed to be mountainous, barren and thinly-peopled, could maintain a large foreign trade, large enough, that is to say, to add materially to the welfare of the British Empire. The poverty and simple manners of the Bhootanese convinced him that there was no great opening amongst them. The comparative splendour of the Teshu Lama's court may have led him to form an undue estimate of the requirements of the people of Tibet, though his march thither should have acted as a check. It is unfortunate that his tour was not more extended, so that he might have seen the general nakedness of the land which Nain Singh has since so graphically depicted. Only by the custom of the masses is a large trade in foreign goods possible, and this is out of the question in the isolated countries in and about the Himalaya, where the people can depend almost entirely on themselves for the necessaries and comforts of life and have no means, even if they had the inclination, for buying outside luxuries. Such trade as there is owes its *raison d'être*, with very few excep-

tions, to the appetites and tastes of the gentry, who constitute a small minority in these regions. It may be interrupted for long, as it was last century, without disastrous consequences. When the temporary hindrances have disappeared or been removed, it reverts to its old channels and gradually recovers its old amount. The circumstances which called it forth forbid anything but a trifling increase. In the case of the through trade with Tibet our conviction is that it fully recovered itself some twenty-five years ago, and that in the nature of things it has not since increased and never will increase in any appreciable degree.

Mr. Markham, on the contrary, holds that Mr. Bogle's mission laid the foundation of a policy which, if it had since been steadily pursued, would have long ago ensured "permanent results," which expression, by the light of other remarks of his, we interpret to mean a considerable trade. That the issue has been otherwise he attributes to British apathy and Nepalese obstruction. Against this view it may be urged with much force, we think, that Warren Hastings was Governor-General for ten years after Mr. Bogle's return, and that in this time, although three more missions were deputed to Bhootan and a second to Tibet, though the Teshu Lama of Mr. Bogle's acquaintance interceded personally for the British with the Emperor of China, and though Purungir Gosain was established as British agent in Tibet, nothing good in the way of trade was achieved. The merit of Warren Hastings in this affair is that he was a pioneer of a possible trade. He conceived the idea which we now know to have been an exaggerated one, but which there is no doubt that he honestly entertained, that the trade with Tibet might, if properly devolved, become the most extensive and lucrative of any inland trade in the world. To the improvement of this trade he gave his close attention during a long tenure of office, never losing any opportunity of communication with Tibet, Bhootan or Peking. Yet, in opposition to what Mr. Markham implies, no material success, that is to say, no marked increase of trade was obtained. There was constant prediction of great profits, but no fulfilment of the prophecy. There were repeated protestations of friendship by the Teshu Lama, but fine words, as the proverb tells us, butter no parsnips. The seed of expectation was sown, but in a barren and dry land, and the consequence was the harvest of disappointment. If the long-sustained efforts of a statesman, on whom the greatest pressure was put to make large remittances, ended in practical failure, what encouragement, what need was there for his successors to follow up the insignificant track when easier and more important openings of trade were becoming available through the extension of the British territories in India? It is pleasanter of course for states, as for individuals, to be on good terms with their neighbours. But so far as commerce is concerned,

there can be no gain to British India from friendly intercourse with Tibet, unless at the same time the reserve of her suzerain is overcome. This is a feat which Warren Hastings was never able to accomplish. Exclusiveness is the traditional policy of the Manchu Government. It is true that within the sphere of its influence it has borne and still bears with the presence of Roman Catholic religious of various denominations, but only because their scientific attainments have been useful to itself, or because they have been missionaries of faith, not commerce. It is worthy of notice also, as regards more distant Tibet, that the Chinese Umbas only appeared on the scene a year or so before Desideri left, and that Della Penna had completed about two-thirds of his long sojourn in Lhasa before their arrival. Since 1760 or thereabouts even the holy fathers have only been tolerated in Tibet as travellers. Huc and Gabet were sent away from Lhasa after a month's sojourn. Laymen have fared worse. The nature of Van de Putte's danger, who was at Lhasa from about 1730 to 1736, is clear enough. He was "a chiel takin' notes." In the hope of avoiding detection, he usually wrote on small strips of paper, in a character intelligible only to himself. Mr. Bogle was suspected of being a surveyor, travelling to spy out the nature of the land, so that the Company might have its topographical information ready whenever it found a pretext for invasion. Had he indulged his private wish he would have visited Lhasa. The circumstance of Lieutenant Davis, one of the members of Turner's embassy, belonging to the Bengal Engineers, elicited so strong an objection as compelled him to stay behind in Bhootan. Mr. Manning's position during his last weeks in Lhasa was, if we rightly appreciate his fragmentary notes, very critical. The Moravians, now settled in Lahoul, have tried in vain to obtain a footing in Western Tibet. It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good, so to his repulse at Shipki by villagers, who evidently knew that it was as much as their lives were worth to let an Englishman pass by that way into Tibet, we owe Mr. Wilson's* graphic account of his recent journey along the southern water-shed of the Indus to Cashmere. On the eastern side neither Mr. Edgar, nor, later still, Sir Richard Temple has met with any encouragement to cross the border from Sikkim. On the contrary, the former, in answer to his proposal that he should be invited to Chumbi, was told by the Jongpen of Phari that such a proceeding was quite contrary to his orders, which forbade all intercourse between Tibet and British India. In a letter, of which the genuineness is beyond doubt, and which was in answer to a representation of Mr. Edgar's approach, the Umbas of Lhasa laid down the law plainly enough

* The Abode of Snow, Chap XVIII.

to the Raja of Sikkim. He was to do everything he could consistently with courtesy, to keep the Englishman from crossing the border, in accordance with old custom and his bounden duty. The new policy of road-making, with which he had conciliated the British Government, was hateful to them, and if he continued to behave in this manner it would not be well with him.

We should deplore this repellent attitude of the Chinese quite as much as Mr. Markham does, if we thought that it had availed to deprive the British nation of a great benefit. But we do not, and this is the point on which we most differ with him. The establishment of a Russian Consul at Urga, on which he depends as an incentive to the British Government to claim a similar post for a representative of its own at Lhasa, has peculiar circumstances to justify it. Urga is a town which commands the line of a trade of which one article is much prized and universally* used in Russia. You might as soon deprive the ordinary Russian of his tea as the ordinary Englishman of his beer. The trade is of old standing, and the knowledge that Chinese influence was waning made the Court of Saint Petersburg in 1870, not only insist upon having a Russian Consul there, but also† a Russian garrison, as a means of protection against the Mahomedan rebels, who were then in the full swing of success. To suggest an analogous case. If Great Britain had for long been dependent on Tibet for all her malt, and if the Kambus had suddenly defied the control of the Tibetan Government and endangered the safety of the road to Darjeeling, she would have had strong cause for taking a similar step to protect her trade. As a matter of fact Great Britain has never had either directly or indirectly a great trade with Tibet. The articles exchanged have been such as were deemed luxuries by the respective holders, or such as in the nature of things only involved a moderate demand, gold, silver, musk, borax, wool and a few ponies on the one side, woollen and cotton cloths, brocades, silks, cutlery, glass-ware, coral, pearls, spices, sugar, tobacco and indigo on the other. With Nepal the rough blankets, salt, sheep and goats of the north have been exchanged for the rice of the lower valleys. But here, the enthusiast will say, are just the elements for a large trade. Only let British merchants have free communication with Tibet, and success is certain. To this view we demur. To begin with, nature has interposed no slight obstacles. There is no need to go further along the Cashmere and Ladak route than to the foot of the Zogi La, or along the Nepal and Tibet route than to

* Mr. Lumley's Report on the Tea Trade of Russia, pages 1-3. *Central Asia*, page 314. Yule's Introductory Remarks to Prejevalsky's *Mongolia*, vol. i., page xxii.

† Von Hellwald's *Russians in* sky's *Mongolia*, vol. i., page xxii.

Nayakote, twenty-five miles beyond Katmandoo, in order to understand what are the difficulties. In the one case there are some miles along the bed of the Sind, as you approach Sonamurg, which Mr. Moorcroft described* as a very hard and scabrous ascent obstructed by blocks of stone and dangerous from frequent slips and over which the baggage of Dr. Henderson† was, notwithstanding the precautions taken for the comfort of the mission to which he belonged, delayed for several days. On the second route to which we have referred, three mountain passes have to be surmounted, over which sheep and goats are the only beasts that can be used for loads. The track is too steep, too treacherous, too narrow at times even for mules, and the climate too relaxing for yaks. Practically, except for rice and salt, men and women bear all the burdens. In Sikkim the Jelep La offers easier gradients. Yet, simply for bridges and a bridle-track to this point, Mr. Edgar estimated an expenditure of at least half a lac of rupees. The descriptions of various travellers, beginning with Mr. Bogle, and ending with Mr. Eden, leave no room for doubting the difficulties of the Paro route through Bhootan. Beyond the points indicated there are, in the case of the routes to Eastern Turkistan, elevated passes to be crossed, some of which involve the transfer of loads from horses or mules to yaks, and one, the Sanju Pass,‡ is hard for yaks even, and there are, besides the discomforts of desert uplands, swollen streams, and the risk of suffocating whirlwinds to encounter. For seven or eight stages continuously grass is scarce and water bad. In his first journey Mr. Forsyth. Envoy though he was, only just avoided starvation for his camp followers. From Katmandoo onwards there is the choice between the Kerong and the Kuti routes. The first leads through a bare and rocky country to the most desolate province of Tibet; the second follows for twenty-five miles or so the gorge of the Bhotia Kosi, and for this distance is always bad for weak nerves, and culminates, for a third of a mile, in a pathway never more than eighteen inches wide and sometimes as little as nine inches, of stone slabs supported by iron bars driven into the face of the precipice at a height of about 1,500 feet above the roaring torrent! The Sikkim and Bhootan routes are easy compared with the others, and they have the advantage of leading directly towards the capital of Tibet. The four routes above referred to we have chosen, because there is ample information on record concerning them, and because they all are used by native

* Moorcroft's Travels, vol. II, page 98.

† Lahore to Yarkund, page 33. Dr. Henderson was a member of the first mission to Yarkund.

‡ See Dr. Scully's account in *Stray Feathers*, vol. iv., 1876. He crossed it twice, and saw yaks slipping on each occasion.

traders, as much, we believe, as any alternative routes in the countries which they traverse. It might of course be possible to find better substitutes. The line of the Bagmutty at once occurs as likely to give an easier passage into Nepal. In Bhootan Mr. Bogle believed that a more level road might be made along the course of the Pachu Chinchu. But he saw also that there was a policy in not facilitating the entrance to the country. Independently, however, of the argument dear to hillmen that the mountains are their fortifications, which the men of Sikkim would act up to as heartily as their neighbours if they were equally independent, the question arises whether the prospects of increasing traffic are such as to warrant a large expenditure on engineering. We think not. Mr. Fitch's and Dr. Buchanan Hamilton's statements as to the existence of a flourishing trade between India and Tibet through the passes of Nepal and Bhootan from the end of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century must be taken with a little caution. The former wrote on hearsay, viewing *omne ignotum pro magnifico*. The latter's stay in Nepal was * too short, and his means of acquiring information too limited for him to be credited with more than good intentions in his references to the circumstances of past days. The lists of both, as also that of Della Penna, whose opportunities were greater, relate mainly to luxuries. The *laudator temporis acti* has not an unpleasant rôle, but in the absence of trustworthy statistics his general statements on the prosperity of arts, agriculture and commerce must be taken for what they are worth. Nearly thirty years later the same want of accurate records made it impossible for Mr. Brian Hodgson to give more than an approximate idea of the existing trade, and even he with all the advantages which personal aptitude for research, long residence in the country, and official position gave him, subsequently allowed that he had† reason to believe that he had over-estimated the trading capital of Nepal by one-third. The error is easily explained. The Nepalese Government keeps no record of exports and imports. Consequently Mr. Hodgson had no other source of information than "the conjectural estimates of old and respectable merchants" as to the total amount, and no better check on their statements than that which a rough calculation upon the amounts of duties and exemptions from duties afforded of the aggregate value of the trade. His figures

* The treaty which admitted of Captain Knox going to Katmandoo as Resident was ratified by the British Government at the end of October 1801, and by the Nepalese Durbar a year later. Captain Knox left Katmandoo for good in March

1803. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton accompanied him. Except at the beginning, the aversion of the Durbar to their presence was very marked. (*Aitchison's Treaties*, vol. ii, pages 189 and 205.)

† *Essays*, part ii, page 92.

show that, in 1831, the commerce of Nepal was worth about thirty-three lacs of Company's rupees a year, which amount, in the opinion of his informants, was triple that of 1816. This seems to prove that, from the time when their defeat by the British put a limit to the Gorkhalis' dominions, the trade had gradually been reviving. Of the total value of the trade in 1831, that between British territory and Tibet through Nepal was worth about * six lacs of rupees, for which, as Sir John Lawrence said of the trade with Eastern Turkistan, a railway train once a year would suffice, and it is clear from Mr. Hodgson's† remarks that the extension of the through traffic was not hindered by prohibitive duties on the part of Nepal. From small beginnings great results sometimes flow. But this is not the case with Trans-Himalayan trade. The present information concerning Trans-Himalayan countries is much more detailed and trustworthy than that which Mr. Hodgson could command. Independently of the inherent difficulties of the road, it is now ‡ known that in Ameer Yacoob Beg's territories popula-

* This is worth noticing because Mr. Markham lays much stress on the importance of the through trade with Tibet. The tabular statements appended to Mr. Brian Hodgson's *Essay on the commerce of Nepal* (*Essays*, Part ii. pp. 105-120), are a little confusing at first sight, but the following results concerning the through trade can be gathered from them :—

Value at Katmandoo of imports from British territory destined for Northern Nepal and Tibet, including duties, cost of carriage, and 30 per cent. profit up to Katmandoo.

Nplse Rs. Co.'s Rs.
 3,56,900=2,97,416

Value at Katmandoo of imports from Northern Nepal and Tibet destined for British territory, including cost of carriage and duties (profit not stated.)

4,14,700=3,45,583

7,71,600=6,42,999

As to the distribution of the British wares between Northern Nepal and Tibet nothing can be deduced from the papers. Of the imports thence for British territory, articles to the value of Nepalese Rs. 27,000 (= Company's Rs. 22,500) are from Northern Nepal, which is included in the term Bhote and signified by the term Kachar. We shall

therefore not be far wrong in putting the Katmandoo valuation of the through trade at about six lacs of Company's rupees.

The balance, it will be seen, is apparently against Northern Nepal and Tibet, but an equilibrium is maintained by the importation thither of the rice of Central Nepal, which is not included in Mr. Hodgson's tables.

Mr. Hodgson says that the real value of Nepalese rupees is as 135 to 100 Company's rupees. But he turns Nepalese into Company's rupees in the proportion of 120 to 100, which was in his time and still is the average market rate at Katmandoo.

† "At all events 8 per cent. will amply cover all Custom House charges within the Nepalese dominions." *Essays*, Part ii, page 96.

‡ "My personal observation leads me to the belief that this one million and fifteen thousand is very considerably above the actual numbers which a proper census would disclose as the true population of the country in the possession of the Amir as defined in the preceding pages, and I have been enabled to form this estimate for the whole country from experience of its western divisions.

"Two circumstances conspire to mislead the mere traveller in his

tion is sparse and cultivation only possible in the neighbourhood of rivers, that the people are fairly well off in the matter of food, clothes and lodging, and consequently are independent of foreign piece-goods, which is the commodity that British merchants specially desire to find new markets for. * It is also very doubtful whether with a larger accumulation of wealth an equilibrium in trade could be established, the greater part of the articles which could be given in exchange being too bulky or of too little value

calculations. One is the sudden transition from a region of solitude and desolation to another of society and habitation ; and the other is the striking contrast between the desert wastes around and the flourishing settlements that spread far and wide between them. Thus the traveller approaching the country from the south has to cross a vast uninhabited region utterly devoid of trees and verdure ; and after ten or twelve days of such desolation, he suddenly plunges into a flourishing settlement, extending over as many miles along a river course, and thickly planted with trees in all its extent. His first impression is one of dense population and plenty, but a closer investigation shows him that abundance of trees does not necessarily prove numbers of population ; and he discovers that the houses are widely scattered either as single homesteads or in clusters of two or three together ; and if he counts them, he will find that within a radius of a couple of miles all round hardly fifty tenements are visible. He quits this settlement in his onward journey and, whichever way he goes, he traverses a wide waste of blank desert to the next which, may be, is a market town and entered on market day. He here finds a closely packed and busy crowd blocking the streets with their numbers ; and extricating himself from their midst, he goes his way impressed by the density and activity of the population. But if he halts here, he will find the illusion dispelled. The morrow, instead of a struggling and jostling crowd, will show him lonesome streets with long rows of silent forges, empty cook-

shops, deserted grocers' stalls, and the tenantless sheds of the shoemaker, hatter and draper ; and if he enquires, he will learn that the multitude of yesterday is dispersed far and wide over this and the adjoining settlements till next week's market-day brings them together again.

" I have no data on which to base an approximate estimate of the area of land under cultivation in each division ; but considering the limited water-supply and the barren nature of the soil, and comparing the spreads of cultivation with those of other countries where the population is known, it does not appear to me that the soil is capable of feeding the alleged population in the western divisions of the country which I have seen, particularly if it is borne in mind, that they are entirely self-supporting and receive no extraneous supplies of bread stuffs and similar food. It is for these reasons that I am disposed to estimate the actual normal population at a lower figure than that produced by the reckoning in the time of the Chinese as above given, and independent of the great diminution that is said to have occurred by the war losses and massacres attending the revolution that overthrew their rule, and transferred the possession of the country to other hands." (Dr. Bellew in the Report of the Second Mission to Yarkund in 1873, pp. 62, 63.)

* In Nepal, which is comparatively close, it pays the masses better to import raw cotton and make a strong home-spun cloth of it, than to import the less durable and higher-priced fabrics of English and Bombay mills.

to be worth the heavy cost entailed by long and toilsome inland transport. The local circumstances of Tibet are even worse. In the North-West of that country from Shipki as far as Sarka the population is, with the exception of a few villages, a few monastic communities and a few gold-diggers, nomad and scanty, for the simple reason that the soil at that height is unfavourable to agriculture. The insignificant town of Sarka, lying almost due north of Katmandoo, has to get all its grain over the mountains from the distant marts of Kerong and Jongkajong. The large monastery of Tadum, further to the west, is at an equal disadvantage. A more flourishing tract is that which includes Shigatze, Gyangze and the villages to the southward, but the population of the whole can be conjectured from the fact that, ten years ago, the inhabitants of those two towns and their environs, priests included, were estimated by Nain Singh at about twenty-five thousand. The population of Lhasa with its surrounding monasteries is under forty thousand, and there is so far no reason to believe in the existence of more populous settlements further to the east. Then as to the products and the requirements of the country. The wool which is doubtless to be had in any quantity could, not on account of the cost of carriage, compete with the Australian staple. There is a nearer and equally boundless field for ghee in the Terai of Nepal, where hundreds of thousands of cows graze yearly. The sheep and cattle of the Tibet highlands pine when taken to the lower valleys of Nepal, and would certainly not fare better in the greater heat of Hindustan. This disposes of what Mr. Markham rightly calls the real wealth of Tibet. There remain such articles as musk, the demand for which is strictly limited, and indeed for that matter the supply also, and gold,* found only on such lofty and remote plains as render it impossible, we believe, to ensure a really large out-turn. The hardships to those inured to them from infancy are so great that probably no adventurers from other countries could bear them, and if they could the difficulty of feeding them is apparently insuperable. Even if gold were forthcoming in abundance, what has Great Britain to give in exchange that Tibet wants? A little more rice and a few more spices would satisfy the aspirations of a people who can boast what we cannot on behalf of our labouring classes at home, that they are warmly clad, snugly housed according to their ideas, and have unlimited mutton, milk and whisky. Unless indeed, anti-Malthus like, we are to take up our parable against polyandry and celibacy, the natural if not voluntary check on over-population, in which case we shall

* Our reference is to the Tibetan, compared with the former, and the not the Khoten gold fields. The latter out-turn is much more considerable are at a very moderate elevation as under present circumstances.

find it no easy task to overthrow the institutions of centuries, or when overthrown, to provide the extra mouths with their due quota of albuminous food. Then, when we have surmounted these obstacles, and gold in return for grain unlimited is a drug in the market, we shall have the satisfaction of saying that we are unprofitable servants, for we shall have disturbed the exchanges as much as the mines of Nevada are doing now.

There is something to be said against Mr. Markham's sweeping condemnation of Jung Bahadoor's fiscal policy. In 1839 an engagement* was concluded, by which the Nepalese delivered an authentic statement of the duties leviable in Nepal, that is, Nepal Proper† and the main route thither, and agreed not to levy unauthorized imposts not entered in that paper on British subjects. The authorized duties range from 7 to 10 per cent. *ad valorem*, being somewhat in excess of the rates that obtained in 1831, which, considering that the engagement was negotiated by Mr. Brian Hodgson, is rather curious. There have been occasional attempts at evasion; but, on the whole, the Durbar has been true to the obligation which it then incurred. The inviolability of treaties in time of peace has not yet been assured amongst Western nations, as Russia's conduct in repudiating the Black Sea Clause of the Treaty of Paris during the Franco-German war, and more recent differences in regard to the Extradition Treaty between Great Britain and America prove. It is to be regretted, we think, that the compact with Nepal was not made of general application, and we can only conceive that it was restricted to the particular route with which it deals, because that is the one chiefly used for the through traffic between Bengal and Tibet. If trade along it had been habitually hampered in recent times by unauthorized exactions, we should have expected, as British subjects are largely engaged in it and conduct many of their operations from the important centre of Patna, to hear complaints in the press. But this has not been the case, and therefore we are compelled to conclude that Mr. Markham has generalized on insufficient grounds. If the charge can be substantiated, we are quite at one with him in wishing to see a less shortsighted policy introduced. As to his opinion that less taxation would be required if the army of Nepal were reduced and that the administration of the country does not call for so large a force as is now maintained, the same might be said of almost every country in Europe. Provided that it is moderate in amount, the taxation of trade in Nepal is as defensible as the levying of sea customs by the Indian Government, and much more defensible than the latter's in-

* Aitchison's *Treaties*, vol. ii, about one-fifth or four hundred thousand persons of the whole population of the territories under the Government of Nepal.

† By Nepal Proper is meant the valley of Katmandoo, which contains

land salt revenue ; and it is just possible that the shrewd minister who ignored the overtures of rebel courts and compelled his wavering colleagues to espouse the British cause in the mutiny, knows the requirements of his country better than the sagest of arm-chair philosophers. Till more civilized nations, by ceasing to distrust one another, do away with the chief reason for national debts and huge standing armies, an Oriental potentate may be excused if he takes the same measures as they for ensuring the integrity of the territories for which he is responsible. Only twenty years have passed since the neighbouring kingdom of Oudh was annexed, and the fear of annexation, which may seem ridiculous to the English critic who is convinced that that policy can never recur, is still the *bête noire* of the Gorkhali—as fond of his country as any Swiss—whose prejudices Jung Bahadoor is fain to respect. And, we may add, there are certain instincts of race which no statesman can afford to overlook. If Lord Beaconsfield were to attempt to substitute Imperialism for constitutional Government in England, the consequences to himself at any rate would be very unpleasant. So with Jung Bahadoor if he tried to make his countrymen, who are the largest element in the Nepalese army, turn their swords into pruning hooks. By origin, by long continuous service and by preference, the Gorkhalis are a martial people. Gurungs, Muggurs, Limboos and Kerantis might be relegated to industrial occupations, but any endeavour to deprive the Gorkhalis of a military career, would involve the risk, we may say the certainty, of a *pronunciamento*. The only practicable check on their numbers in the ranks has been in force for generations. It is founded on the same principle of short service, coupled with the obligation on those who have completed the period of training to return to duty in case of need, as enabled Scharnhorst to make an armed nation of Prussia. By it every Gorkhali has his turn in the army for a few years, and then makes room for another of the family, himself going back to superintend the cultivation of the little rent-free estate, which, though annually renewed in the name of the individual actually under arms, is practically the State's means of satisfying the whole family.

Of the remainder of Mr. Markham's work we regret that we cannot write in terms of unqualified approval. The chorus of praise in his honour which re-appears every month on the cover of the *Geographical Magazine* would have been more valuable if the knowledge of his critics had not been so palpably limited to the contents of the book that they were reviewing. An exception is needed in favour of the index. That is very good, as good as the index to Sir Henry Rawlinson's recently published *Essays* is bad. Otherwise there is much room for improvement. The truth seems to be that Mr. Markham attempts too much. His public duties in

the Geographical Department of the India Office cannot be light, and to them he has added of late years the important labour of editing a *Geographical Magazine*. As though the latter pursuit was not sufficient to occupy his leisure, he has published several works of a less fugitive character, each of which demanded, if it has not received, much general reading and long-sustained attention. His happiest effort in the path of literature was the editing of the narrative of Clavijo's Embassy. The general sketch of the history of Persia is so wanting in method and accuracy as to be nearly useless for the purposes of reference for which it was intended. Our suspicion after reading it that Mr. Markham had too many irons in the fire is strengthened by his last production. The discovery of Mr. Bogle's and Mr. Manning's papers was doubtless very welcome to him, but the public was not in such a hurry for them as to make it worth his while to be constantly careless and inaccurate. And this is just what has happened. His shortcomings are the less pardonable because he constantly shows by his references that he has had access to sources of correct information. If he had allowed himself more time, Mr. Markham was quite capable of arranging Mr. Bogle's materials more skilfully, so as to have avoided repetition, and to have given greater continuity to the narrative than he has done. However, this is a minor fault, which involves no more serious consequences than patience on the part of the reader, who, if he is balked of information at a point where he might have reasonably expected to find it, will come upon it later if he pursues the even tenor of his way. What we have more especially to complain of is the tendency to repetition in the notes, the frequent mistakes in fact, unreasonable assumptions in regard to questions involving doubt, an erroneous way of describing the configuration of the Himalaya, and rash drawing in parts of his general map. Did it never occur to Mr. Markham that it is not usual to open a volume like his on Tibet at random and to read a few pages here and there without regard for what has gone before? Yet, only on his supposition of such eccentricity can we explain the constant recurrence of such notes as that Demojong's country means Sikkim, and that Seling stands for Sining, and so on. It was quite right, in the interests of the general reader, who might be presumed to have little previous knowledge of the subject, to enlighten him once at the earliest opportunity on such points. But it was just as much incumbent on the editor to assume that his readers would have sense enough to read the book regularly from beginning to end, and that their intellects were equal to the strain of remembering an explanatory note.

The subject of Buddhist cosmogony and religion is not the simplest in the world, and there was no particular reason why Mr. Markham should have dealt with it. The exigencies of the case

would have been met if he had briefly explained the relative position and functions of the Dalai and Teshu Lamas without troubling himself as to their successive incarnations. But having undertaken to trace their origin he should have done so clearly and correctly. He begins by stating that, subsequently to the transfer of their original scriptures to Ceylon, it had been revealed to the Buddhists of India "that their lord had created the five Dhyani or celestial Buddhas, and that each of these had created five Boddhisatwas or beings in the course of attaining Buddhahood. The Tibetans took firm hold of this phase of the Buddhistic creed, and their distinctive belief is that the Boddhisatwas continue to remain in existence for the good of mankind by passing through a succession of human beings from the cradle to the grave." Even if this statement were substantially accurate, which it is not, the wording is not in conformity with the technical phraseology of the Buddhist schoolmen, between which and the language of the Athanasian Creed the curious may find many points of resemblance. From Adi Buddha the great self-existent (Swayambhu) wrapt in religious meditation proceeded,* according to the older and more orthodox authorities, five Dhyani Buddhas. The term Dhyani has here the special sense of divine to distinguish it from the Manushi or human Buddhas who have attained to Nirvana by their own efforts. The five Dhyanis each begot one, not five, Boddhisatwa† (literally the principle of goodness of a follower of Buddha) whose relation to their author is considered as that of father to son, thus :

Dhyanis.

- | | |
|--------------------|-------|
| 1.—Vairochana | begat |
| 2.—Akshobhya | " |
| 3.—Ratna Sambhava. | " |
| 4.—Amitabha | " |
| 5.—Amogha Siddha | " |

Boddhisatwas.

- | |
|--------------------|
| 1.—Samanta Bhadra. |
| 2.—Vajra Pani. |
| 3.—Ratna Pani. |
| 4.—Pudma Pani. |
| 5.—Vjswa Pani. |

There is again a distinction between Dhyani and Manushi Boddhisatwas, which we need not pursue, our business being with the former only, as successively the active authors of creation. Three systems of creation have passed away, and the three first Boddhisatwas who originated them, their terrestrial occupation being at an end, are engrossed with the worship of Swayambhu. The fourth Boddhisatwa, Pudma Pani, now controls this present universe of his making. His special invocation "Om mani pudme hum," the Lord's Prayer of the Buddhist world, the countless repetition of which is so essential to the attainment of absolute bliss, that mechanical appliances have been invented to supplement the outpourings of the human voice, combine the

* A later enumeration gives six Dhyanis and six Boddhisatwas. We prefer Boddhisatwa to Boddhisatwa, (Brian Hodgson's *Essays* I, page 29).

mystic word, in which was manifest the first ray of light to primeval chaos, with an allusion to his own genesis through the lotus flower, the symbol of perfection. When Pudma Pani's system of creation has disappeared, his functions of creator and governor will devolve on the fifth and last Boddhisatwa. Mr. Markham's next blunder is in connection with the incarnation of the puritan Tsongkhapa, to represent Amitabha on one page as a Dhyani Buddha and on the next as a Boddhisatwa, the former, as we have shown, being the right designation. But there is worse confusion than this. Geduntubpa, who must henceforth be deemed old Parr's rival in the posthumous honours of longevity, is represented to have been a contemporary of Tsongkhapa, and like him a great reformer. It is said that he was the incarnation of Pudma Pani, that on his death he abandoned the attainment of Buddhahood, that is final absorption in Buddha, in order to benefit mankind by being born again and again, and that in him commenced the succession of incarnations still peculiar to the Tibetan hierarchy, that his first four successors were Teshu Lamas only, but that the fifth, Navang Lobsang, became by the nomination of the Emperor of China, about the year 1650, first Dalai Lama as well, and that since his time there have been two great incarnations of equal rank "the Dalai Lama at Potala, who is an incarnation of the Buddhisatwa Avalokiteswara and the Teshu Lama at Teshu Lumbo, the incarnation of the Buddhisatwa Amitabha." In this statement there is this in the first instance to perplex the inexperienced reader that Geduntubpa, of whom the line of Teshu Lamas are said to be the successive incarnations, and in whose fifth incarnation, in the person of Navang Lobsang Teshu Lama, the subsequently separate dignity of Dalai Lama is said to have originated, is represented as an incarnation of Pudma Pani; whilst directly afterwards the incarnation of Dalai Lama is attributed to an apparently different Boddhisatwa named Avalokiteswara, and that of Teshu Lama to Amitabha. The explanation of this seeming contradiction is that through Pudma Pani an incarnation can be traced back a step further to Amitabha, and that Avalokiteswara is another name for Pudma Pani. But this information Mr. Markham omits to give, and it is not a *sine quâ non* that all his readers should have the previous knowledge requisite for understanding his elliptical sentences, or that they should have by their side such means of reference as would enable them to solve the difficulty. In the second place we should be glad to know on what authority Mr. Markham ascribes co-temporaneous existence and reform to Tsongkhapa and Geduntubpa. He so often gives his authorities that we regret the specific omission in the present instance. His date for the former's life is from 1358 to 1419, and for the latter's from 1339 to 1474 A.D. Prodigious,

as Dominie Samson says ! A different view, based on the researches of such eminent authorities as Koppen, Desgodins and Mayers, is that the spirit of Tsongkhapa passed on his death in 1419, a date agreeing with Mr. Markham's, into dGedungrubpa, which is the Tibetan rendering for Mr. Markham's most old and reverend signor—and that whether or not intended by Tsongkhapa the chain of incarnations of himself beginning with * dGedungrubpa was a most important result of his reforms.

We turn now to more recent and simple topics in regard to which Mr. Markham might easily have been exact. Grueber, Desideri and Della Penna did not, as he says, visit Lhasa in the fifteenth and sixteenth, but in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On one page we are told that Mr. Manning returned to India from Lhasa in 1811, and on other in 1812. The latter is the correct date. The Mohari rupee of Nepal is equal to $13\frac{1}{2}$ (not $13\frac{1}{2}$) of the Company's, not of the sicca rupee. The *kurs*, or *kuras*, is a silver ingot, shaped like a boat and stamped with a Chinese inscription. It has not and never had a fixed value, but varies with the price of silver. Colonel Richard Lawrence, having been the representative of the British Government in Nepal for more than five years, may see no particular reason why his name should be omitted from the list of Residents. The river immediately to the east of the Kurnali is the Bheri, not Bhei, and that which Mr. Markham calls the Sarju is more commonly called the Babai, to distinguish it from the Sarju of Kumaon, which rises above Almorah and, uniting with the Ramgunga, flows into the Kali or Sardah below Petoraghur. Motiharee is in Chumparun, not Sarun. In the invocation of Pudma Pani, pudmi should be written pudme, the inflection being that of the locative case in Sanscrit, and Om should be translated Oh God, not merely Oh. Depen and Depon cannot both be right. The proper termination is pen, a lord or commander or master, as in Jongpen (Jong fort and pen master = chatelain or castellan). Depen means the man who has authority over a village. The accurate transliteration would be Jhwangpwen and Dhepwen. Chaudhari and Chaunteriah have†

* dGedungrubpa's incarnation, according to Koppen, lasted till 1476, thus fulfilling an average human lifetime.

† Chaudhari is from *Chau*, four, and *Dhri* to hold, that is, a holder of four shares. There are two versions of the origin of Chaunteriah. The one is from Chautara or Chabutara, a platform. When the Rajpoot ancestors of the present Gorkhalis settled in the hills, the chiefs distinguished their houses from those of their clansmen by a raised

platform in front, usually under trees. As all had to build here and there on uneven ground, this was the device adopted for indicating the more important persons' residences. Hence the chief became styled amongst his people the Chautara Sahib, or master of the platform. In time the eldest son of the Chief was called Sahib Ji, and the younger ones Chautara Sahibs, and thence the corruption of Chaunteriah. The other explanation is, that the word is derived from *Chau* four

little in common. The one word means primarily the headman of a trade, the second signifies a collateral member of the royal family of Nepal. A mandate from a Governor-General for protection and liberty of trade on behalf of foreigners is rightly styled a *perwanah* by Mr. Bogle, and the vernacular word is wrongly interpreted by Mr. Markham to mean on that occasion a permit or custom house pass. It is as incorrect to call the dominant race of Nepal Gorkhas as to call a Lancastrian a Lancashire. Gorkha is the name of a town and district, Gorkhali is an inhabitant thereof, or descendant of such inhabitant. Mr. Bogle's Kambu Prince may be explained as certainly, not probably, hailing from * Kam, the great eastern division of Tibet. Jung Bahadoor has been honoured with the first, not the second, class of the Order of the Bath, and though with powers as extensive as any *Maire de Palais* he is only Prime Minister, not Sovereign, of Nepal. In the face of his readiness to admit English sportsmen into the Terai, of his courtesy to such English gentlemen as have been inclined to visit Katmandoo, of his active help in the mutiny when even a neutral attitude would have been valuable, of his general observance of treaty obligations, of his care for the people in time of scarcity, of his opposition to *suttee* and punishments involving mutilation, of his bestowing an English education on his sons, and of his recent welcome to the Prince of Wales, it is an exaggeration to say that "he maintains a policy of more than Chinese exclusiveness and obstruction, and that he is an enemy to civilizing progress." His country is not the vassal of the Celestial Empire. The dependence was never during the present century much more than nominal, and the last sign of it disappeared five years ago, when the quinquennial Embassy to Peking was abolished. To write in successive paragraphs that the wars of the British Government with Nepal and Bhootan were waged not for any broad imperial end, but on account of some petty squabble about boundaries, that the Nepalese Durbar from 1804 indulged in a martial and turbulent policy, involving a system of encroachment and menace along the frontier, and that the permanent results of the war of 1814-16 were good, seems hardly consistent. The integrity of boundaries is everywhere regarded as a subject of

and *Tri* to cross the ocean. In the Raj Niti there are four things essential to the man who is entrusted with the management of State affairs, to wit, conciliation, presents, chastisement and the power of causing misunderstanding amongst the members of the enemy's party. The eldest son, who inherited the throne, was not to trouble himself with any affair of State, and hence the management

devolved on his younger brothers, who acted as Ministers. With such duties the knowledge of politics was incumbent on them, and hence they were called Chaunteriahs, that is those who have crossed the four oceans of the essentials named above.

* Strange to say there is a small Kambu settlement in Ladak (*Drew's Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, page 242.)

paramount importance, and their protection a valid reason for war, when diplomatic action has failed to bring an offending neighbour to his senses. To say that the course taken by Lord Cornwallis at the time of the Chinese invasion of Nepal in 1792 brought about the Nepal war, is to ignore the simple and sufficient reason which Mr. Markham, as shown above, has given for the resort to hostilities. The Governor-General refused the military help which the Gorkhalis implored, and offered to mediate between the belligerents; but long before his Envoy could arrive on the scene, a peace disadvantageous to Nepal had been concluded, and Colonel Kirkpatrick, though he carried out his mission in the hope of improving commerce, effected nothing by it. Later came the perfectly distinct mission of Captain Knox, ending with indignities which led to his recall and the dissolution of the alliance. We have always been of opinion that, at this juncture, it would have been wiser politically and financially to keep on the Residency, with such a show of force as would have ensured respect for it. The withdrawal of this check left the Gorkhalis free to violate the border and to impede trade, and the eventual cost of restoring the old state of things was much greater than that which an addition to the Resident's escort, and the permanent establishment of a *corps d'observation* along the border would have entailed. If there was any weakness it was on the part of Lord Wellesley, not of Lord Cornwallis.

To resume the thread of our corrections. Mr. Brian Hodgson is not the only Englishman, except Dr. Hooker, who has ever been allowed to travel in Nepal beyond a circuit of twenty miles round Katmandoo, nor we fancy would the general reader understand that "a trip to the Kosi river" meant in reality a trip some thirty miles beyond Katmandoo to the Indrawati, an affluent of the Sun-kosi, which is itself only an affluent of the Arun, the chief stream of the Kosi system. Mr. Brian Hodgson's achievement, and it was a great one, was that he contended for greater freedom of movement for the gentlemen of the Residency, and it is due to his success that subsequent Residents have not only trodden in his footsteps, but have also penetrated to places more distant than those which he attained to. The intimation that Mr. Hodgson prevented a rupture with Nepal throughout the period of the Afghan war is news to us, for we had been led by Mr. Aitchison, in whose impartiality we have the highest faith, to believe that the fear of the British arms alone prevented an outbreak, and that even the proximity of our troops did not put a stop to intrigue.* This is hardly a tribute to the power of personal influence, nor would supersession have been a worthy

* Aitchison's *Treaties*, vol. II, pages 192-193. •

return for the successful exercise of it. The true reason for Mr. Hodgson's withdrawal may, we think, be ascertained by any one who will be at the pains of reading between the lines of such part of a late memoir of Sir Henry Lawrence as relates to that most distinguished diplomatist's tenure of office in Nepal. For the confusion about the Lepchuk Mr. Markham cannot be blamed. We may, however, take the opportunity of giving an accurate account of this little-known mission. Every third year a *Kafila*, consisting of two hundred and seventy horse or yak loads leaves Ladak for Lhasa, and for that exact number of loads carriage is supplied by the Tibetan Government from Gar to Lhasa on the outward journey, and on the return from Lhasa to the first abode of men, whether houses or tents, in Ladak. The goods from Ladak are dried apricots in great abundance, saffron, orris root, which is used as incense, curiants, chintz and other kinds of European piece-goods, and the articles brought back in exchange are shawl, wool and tea. The leader of the Lepchuk must be a Tibetan of Ladak, and is always chosen from a family of rank. The profits of the undertaking are shared between the Cashmere Government and the leader's family; and on account of the wealth which it brings in, the post of leader, though only held once, is eagerly sought. There are formalities as to congratulatory letters and presents to the chief members of the Tibetan Government, and return compliments of a similar nature to the Maharaja and his principal officers, the details of which are rigidly laid down, and as rigidly observed. The cost of carriage being so much greater, on account of the distance, to the Tibetan than to the Cashmere Government, the former recoups itself by a yearly venture of the same number of loads as in the triennial mission, but quite independent of it, which the Maharaja conveys at his own expense within his own border. The interchange of letters and gifts is as much *de rigueur* as on the other occasion.

It is a pure assumption that the Calmucs, whom Mr. Bogle described as taking advantage of their visits to the Teshu Lama's shrines, to bring furs and other Siberian goods for sale, were Manchurians. Independent testimony shows that Mr. Bogle may generally be relied on, so we prefer to believe that in the present case he means what he says, and that he refers to the remnant of the Eleuths of the Thian Shan and of the Dzungarian Calmucs, to the Torguts about Lake Balkash and the Torbats around Kokonor, whose geographical position would naturally bring them under the spiritual sovereignty of the Teshu Lama, as that of the remote Manchurians would under the spiritual sovereignty of the Tara Nath Lama at Urga. Equally unfounded also is the assumption that Mr. Bogle, when he writes of "the people" or

the natives or the Bhootanese as obstructive to the development of trade, as he does on various occasions, means the officials. This may or may not be his meaning. He saw so much of all kinds of folk that he may reasonably have believed himself justified in generalizing about them, or, through the priests, who keep up a steady intercourse with their families, he might have formed no inadequate opinion of popular feeling, just as in Nepal the army can be trusted as the exponent of the sense of the community. Certainly there is nothing in Mr. Bogle's writings to show that the people either in Tibet or Bhootan cordially took his part.

We now come to the subject of physical geography. Mr. Markham holds that "the Himalayan system is composed of three great culminating chains, running more or less parallel to each other for their whole length, from the gorge of the Indus to that of the Dihong." These chains he calls the inner or Northern, the Central and the outer or Southern. He also sees a most remarkable analogy between this mass of mountains and that of the Andes, a section of which he traversed some years ago. As it is undesirable to apply to the whole a name which belongs only to a part, we would suggest for the whole of the mountainous tract, which Mr. Markham designates Himalayan, the phrase Indo-Tibetan system, and as inner and outer are words which are likely to lead to confusion, we recommend that they be abandoned altogether. If there are three chains, the appropriate terms for them are clearly Northern, Southern and Central, and nothing else. We had thought that this theory of three chains had long ago been exploded by Mr. Brian Hodgson and other great authorities who have the advantage over Mr. Markham of having studied the question on the spot, and who maintain that the so-called southern chain, being occasionally intersected by rivers of more remote origin, is not a chain at all but a series of spurs running southwards from an extended line of elevation more to the north, in the neighbourhood of which the said rivers rise. Of this difference Mr. Markham disposes by saying, that it is not a question of fact, but of nomenclature. This is not a satisfactory rejoinder. If the object of nomenclature be, as we conceive it should be, to establish identity of expression amongst scientific geographers, and to convey to the general reader a clear idea of that portion of nature which is being described and of the principle which regulates its aspect, it is of high importance that words of unsuitable meaning or doubtful application should not be used. Holding this opinion we object to the loose phraseology which professional writers not unfrequently adopt. We regard Mr. Markham as an offender in this respect when he writes, that a consideration of the "similar facts relating to other great mountain masses, such

as the chains or Cordilleras of the Andes" would show "that a great chain of mountains, with a continuous series of culminating ridges and a continuous slope, is a chain, whether rivers force their way through its gorges or not." He might as well have said that a row of unconnected links constitutes a chain. The essence of a chain is the continuous and close connection of its links. The word in its application to mountains may be excused in the case of the Andes of Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador, wherein is found an unique succession of bifurcations and apparent reunions of the main range. We say apparent, because, with the exception of the *valley of Desaguadero, which includes the lakes of Titicaca and Huallagas and of which there is no known outlet, a rift more or less pronounced occurs in the mountain wall of all the upland valleys for the passage of their drainage, generally towards the east, but westward in the case of the Quito and Almaguer basins. In the mountain system to the north of India there is not any such succession of elevated valleys, or anything in the general formation and connection of the mountains analogous to a chain. The only instances of such basins are the unconnected and much smaller ones of Cashmere, Katmandoo, Pokhra and possibly Jumla. For the rest the valleys of the Himalaya generally are tortuous, deep and narrow, in section like a V. We may also remark, with respect to the Central Andes, which are evidently Mr. Markham's basis of comparison, that chains and cordilleras are not synonymous terms. The cordilleras are the bifurcations, and the successive bifurcations, really uniting in only one instance, form the so-called chain. To the south in Northern Chili the word is applied to †the main range, which is there single and undivided, and to the north in New Grenada to the three parallel ranges which bound and separate the Cauca and Magdalena rivers.

We frankly admit that we know no more about the Andes than what any one can learn who studies Mr. Keith Johnston's Atlas and a good Cyclopædia. But our knowledge is more thorough about the Himalaya, which we have studied closely in nature and on most modern maps, including those of its surroundings. We can therefore say, with some degree of confidence, that if there is any strong resemblance between the phenomena of the Indo-Tibetan system and the Andes, the physical features of the latter must be very different from the definition which Mr. Markham has given of the former. The key to the Indo-Tibetan system

* The northern drainage of this valley falls into lake Titicaca, whence the surplus water is carried by the Desaguadero (drain) into the salt lake of Huallagas. The latter has no exit, unless, as some have sup-

posed, there is subterraneous filtration into the plains of Tarapaca. Otherwise the superfluity must be disposed of by evaporation.

† Cordillera de Santana.

lies in the valleys of the Indus and Brahmaputra and their affluents. These constitute from the great southern bend of the Indus in the district of Gilgit to the like bend round the Abor country, a long, uneven and irregular depression with a general direction north-west to south-east. The unevenness and irregularity of this area are due to the divergent channels of the two rivers from their common centre of origin near the Mansarowar Lake, to the ever-varying gradients of descent of them and their affluents, and to the many mountains which tower within the area, and of which some in the form of ridges from the *watersheds influence the course of the affluents. The lateral limits of this area are identical with the main watersheds which throw off these affluents. In these watersheds are to be found the only continuous lines over the entire system, and because their course is over table land, glacier, ridge and peak, we prefer the word to that of main range, which would be better used in connection with mountains only. Not nearly all the streams of the Indo-Tibetan system have their origin in the clefts of mountains or run with the continuous force of a torrent to the plains. Some have their sources on extensive table lands; and the difference of a few feet in level may determine the flow towards the desert of Gobi, the Arabian Sea or the Bay of Bengal.

The line of the main watershed on the north, the general direction of which agrees with Mr. Markham's northern chain of the Karakorum and Nyenchenthangla mountains, may be traced by the following passes, uplands, &c., from the north-west corner of the Tagdumbash Pamir:—

† Ghundarab Pass			
Mintaka Pass			
Kalik Pass			
Shinshul Pass			Ft.
‡ Muztagh Pass ...	...	...	18,400
Karakorum Pass...	...	...	18,550
§ Dipsang Plains ...	...	...	17,817
Pangtung La ...	...	...	18,900

* Mr. Markham (p. 40,) presumes that when Mr. Heeley writes watershed he means water parting. As we have the high authority of Mr. H. F. Blandford (*Physical Geography for the use of Indian Schools*, p. 169) that the last syllable of watershed is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *sceadan*, to part or divide, we see no reason to abandon the older and better-known term.

† The heights of these four passes are not known. In Mr. Davies'

Trade Report (Appendix XXX), it is said that the first three are easier than the Shinshul Pass, and that all are practicable for laden horses, and open throughout the year.

‡ The Muztagh is practicable for laden yaks and is open from July to October inclusive. Its height has been estimated only by Godwin Austen.

§ The height was determined by Dr. Scully in 1874. *Stray Feathers*, Vol. IV. 1876, p. 11.

			Ft.
Changlungbarma La	...	...	19,280
Chumik Lakmo ...	...	...	16,600
Chomorong La ...	...	...	18,760
Khalamba La ...	...	...	17,200

In the present state of geographical knowledge this watershed cannot be indicated with certainty further to the east, though it may be hoped that the researches of trained explorers will soon prove what is the connection between the Khalamba La and the meridional ranges in the Eastern Province of Kam. On the north-west the scimitar-shaped ridge, rising from the Kizilart plain to the south of the great Karakul and extending thence across the Neza Tash and Karashankar Pass along the hills to the south of the little Pamir, which separates the upper waters of the Oxus from those of the central affluents of the Tarym, and which Pundit Mumphool and Captain Trotter have named the Pamir Range, connects the Indo-Tibetan mountain system with that of the Thian-Shan, and the continuation of this watershed westwards along the ridge crossed by the Karambar and Darkot Passes and along the shoulder crossed by the Biroghil Pass, unites it with the Hindoo Kush mountains. A lengthy spur running southwards from the neighbourhood of the Biroghil Pass almost to Umbeyla separates the drainage of the Yassin-Gilgit stream, a direct feeder of the Indus, from the waters of the Kishengunga and the Swat, which are borne to the Indus through the channel of the Cabul river.

The main watershed on the south may be traced as follows :—

Chilas

Glaciers to the south of Nanga Purbut

Upper Tilel

			Ft.
Zogi La	...	...	11,300
Bhotkol Pass	...	...	14,580
Baralacha	...	...	16,626
Parang La	...	...	18,300
Shangyok La	...	...	16,800
Chirbitia La	...	...	18,570
Niti La	...	...	16,570
Kyungari La	...	...	17,400
Uta Dara	...	...	18,230
Nialo La	...	...	16,200
Fotu La	...	...	15,080
No La	...	...	16,600
Taku La*	...	...	.....
Dango La*	...	...	.....
Laghulang La	...	...	16,200

Heights not determined.

On the northern side of the main northern watershed, the largest drainage system with which we are yet acquainted,* is that of the southern affluents of the Tarym, which bears their water, as well as that of other streams originating on the Pamir and the Thian-Shan, into the lake country of *Lob. The journeys of Mr. Drew, of the Tibetan explorer in 1871-72, and the later one of Nain Singh, leave no room to doubt that, between the parallels of 79° and 92° east longitude, the drainage on this side flows into lakes, some of which are connected and others isolated. Many of the lakes are like Tengri Nor near the watershed and consequently very elevated.

Next comes the drainage within the depression which we have already defined. From the southern side of the main northern watershed and from the northern side of the main southern watershed the chief tributaries of the Indus and the Brahmaputra are as follows:—

<i>North.</i>	(INDUS.)	<i>South.</i>
Basha Braldu		Astor
Shayok		Suru
		Zanskar
		Hanle
	(BRAHMAPUTRA.)	
Chachu		Shorta
Charta		Shakiadong Chu
Raka		Shaibgi Chu
Shiangchu		Painom Chu
Kichu		
†Gakochu		

The remaining drainage of the area under consideration is absorbed by lakes devoid of outlet, of which the Pangkong series, the Chomoriri and the Mansarowar are the most notable, or is carried away by the Suttlej and the Kurnali, which rise near the sources of the Indus and the Brahmaputra, and by the Para, an affluent

* In the report of his first mission to Yarkund, Sir Douglas Forsyth wrote: "It is said that this river (the Tarym) flows into the Lake Lob or Lok Nor, but the general opinion expressed by all whom I asked was that it flowed into the great desert and is lost there." Later information, obtained during the sojourn of the second mission in Eastern Turkistan, leads to the conclusion that Lob is a succession of reedy lakes along the Tarym, ending in that which has the distinctive name of Lob Nor

amongst Europeans, and from which a river is said to go out to the south-east, across an immense desert of sand and salt. This river was called by Mirza Hyder the Kara Moran, and he believed it to flow to China. Even with the above information Captain Trotter, the geographer of the second mission, believes the lake of Lob to be somewhat mythical.

† Brian Hodgson's map, in "Selections of the Records of the Government of Bengal, No. XXVII.

of the Sutlej. The head waters of the Sutlej pass from their springs on the north-east of Rakas Tal through that lake, but the stream is soon turned from its lateral course by the southern extremity of the snow-clad spur which runs from Hanle to a point south of Gartok, and again by the no less formidable obstacle of which Leo Porgyul is the front, the result being that it has been compelled to seek an outlet near Shipki at a point where a favourable dip on the southern watershed facilitated its escape. The position of the gigantic range of the Gurla Mandata has, in like manner, served to deflect the Kurnali towards the same watershed, the higher elevation of which in this quarter, nothing short of the Kurnali's rapid stream, with a *velocity nearly treble that of the swiftly flowing Sutlej, would have been able to overcome. We incline to the view that by force of impact a constantly progressing erosion took place on the part of the Sutlej and Kurnali, ending in the establishment of their existing waterways through the southern watershed. But the dips in each case may have been such as from the beginning to allow of a passage over and not to compel a cutting through this elevation. On such a hypothesis, however, we should have expected a greater width of channel at the point where the overflow began and for some distance beyond, or indications thereof at some antecedent period. In process of time the violence of the stream would wear a deep channel, and this action must be still going on. These breaks do not affect the delineation of the southern watershed in regard to the Indus and the Brahmaputra, to the valleys of which and of their affluents, be it remembered, we described it as the limit.

On the southern side of the main southern watershed are to be found the sources of the Kishengunga, Jhelum, Maru-Wudwan, Chandrabaga, Spiti river, †Ganges, Kali or Sardah, Bheri, Buria

* The Brahmaputra flows from its source to Janglache (385 miles) with an average fall of about 5 feet a mile. Its great descent occurs in the 400 miles or so below Lhasa and above the plains of Assam, of which, to our sorrow, we know no more than Warren Hastings did.

The Indus flows to Leh (360 miles) with an average fall of about 18 feet a mile, and nearly the same average is maintained to Attock, a distance of 870 miles from its source.

The Sutlej flows to Shipki (210 miles) with an average fall of about 25 feet a mile, and for the full distance to Roopur (450 miles) at an average fall of nearly 32 feet a mile.

The Kurnali flows to Khojanath

(50 miles) with an average fall of about 69½ feet a mile, to Banda (125 miles from the source), with an average fall of 86½ feet a mile, and to Gola Ghat (215 miles from the source), with an average fall of 66 feet a mile. Between Khojanath and Banda, the section of greatest original resistance, the fall averages 97½ feet per mile, or about 1 in 54.

† On the authority of Mr. Moorcroft, it was long believed that the feeder of the Ganges, named Jahnavi, flowed from the northern side of this watershed. Captain Strachey's personal investigation proved this to be a mistake. It is a pity that Mr. Brian Hodgson should have allowed this mistake to stand in a recent re-

Ganduck, Trisool Ganduck, Dingri Chu, Sunasi Chu and Arun. Of these the Kishengunga, the Maru-Wudwan and Spiti rivers are comparatively soon merged in the Jhelum, the Chandra-bhaga and the Sutlej. The united stream of the Dingri Chu, Sunasi Chu, and Arun retains for some distance the name of the last, and afterwards when joined by rivers of more southern origin the collective name is the Kosi. It is because the Jhelum, Chandrabhaga, Sutlej, Ganges, Kali, Kurnali, Bheri, Buria Ganduck, Trisool Ganduck and Arun after a long course in every case intersect the line of Mr. Markham's so-called southern chain, that we dispute the appropriateness in a geographical sense of the term chain or of any other term implying continuity.

The hydrography of the tract between the main southern watershed and the plains of India is of two types. On the west the main river is sooner developed and has a long course in the hills. To illustrate our meaning we may say that the Jhelum becomes what we call the main river, that is, it has no affluent with discharge at all corresponding to its own after the inflow of the Kishengunga. Up to the junction near Mozufferabad the main direction of both is westerly. From Mozufferabad the river has a course of more than a hundred miles almost due south before debouching on the plains above the town of Jhelum. The Chundra and the Bhaga unite their names and their streams at Tandi, and after a long north-westerly course the united stream is joined near Kishtwar by the Maru-Wudwan, its only important affluent, flowing from the north. Then follows a zigzag of about one hundred and twenty miles, consisting of a long westerly stretch between two short southerly ones up to Aknoor, just above which town the river finally leaves the hills. The distance of the Sutlej from Namgia, where the Spiti river falls into it, to the edge of the plains at Roopur, is over two hundred miles, and in this part of its course it has no important feeder. The direction is west with a little south. Beyond, that is to the east of the Sutlej,

print of an Essay written in 1846, (Compare Arrowsmith's map, illustrating Moorcroft's travels, Bengal, Selection XXVII., p. 80. Brian Hodgson's Essays, Part ii, p. 27, Thornton's *Gazetteer*, pp. 318-319 and Walker's map of Turkistan, the Second Edition for choice, as the red line, indicative of the boundary between the British and Tibetan dominions, is more correctly given in that than in the Third Edition.)

* We understand Mr. Markham to draw his southern chain as fol-

lows :

Pir Punjal Mountains
Bannihal Mountains
Kishtwar Mountains
Chamba Mountains
Rotang Pass
Jumnotri (or Gangotri ?)
Nanda Debi
Dwalagiri
Gosain Than
Kinchin Jinga
Chumalhari
Gemini.

a change occurs, and we find a succession of southward-sloping mountain basins, broad at the top where they leave the watershed, and gradually contracting like a fan from its rim to its handle. These basins derive much of their water from certain prominent peaks, or groups of peaks, which, standing in advance, that is southwards of the watershed, are connected with it, and from which ridges with dependent spurs project, that serve as lateral barriers to the basins. The preponderating synclinal slopes of the ridges and spurs, which overrule the effect of all other intervening inequalities of surface however vast, cause the several groups of mountain streams between them to converge till they unite and constitute a main river near the edge of the plains, whence, with but few subsequent additions, they roll their waters to their several junctions with the Ganges or Brahmaputra. The succession of lateral barriers of mountain basins is as follows:—

The converging ridges from Banderpooch and Nundadebi cause the Bhagirathi and Aluknandi, previously reinforced by numerous intervening feeders, to unite and form the Ganges. The united waters before leaving the hills at Hurdwâr are joined on the left bank by a considerable stream called the Nyar.

The spurs from the Nundadebi ridge, descending through Kumaon, and the ridge from the Api peak, similarly bring together the Kali, the Tatigar, the Sarjoo, the Ramgunga and other streams, whose united waters flow into the plains near Burmdeo as the Sardah.

The Api ridge and a ridge to the west of Dwalagiri, connected with the latter mountain by a spur, in like manner influence the basin of the Kurnali, which shortly before it reaches the plains near Golaghat is joined by two affluents, the Seti and the Bheri, almost as important as itself in the accumulation of water from other mountain streams which they bring. This basin vies with that of the Kosi in the width of country which it drains.

From the Dwalagiri spur, and others depending on the same ridge as it to the Gosain Than ridge, which runs almost down to Katmandoo, extends the basin of the Sapt-Gandiki, a Nepalese term for the country drained by * the *Barigar*, the *Narainee* or *Kali Ganduck*, the *Setigunga* or *Budh Ganduck*, the *Marsiangdi*, the *Daramdi*, the *Buria Gunduck* and the *Trisool Ganduck*. The outlet for the united waters is at Tribeni Ghat.

The Nepalese also credit the basin of the Kosi with a septet of chief feeders, and call the country so drained the Sapt-Kosiki. The short spur from the Gosain Than ridge on the one side and the lengthy barrier running from Bhomtso to Kinchin Jinga and con-

* The italics in this and the next paragraph indicate the streams of lower origin.

tinued in the Singale La range determine the area of this basin. The seven streams are the *Milamchi* or *Indrawati*, the *Bhotia Kosi*, the *Tamba Kosi*, the *Likhu Kosi*, the *Dudh Kosi*, the *Arun*, and the *Tamru*. The union of all is only achieved just above the plains near *Bara Chetr*.

An important but secondary part is played in the water system of the tract under consideration by rivers, having their origin more to the south, yet far within the hills, which we have not yet named. The long westerly courses of the *Chandrabhaga* and the *Sutlej* necessitate means of escape for most of the drainage of the mountains to the south of them, and this exists in the *Ravee* and the *Beas*. The *Jumna* in like manner makes up for the want of important tributaries to the *Sutlej* in its long westerly stretch. In the country beyond, that is to the east, are the triangular spaces intervening between the successive basins, widest between the points or apexes of the inverted deltas to which we may liken the basins, and forming the complement of those deltas. The space between the *Ganges* and the *Kurnali* basins is drained by the *Ramgunga* and the *Kosila*, that between the *Kurnali* and the *Ganduck* basins is drained by the *Babai* and *Rapti*, that between the *Ganduck* and the *Kosi* basins by the *Bagmutty*.

To the east of the *Bhomtso-cum-Singale La* range the southern drainage is no longer to the *Ganges* but to the *Brahmaputra*. The water system of *Sikkim*, entering the plains as the *Teesta*, resembles those of *Kumaon* and *Nepal*, though the area of the mountain basin is less extensive. The barrier on the east is the range from the *Dankia Pass* to the *Jelep La*. Of the country to the north-east of this range too little is known to admit of a decisive opinion. Our impression is that the southern watershed of the *Indo-Tibetan* system will be found to run from the *Laghulung La* to the lakes above *Chumalhari*, thus separating the head waters of the *Arun* and the *Teesta* from those of the *Painomchu*, and to be continued from those lakes to the neighbourhood of *Yamdokcho*, and thence in such a line—east with a little south—as causes it, in accordance with its previous practice, to give northwards short feeders to the *Brahmaputra*, of which the *Yalung* has been determined by *Pundit Nain Singh's* last journey, and to throw off southwards the headwaters of the rivers which enter *Assam* as the *Monas* and *Subanseri*. The same explorer has completed the evidence of the deltaic character of the *Monas* in the mountains, and eventual proof of this character for the *Subanseri* may with some reason be expected. Between the *Teesta* and *Monas* basins the drainage of *Bhootan* is carried away by the *Pachuchinchu* and *Gungadhur* rivers, which have separate courses through the plains to the *Brahmaputra*.

So much in respect of *Mr. Markham's* three parallel chains.

As regards other supposed points of resemblance* we would urge for his consideration whether the Illimani and Sorato peaks are not a little in advance of the real eastern watershed of the Central Andes, as we have shown to be the case with so many high peaks of the Himalaya, and as Mr. Keith Johnston's drawing suggests. If so, the real Cordillera is the lower range nearer to the two lakes of Titicaca and Huallagas and their connecting river, the peaks are off-shoots of it, and the line of continuity

* "Warren Hastings was the first to notice the striking analogy between the Andes and the Himalaya after perusing the work of M. de la Condamine. The analogy between the two great mountain masses of the old and new world is indeed most remarkable. Both consist of three parallel chains. In both great rivers have their sources in the inner chain, and force their way through the other two. The *cuesta* (ridge) of La Raya, separating the valley of the Vilcamayu from the basin of Titicaca, is the counterpart of the Mariam la Saddle dividing the basin of the Sutlej from the valley of the Brahmaputra. In both systems numerous rivers rise in the central Cordillera and after lateral courses between the two, eventually force a way through the outer chain. The southern Himalaya bears an exact analogy to the outer Andes, which rise from the valley of the Amazon. Both have a low range at their feet, enclosing valleys or dhuns; both have deep gorges, separated by lofty ridges, which are spurs from a main chain of culminating snowy peaks; and in both several rivers rise in an inner central range, and force their way through profound ravines between the culminating summits. The rivers Mapiri and Chuquiapu (Keith Johnston's Bogpi) pierce the Cordillera, flowing through chasms in beds 18,000 feet below the snowy peak of Illimani, which almost overhangs on them. Yet no one maintains that the 'Cordillera Real de los Andes' is not a chain of mountains. The analogy between the land of the Yucas and the plateau of Tibet may be carried still further. In both the staple produce is wool

yielded by llamas, alpacas and vicuñas in Peru, and by sheep and shawl goats in Tibet. In both the beasts of burden are llamas, or sheep needing a wide area of pasturage, and consequently numerous passes on their journeys, in order that a profitable trade may be carried on with the low country. Both abound in the precious metals. In both the people cultivate hardy cereals, and species of chenopodium, called quinnua in Peru and battu in Tibet. The people, too, have many beliefs and customs in common, down to that of heaping up huge piles of stones on the crests of mountain passes: and the Tibetan is actuated by the same feeling when he mutters his *Om mani padmi hum* as the Peruvian, when, on passing a heap of stones, he bows and reverentially exclaims, *Apachicta muchkani*.

"The analogy pointed out by Warren Hastings, and which I have ventured to carry a little further, strikingly suggests the importance of taking a comprehensive view of such questions as those of the physical structure of a great mountain range, or of the best means of establishing commercial intercourse between inhabitants of a lofty plateau difficult of access and those of tropical valleys separated by snowy mountains. If the frightful gorges of the Andes did not prevent the Yucas from exchanging the products of the Sierras for the coca of the Montanas, there is nothing that a wise policy may not overcome to hinder the Lamas of Tibet and the rulers of India from establishing a friendly interchange of commodities between the lofty plateaus of the one and the fertile tropical valleys of the other." (Maikham, pp. xl-xlii).

remains unbroken. Tibet and the valleys of the Andes being alike at a high elevation, it follows in the ordinary course of nature that their soil should produce hardy cereals. The heaping of stones on the crests of passes is a common practice in Cumberland and Westmoreland. Constant repetition of Om mani pudme hum is the habit of the orthodox Tibetan, and the only place at which he shows more than ordinary zeal in the monotonous work is when he passes, as he constantly does, one of those long walls known as *Manis*, which are covered with flat stones bearing the sacred inscription. The Peruvian, on the contrary, when he has reached the top of a pass, says the equivalent to "Thank God the worst of my journey is over," just as* Mr. Grove's porters did on the watershed of the Caucasus. So far as Tibetan and Peruvian invoke the deity there is something in common in their phrases, but that is all. The difference is that the latter utters a single ejaculation, because he has accomplished the ascent, whilst the former, on the pass, as anywhere else, goes on repeating a prayer which it is the daily work of his life to repeat.

It is a mistake to say that Warren Hastings noticed a "striking analogy between the Andes and the Himalaya." What Warren Hastings noticed was a striking analogy between Tibet and the valley of Quito, the one being in his opinion probably the highest land in the old, as the other "is the highest land in the new Continent." Either Warren Hastings had not heard of, or ignored the existence of, the much higher valley of Desaguadero. In either case the omission shows that his comparison was more limited than that which Mr. Markham attributes to him. Lastly, in his argument that by establishing identity of physical structure in the case of two elevated countries he is justified in predicating for the one the commercial results of the other. Mr. Markham has overlooked the fact that, even if other things were the same, which they are not, the South American tract has a more genial climate owing to its greater proximity to the sea and the equator and greater advantages in the way of water-carriage by the nearness of the Pacific on the one side, and the head waters of the Amazon on the other.

When in doubt use dots is an axiom wisely accepted by official map-makers in this country. Mr. Markham writes that possibly some of the feeders of the Monas and Subanseri rise on the southern side of his central chain, the general direction of which differs little from that of our southern main watershed. Yet in his general map he draws the feeders comparatively close to the right bank of the Brahmaputra as though he had no doubt on the subject. The extension eastwards of the Kuen Luen mountains,

* The *Frosty Caucasus*, page 86.

about which Colonel Walker is judiciously silent, and the physical features of the country between Lhasa and the western boundary of China are also drawn with a degree of detail which the available materials hardly warrant. It is well to remember that it was not the Jesuits employed by the Chinese Emperor Kanghi, but two Tibetan priests, who surveyed Eastern Tibet in 1717. Mr. Markham says that they were carefully trained by the Jesuits, and that their orders were to survey from Sining to Lhasa and thence to the sources of the Ganges. The Jesuits then in China were Regis, Jartoux and Fridelli, and perhaps Bouvet still. The results of the Lamas' enquiries, which, considering the time and distance, could not be otherwise than superficial, were embodied in the maps of China and its dependencies, which were completed by the Jesuit fathers in 1718, and from which d'Anville constructed his "*Carte generale du Thibet ou Bouttan et des Pays, de Kashgar et Hami.*" Their maps were afterwards corrected by Hallerstein, d'Arocha and Espinha, whose survey of Turkistan, undertaken by order of the Emperor Tsianlun from 1755 to 1759, extended as far west as Tashkurgan and northward to the valley of the Talas. Sir Henry Rawlinson has not a high opinion of their accuracy. As they worked by way of Dzungaria it is possible that they never were near that part of the country to which Mr. Markham has so confidently extended the Kuen Luen eastwards. The exact course of their wanderings is unknown, as no account of their journey is extant. In 1833 neither the height, position nor direction of the Kuen Luen was accurately known. Since that time, so far as we are aware, nothing more authentic has been learnt than the experience of the Tibetan explorer of 1871-72, that as far as he could see from a commanding position near Tengri Nor there were no high peaks to the north, and the statement of Lamas who lived on the spot that the country to the north was very much the same as that around the lake. As regards Eastern Tibet, Huc and Gabet travelled from the Great Wall to Lhasa and back to China by Szchuen in 1844-46, but unfortunately they had no eye for country. Klaproth is not to be trusted. Mr. T. T. Cooper, who approached from the side of China, was never allowed to cross the border. Mr. Markham himself admits that "Kam is still almost entirely unknown," and that "no real additions were made to our knowledge of Great Tibet, supplied by M. d'Anville's maps, until Colonel Montgomerie's explorers penetrated into that country," and still he draws mountains and rivers in Kam where Colonel Montgomerie's explorers have never been, with as much decision as though he had ample information to work upon.

From the resuscitation of Mr. Bogle's and Mr. Manning's papers and his own efforts to explain the physical and political geography

of Nepal, Bhootan and Tibet, Mr. Markham hopes to see a policy initiated which shall have for its aim "the establishment of unfettered intercourse through all the Himalayan passes from the Kali to the Dihong." The first step which he inculcates is to take advantage of Mr. Edgar's road up to the Jelep La for an exploration of the Chumbi Valley and a visit of English officers to Phari : the second is to be a commercial mission to Lhasa and Shigatze. There are also to be negotiations with Pekin and a lecture to the Gorkhali Government to refrain from keeping the Tibetans in terror of war, as it is said to have done for more than a century past. A charming instance is this of the pot calling the kettle black, for the Gorkhalis get quite as alarmed sometimes as the Tibetans, and not always without reason. The result of the above "broadly-conceived and continuous policy" is to be a trade of momentous importance. Has the lesson which Sir Douglas* Forsyth tardily learnt during his second mission and with more cautious associates no meaning for Mr. Markham, or has he been lending too willing an ear to the mercantile clique in the North of England? We cannot forget that influence from this quarter compelled Sir John Lawrence's

* To the end of 1873 Sir Douglas Forsyth made light of the difficulties of the road, over-estimated the population of Eastern Turkistan, and believed in the possibility of an extensive British trade across the Himalaya. He had then been once and Mr. Shaw twice to Yarkund. The latter was his companion in the first mission. His report from Kashgar, dated February 2nd, 1874 (Supplement to *Gazette of India*, April 18th 1874) is the first indication of a change of opinion. The views of his companions on the second occasion are as follows : "With the Kashgar Government the goods of the British trader up to a certain limit will, so far as appearances indicate, find a ready market, if not with the local merchants ; because cotton prints, muslins, broad cloths, silks, &c., are in great demand for the troops and officials amongst whom they are distributed by way of presents and in lieu of pay.

"With the people the wares usually brought by Russian traders, such as brass candlesticks, iron cauldrons and other hard-ware, with tea and some coarse cotton prints of peculiar pattern, promise to keep the favour

they at present enjoy.

"As to the comparative facilities for transit on the opposite sides, I can say nothing more than that if they are as great on the north as they are on the south, the competitors will have a fair field for their peaceful rivalry, and that too over as hard and wearying a bit of ground as is nowhere else to be found." (Dr. Bellew's *Kashmir and Kashgar*, pp. 386-7)

"The stout cotton cloths of Eastern Turkistan are well known for their durability in the markets of Badakshan and Russian Turkistan beyond the Thian Shan ; and there is a steady export trade in them from Kashgar, Yarkund and Khoten. The only foreign cotton goods that find a sale in Eastern Turkistan are the fine kinds, and muslin chintzes and prints, the manufacture of which is not yet understood, but the demand for these is limited by being beyond the means of the mass of the population. This fact should, I think, settle the question of any important market in that part of Central Asia for Manchester goods." (Colonel Gordon's *Roof of the World*, p. 51.)

Government to re-open the question of a survey for a railway to Western China, against their better-informed judgment, and with the expensive result of showing that their objections were right. We cannot ignore the unreasonableness of later demands which the manufacturers of Lancashire and Yorkshire have made with respect to their interests in the East. We cannot overlook the fact that these commercial gentlemen never risk a farthing of their own money in endeavouring to ascertain whether their belief in an extensive demand for their goods in Turkistan and Tibet is well-founded or not. Our own reading of history and geography leads us to an entirely opposite conclusion to that of Mr. Markham. If by unfettered intercourse is meant an abandonment by the intermediate States of their customs duties, we may expect to see this result achieved when the British Government has abandoned its own sea customs. If the epithet refers to improved means of communication, we can only express our surprise at the advocacy of a plan for making highways to a country which is little better than a wilderness; for, as we have shown, the western passes of Nepal only lead to uplands scantily inhabited by nomad tribes. The least impracticable route because it is the longest in territory, either British or under British control and the shortest in independent territory because it serves the least* sparsely occupied part of Tibet, and because on this side it may be improved at a not immoderate expense, is that which leads to the Jelep La. If the Indian Government is wise it will content itself with the establishment of a depôt in the neighborhood of the pass where Indian and Tibetan traders may meet and learn whether their respective countries have still any important wants which they can mutually satisfy. Their self-interest will accomplish more than costly English missions, and any development due to their exertions will, we believe, be small. To those who wish to study the progress of a much-vaunted and much-pushed Trans-Himalayan trade we recommend a careful perusal of the annual reports* of the British Commissioner at Leh. We regret

* From the Supplements to the *Gazette of India* for August 8th, 1874 and September 18th, 1875, we learn that the yearly totals of the trade through Ladak are as follows :—

	Co.'s Rs.
1863 ...	2,36,040
1864 66 ...	1,00,000
1867 ...	5,54,945
1868 ...	10,38,401
1869 ...	12,91,587
1870 ...	15,48,000
1871 ...	12,41,177

1872 ...	15,84,800
1873 ...	17,76,729
1874 ...	26,30,932

These figures, as the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab (Sir H. Davies) has for the last two years represented, are likely to mislead, for the imports and exports which constitute the trade are the same goods, and so the value of the trade is only about half the totals shown. A further reduction has also to be made for the cross trade between Cashmere and Chanthang

that we have not the figures to indicate at what outlay the comparatively insignificant results quoted below have been attained, but on the strength of the internal evidence which Sir Douglas Forsyth's report supplies, we doubt whether his last mission cost much less than four lacs of rupees. Possibly political advantages have been gained which are well worth the money, though it is difficult to reconcile such a supposition with the frequent assurance that the several missions were for commercial purposes only, just as it is difficult to understand how, in connection with the crucial question of the relations of England and Russia in the East, the country of Eastern Turkistan should be regarded as within the sphere of the former's influence. Under certain circumstances influence implies support, and it is a physical impossibility that the Indian Government should give the Ameer Yacoob Beg the only support which he would value if Russia made an unprovoked attack on him. The geographical results are most valuable. But so numerous a body of English officers would never have been deputed for the sole purpose of connecting the British and Russian surveys on the Chadir Kul or of finding out the Pamir puzzle. It is with the commercial aspect of the question that, following Mr. Markham's lead, we have specially concerned ourselves, and on that score what has been proved true of Eastern Turkistan may be prophesied of the less favourable circumstances of Tibet—*Le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle.*

which is included in these returns. The trade of Turkistan for the last three years is thus shown :—

	1872.	1873.	1874.
Imports from Turkistan to Leh ..	3,21,763	3,30,690	3,81,802
Exports from Leh to Turkistan ..	3,67,940	2,55,660	8,02,563
	6,89,703	5,86,350	11,84,365

The great increase of 1874 was chiefly due to the exportation of the previous years goods to the value of

Rs. 1,50,000 left behind in Leh owing to difficulties about carriage, and to the abnormal addition of Mr. Russell's venture, the value of which was over Rs. 3,00,000, and which consisted of expensive fabrics and firearms, for which the British Commissioner at Leh (Captain Molloy) was far from anticipating a ready sale. Our private information and the fact that Mr. Russell had to leave an assistant in Turkistan, whilst he himself returned to India, confirm the accuracy of this view.

THE DÎWÂN-I-HÂFIZ.*

EARLY in the fourteenth century, or just about the time when the 'morning-star of English song' was rising on the horizon in our own country, and the 'Canterbury Tales' were soon to yield a foretaste of what Shakespeare himself was one day to achieve, Muhammad Shams-ud-dîn Hâfiz, a poet of an order essentially his own, was born at Shirâz, then the capital of Persia. If an epithet so pregnant with the associations and redolent of the genius of ancient Greece can be held to possess much applicability or significance in a land so wholly dissimilar as Persia, then perhaps Hâfiz may correctly be described as a lyrical poet. Many of the pieces which form his Dîwân as it is called, or complete poetical series, though perhaps odes in point of style and metre, are from their subjects as little adapted to be set to any description of secular music as Wordsworth's 'Excursion,' or 'the Divine Comedy' itself. Other poems which occur in the same series are, however, true love songs, or *ghazals*; and, to the scandal of devout Musalmans, these are freely sung by professional musicians and others to the sound of the *rabâb* or Persian lyre. From one point of view, no doubt Hâfiz was to Persia what Anacreon and Horace were to Greece and Rome, Petrarch to Italy, and Burns to Scotland: indeed it would be easy to collect passages from Horace, Hâfiz, and Burns which more or less correspond with one another in meaning, if not always in form of expression. But so interwoven are the effusions of the Persian with veins of metaphysical thought, tender views of a near yet unsearchable God, and flights through the dim empyrean of mysticism, that, as in the case of our own Shelley and others, it has sometimes been asserted that his true place is

* In addition to a recent English translation of the 'Dîwân-i-Hâfiz,' which the writer of the present article has unfortunately not yet had an opportunity of seeing, the following may be referred to in connection with the poetry of Hâfiz:

The Works of Sir W. Jones, *passim*: especially, essay on the "Mystical poetry of the Persians and Hindus," contained in vol. iv.

Taylor's *History of Muhammadanism*.

Persian Literature (by Mr. Cowell) in the Oxford Essays for 1855.

Observations on the Musalmans of India by Mrs. Mir Hasan Ali, vol. ii.

Calcutta Review, vol. 26, Article, "Hâfiz:" also vol. 103, Article; "Persian Poetry with some translations from Hâfiz."

See also numerous English versions of Hâfiz' odes by Sir W. Jones, and others, in a work called *The Flowers of Persian Literature*: by S. Rousseau, published in 1801.

among the Platos and Coleridges, rather than among the poets properly so-called of ancient and modern times.

Hāfiz' countrymen seem to have regarded him with very mixed feelings, and in several different lights. During his lifetime his poems were viewed by doubtless a numerous class much as those of Burns' were throughout the West of Scotland at the time of their first appearance. That is, he was condemned as a scoffer, who would set at naught some of the most time-honoured prohibitions of the Muhammadan scriptures; substitute the functions of conscience for those commonly supposed to pertain to the ministers of religion; and generally unsettle men's faith in much of what others were determined that they should accept as the Commandment of God. Purity of heart was at the same time inculcated in his writings so much more earnestly than soundness of doctrine or 'straitness' of practice, that the orthodox fathers of the day became both alarmed and offended. And when at last the new teacher died, the fine old persecuting spirit, which unhappily is not even yet absolutely extinct, gave rise to a keen controversy as to whether he should be buried like a Musalman, or merely put out of sight, like a dog or a heretic. This question, it was at last agreed, should be settled in the sense of whatever stanza might meet the eye on Hāfiz' own Dīwān being opened at random; and when that was done, the following passage is said to have turned up:—

Kadam daiḡh madār az janāzah Hāfiz :
Agarchih ghark-i-gunāh ast mirawad bah bihisht.

or, in other words :

Why grudge your steps to Hāfiz' funeral train !
Though sunk in sin, his way to bliss is plain.

Nothing could have been more to the point than that; and the 'Scribes and Pharisees' of Shirāz—to use a Persian figure—must have 'bitten the finger of rage with the teeth of humiliation' when they saw Hāfiz' remains laid in a beautiful tomb of white marble, with two of his own odes engraved upon it by way of epitaph. To this day the garden which contains the poet's tomb is to pilgrims from many lands what the sepulchre on the banks of the Nith is to the admirers of Burns. And yet, if there be any truth in the story referred to above, then it deserves to be noted that he, who more than all its kings and nobles has proved the glory of his native Persia, obtained the privilege of being laid in a decent grave because of the direction

given by the blindest chance to an experiment suggested by the sheerest superstition.

The attempt to include Hâfiz among the excommunicated having thus failed, it became necessary for the satisfaction of all true believers somehow to reconcile the character and tendencies of his poetry with the odour of sanctity of which it had not been found possible to deprive him. Doubtless some of his verses must have proved sad stumbling-blocks in the way of all who undertook this charitable task. Thus, no amount of exegetical skill, or reference to distant contexts, could serve to saddle, for example, the following ode, with any other drift than this, namely, that so long as a man was 'fully persuaded in his own mind,' and kept his heart and conscience in a sound state, there was, "a time to weep, and a time to laugh; a time to mourn, and a time to dance;" and that many things which were generally called sinful, might nevertheless be indulged in with perfect safety and propriety. Thus wrote the poet:—

The Fast is over; and the Carnival come; and hearts are expanded;
The wine in the cellar is sparkling with ripeness; time it is 'twere sent for.

The heavy-hearted Pharisees (lit. piety-mongers) have had their innings;
Now may the lovers of pleasure rejoice and make merry.*

What blame to him who, like us, drinks wine! !
No fault is this, or error, in the eyes of the blithesome gallant.

* Thus also another Sûfi poet, the celebrated Umr-i-Khayyâm, even more pointedly:

"The Carnival has come, and all things will be bright,
As the face of a bridegroom.

The butler will make the red wine sparkle in the glass,
Like the eye of a game cock.

The halter of formalities, and the muzzle of fasting
Yet once again.

Will the Feast remove from the heads of these donkeys;
Alas! alas!

In another passage, the same poet, with a blade trenchant as G'ulfakâr, the celebrated sword of Ali (the Excalibur of Arabian mythology) thus draws from the commonly received Muhammadan conception of Heaven a fair enough argument in defence of certain earthly pleasures:

They tell us of a Heavenly garden,
Where the clear wine will sparkle, and dark-eyed damsels smile;

With joys like those hereafter,
Why not wine and woman now?

A drinker of wine in whom there is no guile
Is surely better than a Pharisee brimful of deceit and dissimulation

No practisers are we of hypocrisy or duplicity—
He to whom all secrets are known is our Witness to that.

• We break not God's Commandments ; neither wrong we any man ;
'Tis only this, that what they say is *not* permitted, we say *is* permitted.

What matters it, my friend, if you and I drink a few cups of wine—
'Tis but the blood of the grape, and not the blood of you or me.

No fault is this from which harm can follow ;
Or if fault it be, what then—where is the man who is faultless ?

The down on thy lip and the black mole on thy face make Hâfiz' head go
round, and round with love,
Like the compass : but the point of his heart is planted firmly in the right
place.

The simile contained in the last couplet of the above, while affording a good, if perhaps only too favourable, specimen of the 'conceits' which abound in Persian poetry, unfolds at the same time one of the characteristics of Hâfiz' school of morals. Thus, one leg of a pair of compasses expatiates over the periphery of the circle ; while the point of the other remains fixed in the pivot-spot in the centre. And so, it is contended, may one be to all outward appearance engrossed with this world's pleasures, writing, for example, a sonnet to his mistress' eyebrow to-day, and entering a 'Holy Friar,' or an 'Apology,' for the Derby or Great St. Leger to-morrow, while yet the hidden man of the heart remains firmly moored all the time in some safe spiritual anchorage. But without dwelling at present on this particular feature of Hâfiz' philosophical system, it is evident that nothing could well be more heretical, from a Muhammadan point of view, that is to say, than the whole sense or purport of the ode translated above. Thus, one expounder after another of the law and the prophets of Islamism has declared wine, not without much truth, to be the very *Umm-ul-klabâis*, that is, Mother of evils. Hâfiz, on the contrary, proclaims that if the drinking of it be a fault at all, it is a very trifling one. Nay more, and far worse, by saying that in partaking of this forbidden thing, he and those who thought with him, 'broke none of the commandments of God,' he impugned, if not the divine origin of the Kurân itself, certainly the divine authority of the generally received interpretations of it. The wonder indeed is, not that a decent burial was begrudged to his remains, but rather that he was allowed to live out his days at

all. Many a good Christian, for example Calvin, has sent 'a beloved brother' to the stake, or built him up alive in a stone wall, for a smaller matter.

The Shîrâzîs, however, having once fairly been shut up to the necessity of accepting Hâfiz, and making the most of him that was possible in the circumstances, seem to have done so with all their heart. For example, the objectionable ode translated above was often omitted altogether when his works were being transcribed. In a beautiful copy now before us, written at Shîrâz about three hundred and fifty years ago, no trace of the above poem is to be found; while in very many of the printed editions of the poet's works, by means of an ingenious, but to our thinking wholly inadmissible, shifting of a diacritical point from above to below the consonant to which it belongs, the word rendered by us '*we break not*' has been transmuted into a confession that '*we do break*' God's law in acting, that is, as if the use of wine had not been prohibited. Obviously, however, Hâfiz' heterodoxy, if such it was really to be considered, was far too deeply hefted in his writings to be eliminated by any such partial expedients as the suppression, even had that been possible, of a few of his odes, or the toning down of one or two specially undesirable statements or expressions. And since toleration, and even admiration, had been accorded to him, the only way out of the difficulty was to identify him with a certain class of sages and religious teachers known throughout the East as *Sûfis*; (*σοφισταί*);* whose privilege it was to discourse in parables or allegories; to say one thing, and mean another; and to urge men towards their own peculiar conception of a religious life in language such as sounded in the ears of the uninitiated as calculated and intended to turn their footsteps in precisely the opposite direction.

In the form presented by it in Hâfiz' age and country, *Sûfism*, or the profession of the *Sûfi*, may perhaps be best described as an ascetical and more or less cynical development of rationalistic deism, or pantheism—a kind of natural and wholly esoteric religion, having its abode neither in scriptures nor in temples, but in the heart and conscience of every human being who by means of seclusion and meditation can attain to communion with his Creator. Fruitful hotbed of delusion as *Sûfism* has inevitably proved, it should not be forgotten that the self-same system, in its older, and, to us at least, better-known guise of Vedantism, re-

* Taylor would derive *Sûfi* from *Sof*; which he says signifies a "coarse woollen dress worn by devotees." In Arabic dictionaries, however, the word *Sof* itself is recognised as Greek, and interpreted as meaning *wisdom*: so that in all pro-

bability, if the dress of the *Sûfis* be known as a *Sof*, the garb has taken its name from the wearers, not, as supposed by Taylor, the wearers, *i.e.*, the *Sûfis*, from their garb.

presented perhaps the very earliest conception that ever dawned on the unaided human reason of the absolute oneness or unity of God ; having formed in its original stage neither more nor less than a protest on the part of some of the greatest thinkers of antiquity—Plato, for instance, among the number—against the polytheistic beliefs which prevailed around them, the first cleft, as it were, in the murky sky of ancient heathendom, or false dawn which preceded the true advent of morning. Not satisfied with declaring merely the unity of God, the Vedantists, and with them the Sūfis, assign to the one object of their worship the most purely abstract qualities and attributes. Thus, the God of the Sūfis, instead of being clothed, like the mythical magnates of Mount Olympus, in a whole panoply of purely human characteristics, is represented often in striking and sublime language, as an absolutely abstract entity ; filling his own eternity, but caring for nothing, exercising no functions, and wholly absorbed in his own incomprehensible, uncreated, and unchangeable existence.

Views resembling those so exquisitely illustrated in the *Phædo* of the great Athenian, touching the intimate union between the soul of man and the divine essence, form a further and integral portion of the same system ; and the Sūfi holds that the human soul, being not merely *from* God, but *of* God, and being in its own nature perfectible, can attain even in this life reunion with the Creator, by means of earnest contemplation ; the avoidance of all earthly ties or affections ; and the habitual cherishing of devotional thought and desire. Absolute negation being the alpha and the omega of this strange idealism, faith, good works, and virtue of every kind are all set on one side ; and are regarded indeed as hindrances rather than helps in the path (*tarikāt*) of rapt adoration. Starting indeed from the ordinary level of sober-minded humanity, where obedience to the precepts of the Kurān is admitted to be obligatory, the devotee (*salik*) rises by regularly defined gradations (*manzillāt*), first to the stage of Sūfism, where he becomes an '*ʿasād admi*,' that is, one raised above the need of all religious forms or ordinances ; whence, with the aid of inspiration, or the divine afflatus working within him, he grows first of all lost to sense, and dead to this transitory world ; ultimately reaching the fourth or highest stage ; when he is recognised as '*Wāsil b' Illāh*,' or one entirely absorbed into the divine essence. That down-right madness should often be the result, if not perhaps rather the precursor, of entering on a religious profession like that now described is hardly to be wondered at, seeing that something of the same kind has been witnessed even in the less ardent latitudes of our own country, from the days of Mucklewrath down to those of others who need not be named. Indeed, Hāfiz' own uncle,

the thoroughly practical *Sâdî* whose '*Bustân*,'* it should however be observed, is itself surcharged with Sûfism, is said to have on one occasion uttered a prophecy that his nephew's poetry would bring the curse of insanity on its readers. One of the most striking peculiarities of Sûfî writers is a certain highly figurative style of language which is employed by them in referring to the various features and phases of the religious life. Specimens of the same fervent and imaginative form of expression are familiar to us all in the prophecies of Isaiah, and still more remarkable in the Song of Solomon; and some of our most orthodox English divines, Isaac Barrow for example, who, however, had studied both at Smyrna and Constantinople, have described in scarcely less highly coloured language than that of Sûfism itself, the rapturous sensations which the soul is capable of experiencing under "*the sweetest influences and most consoling embraces*" of its

* The following beautiful translation by Sir W. Jones, of a passage in the third Book of the *Bustân* of Shaikh Maslih-ud-dîn Sâdî, the great poet and moralist of Persia, throws a certain amount of light on Sûfism in its more moderate form :

"The love of a being composed like thyself of water and clay destroys thy patience and peace of mind : it excites thee in thy waking hours with minute beauties : and engages thee in thy sleep with vain imaginations. With such real affection dost thou lay thy head at her feet, that the universe, in comparison with her, vanishes into nothing before thee ; and since thy gold allures not her eye, gold and mere earth appear equal in thine. Not a breath dost thou utter to any one else ; for, with her, thou hast no room for any other. Thou declarest that her abode is in thine eye ; or, when thou closest it, in thy heart. Thou hast no fear of censure from any man ; thou hast no power to be at rest for a moment ; if she demands thy soul, it runs instantly to thy lips. Since an absurd love, with its basis on air, affects thee so violently, and commands thee with a sway so despotic, canst thou wonder that they who walk in the true path are drowned in the sea of mysterious adoration ? They disregard life through affection for its giver ; they abandon the world through remembrance of its maker ;

they are inebriated with the melody of their amorous plaints ; they remember their beloved and resign to him both this life and the next. Through remembrance of God, they shun all mankind ; they are so enamoured of the cup-bearer, that they spill the wine from the cup. No panacea can heal them ; for no mortal can be apprized of their malady ; so loudly has rung in their ears, from eternity without beginning, the divine query, addressed to myriads of assembled souls, '*art thou of God?*' with the tumultuous reply, "*we are.*" They are a sect fully employed, but sitting in retirement ; their feet are of earth, but their breath is a flame ; * * * like stone, they are silent, yet repeat God's praises. At early dawn, their tears flow so copiously as to wash from their eyes the black powder of sleep. * * * So enraptured are they with the beauty of Him, who decorated the human form, that with the beauty of the form itself they have no concern."

Such is the strange language of the Sûfis. Like a reed torn from its native grove, and made into a flute, the soul of the Sûfî is supposed to be ever bewailing its severance from the divine essence : ever panting and flickering in expectation of its extinction, or disengagement from earthly bonds, so that it may be finally reunited with its only beloved.

Creator. By classing Hâfiz with the Sûfis, the scandal which his amorous and Bacchanalian verses, if understood in a literal sense, were apt to occasion was of course got over ; for the love of which he sang then admitted of being understood as referring to no mere worldly passion, but to the soul's earnest panting after union with God : ' wine ' being similarly interpreted as the type of devotion, or religious ardour ; the ' cup-bearer,' of the divine spirit ; the ' tavern,' of the devotee's cell ; and inebriation, or libertinism itself, of that exalted point in the religious life at which the soul, having become reunited with God, is thought to have cast away all the trammels of mortality. Whether Hâfiz really was a Sûfi, or only infused into his poetry as much Sûfism as would serve to secure for him the toleration of his countrymen ; or again, whether he was merely as other men are at the time of composing certain of his odes, and a sincere convert to Sûfism at the time of composing certain others, are points which it is hard to clear up ; the difficulty being increased by the circumstance of his effusions not being arranged in the order in which they were written, but after a certain alphabetical sequence peculiar, so far as we are aware, to the poetry of the Persians. At one time of his life at least he can have been no ascetic. Several of his finest songs contain unmistakeable allusions to various fair ones of Shirâz ; one of whom, a certain ' Shâkh-i-nabât, or 'stalk of sugar-cane,' whose 'sweetly-pretty' name tradition has chanced to preserve to us, evidently occupied towards the poet the same relation that Cinera and others did to Horace. And in any case, the Sûfism of the Diwân-i-Hâfiz, whether genuine or merely artistic, is to the high-flown mysticism of such works, as for example, the *Masnawî of Maulânâ Jalâl-ud-Dîn Rûmî*, very much what the moderate views of English divines of the Parson Trulliber school may be said to be, when compared with the glowing enthusiastic piety of a Wilberforce or a Simeon. If, as may have been the case, Hâfiz' Sûfism was more assumed than real, then he certainly showed his wisdom in tincturing his poetry with only just so much of it as would serve his immediate purpose ; seeing that Sûfism, if the truth be stated, is, or ought to be, as repugnant as latitudinarianism, or even as libertinism itself, to every true follower of the Arabian prophet. The national poetry of Persia, indeed, has always been pervaded by a vein of mysticism ; and the Muhammadan conquerors of the country no doubt suffered a certain portion of the same spirit to transfuse itself into their own hardier and purer faith. And yet Sûfism is as far removed as polytheism itself from the true genius of Islam. The Kurân is wholly free from it. And orthodox Muhammadan parents of the present day see, perhaps, in the Sûfism of the Diwân-i-Hâfiz

even a stronger reason than* in its 'Broad-churchism' for not generally including it among their children's lesson-books. And yet if there be books which are praised by all, and read by none, the *Diwân-i-Hâfiz* may be cited as at least one book which even they who feel bound to censure it, do so as if they loved it in their hearts; and which in point of fact is read and valued alike by orthodox and heterodox, saint and sinner, wherever the name of Muhammad himself is known. *Mullas* and *Mujtahids*, when the horse-shoe of their hearts waxes warm on the anvil of theological disputation, ply one another with whole staves of it; and gray-bearded statesmen love to apply its precepts, or even its allegories, to the conduct of real affairs.* Owing perhaps to the happy solution yielded by its pages, as described above, to the question about Hâfiz' own obsequies, the book is still regarded as the one of all others from which to draw an augury. Though Hindu astrologers are, as a matter of fact, freely consulted in this way even by educated Musalmans, yet such references are looked on by those who make them somewhat in the same dubious light as were the trafficings of the Jewish king with the witch of Endor. But no one feels the slightest sense of impropriety in seeking for an omen, or '*fa'al*' as it is termed, by means of a random glance at Hâfiz. Naturally this custom is specially prevalent among the so-called weaker sex; and the mistress of a Muhammadan household never has any doubt in her own mind, or suffers her husband, poor man, to have any doubt about it either, that a certain *fatihâ*, or religious picnic, to the tomb of her favourite saint will come off exactly as she has arranged it, provided an omen has been drawn on the subject from *Khawâja* Hâfiz, and has proved favourable.† To account

* Thus as recently as Sir J. Malcolm's days, a noted frontier robber, having been seized and sentenced to death, sent in a petition to the Viceroy or Governor of the province, setting forth his own merits, and

praying not only for his life, but to be taken into favour. His Excellency's answer, endorsed with his own hand on the back of the petition, consisted merely of the following couplet from Hâfiz;—

Haif ast tairi chûn tû dar in khâk-dân i dahr
Zin jâ, bah ashian-i-wafâ mî firistamat ;

that is

Pity, to see a bird like thee should linger in this dust-hole of a world ;
Out of such a place to perfection's nest I am sending thee.

†. Venerated books have been put to similar uses in Christian as well as Muhammadan countries. Thus, for example, Effie Deans, in the "Heart of Mid Lothian" when her sister, the immortal Jeanie, comes

to visit her in her cell in the Tolbooth, is made to address her as follows :—"Na, na, Jeanie, a' was ower when once I forgot what I promised when I folded down the leaf of my Bible. "See," she said,

for the remarkable popularity thus enjoyed by Hâfiz is not perhaps very easy. Neither the purity and almost feminine softness of his diction, nor the sublimity of the regions sometimes traversed by his muse, furnishes of itself an adequate explanation. But it may be well to note in passing that his writings are nowhere marred by any of those vulgar excrescences, or 'broad allusions' from which the author of the *Gulistan*, for example, is not altogether free. In some of his odes, indeed, the colouring is laid on with a warmth and boldness, coupled with a verisimilitude and individuality of outline, reminding one of the pictures of Rembrandt; but the limits of propriety are nowhere over-stepped. Still less can any of his sentiments be described, whether by his own co-religionists or others, as in the slightest degree profane, or bordering on the impious. On the contrary, indeed, the spirit of humility and child-like reverence with which he invariably alludes to things passing the human understanding, forms one of the characteristic features of his writings. To a certain extent the admiration bestowed on his poetry by even strict and comparatively orthodox Musalmans must be taken as indicative of the very general diffusion of Sûfism, or at all events of a strong sympathy with its tenets and their professors, throughout Turkey, Persia, and Hindustan, notwithstanding its antagonism to the teaching of Muhammad. Human nature is stronger than even the strongest religious systems. And so inborn in at all events the Asiatic mind does a belief in, and reverence for, saints, darweshes, and ascetics seem to be, that the most enlightened are as incapable as the most ignorant of shaking themselves free from superstitions of this particular description. But leaving Sûfism out of the question altogether, we can imagine at least two distinct states of mind in which Hâfiz' poems would be turned to with delight by his countrymen; the first when youth had filled the sails, and doubts arisen whether all the pleasant things with which this world teems are really forbidden; the second, when the soul, wearied with its aspirations after truth, had begun to exclaim that no truth is to be found, that life is but a vain show and an illusion, and the mystery of existence a problem lying beyond the grasp of the human understanding. Just such a sense of the insufficiency of our own powers it would appear to be that urges some among ourselves to seek refuge in the Church of Rome; whose theory of infallibility is doubtless calculated to allay all mental throes and struggles, even as opium puts an end to the pains and toils of

producing the sacred volume, "the book opens aye at the place of itself. O, see, Jeanie, what a fearful scripture." Jeanie took her sister's Bible, and found that the fatal mark was

made at this impressive text in the Book of Job: "He hath stripped me of my glory; and taken the crown from my head," &c., &c., &c.

the body. Hâfiz, on the other hand, feeling himself but a sinner, knowing of nothing at all resembling infallibility, and having only the poor lamp of human reason to guide him, simply called upon his disciples not to expose themselves to the buffetings of a sea without a shore ; to abandon the search after truth altogether ; to rest satisfied, like John Stuart Mill, with knowing that there is nothing man can ever know ; to enjoy the present ; and leave the undiscoverable conditions of futurity unexplored. For Descartes and others, doubt has formed at once the starting point in the pursuit of truth, and an instrument towards its attainment. But Hâfiz and his school have made doubt itself their final end or resting-place ; and rejecting all the interpretations offered by others of the great problems of human life, have refused even to attempt arriving at new interpretations of their own.

The following couplet, taken from one of Hâfiz' best-known odes, and evidently written during his own first youth, may serve to illustrate the *former* of the two phases just described as belonging to his poetry :—

Hâfiz chih shud, ar aashik, o rind ast, o nazar bâz :
Bas taur i ajab lazim i aiyâm i shabâb ast :

Which may be rendered thus :

What the worse is Hâfiz, if he be a lover, a gallant, and a stealer
of sly glances ;
Many a playful way beseems the spring-time of life.

Similarly in the following, a hint equally broad and reassuring is thrown out that they who partake freely of the cup of this world's pleasures may not after all be such transgressors as some of those who condemn them :—

Hâfizâ, mai khûr, o rindî kun, o khûsh bâsh : Wall.
Dâm-i-tazvîr makun, chûn digarân, Kuân râ :

Which means,—

Drink wine, O Hâfiz, and indulge in pleasure, and let thy heart
be glad within thee : BUT—
Make not withal of the Kuân a cloak of hypocrisy, after the
manner of others.

The following again are specimens of verses in which the futility of metaphysical speculation is inculcated :—

Speak³ to me of the minstrel and of wine : and puzzle not about
the secret of eternity :
For it is past the power of human wisdom to solve this enigma.

Or, again, what more absolute statement of pure and dreary negation could be set before us than the following :—

Perplex not your brain about what is, and what is not, but be easy :

For non-existence is the end of every excellence that exists.

Or, yet once again :

Let not (intellect's) feathery pinion carry you out of the path
for the arrow from the bow

Sped for a space through the heavens, and then buried itself in
the earth.

Reserving to the last the few remarks which we feel competent to offer touching Hâfiz as a poet, in the more commonly received acceptation of that term, the following complete versions of three of his philosophical or didactic odes are here presented to the reader. Our renderings do not profess to be strictly literal. Very possibly, they may not in every instance even convey, as we hope they do, the exact meaning of the original ; more especially as there has been no opportunity of submitting them to competent revision. We need hardly say therefore that we shall feel indebted to any of our readers who may be able and willing to point out any inaccuracies which may have occurred :

Now that the wine-cup is sparkling in the rose's hand,
And the nightingale is singing her praises with her hundred thousand tongues,

Send thou for a bundle of poems, and off with thee to the country :

What season this for the academy, and the disputations and lectures of the philosopher !

Last night, the professor of theology himself was in his cups ;
and thus laid down the law,
Wine may be forbidden : yet better drink wine than consume the
endowments of religion.

Not thine to say of this, it is dregs ; or of that, it is pure wine :
be thou silent,
And receive as the highest of favors whatever is poured out by
the cup-bearer.

Separate thyself from mankind : and learn a lesson from the
unseen bird of fable ;
For the fame of the recluse circles round and round the world.

Your faith and mine, my friends, is to the traditions of those who
cavil at us,
What the fine flagree of the goldsmith is to the coarse handiwork
of the mat-weaver.

Be silent, O Hâfiz, and these precepts rare as the red gold
Guard thou jealously: for the city Mint Master is himself a maker
of counterfeit coin.

The ode or poem of which the above is offered as a translation has at least the merit of illustrating several features of its author's style. Its first couplet, as will be seen, is the only passage containing any direct reference to natural objects. In our own country, where savage wild beasts are unknown, and robbers are rarely encountered, only pleasurable sensations are excited in the mind whether by actual contact with nature in her sterner moods, or by such pictures of sublime and rugged scenery as may be presented through the medium of poetical description. But in the case of the Persian, the first idea that would be suggested to him whether by a real or imaginary prospect of, for example, a Highland pass, or a sunset among the mountains, would in all probability relate to wild beasts or banditti, or something equally uncomfortable and unromantic.* Hence, it is not surprising that the poet in casting about him for some pleasing key-note to his lay, goes no further afield than his reader's own well-inclosed *Gulistan*, or rose garden; where the 'Queen of Flowers' is depicted as having just unfolded her red petals, or figuratively, 'taken a cup of ruby wine in her hand, while her lover the nightingale,—the *πομφολοισβος* of Persian poetry—is serenading her with a volume of voluptuous song. The rose, having thus performed her part, disappears from the stage, somewhat after the fashion of the 'Sensitive plant' of Shelley: and the reader having been sent away in imagination to his pleasant 'Sabine Farm,' and placed mentally in a proper attitude for listening, the poet then proceeds to expound his philosophy to him. The way in which, towards the middle of the ode, Hâfiz retires all of a sudden into his 'tub' of mysticism, and begins extolling the advantages of Sûfi seclusion is thoroughly characteristic. The hint, too, about the *fame* accruing to the devotee from the singularity of life which he makes it his business to display is worth noting. The

* Without travelling so far out of our way as Persia, see in the 'Heart of Mid Lothian' the sentiments which mountain scenery sometimes inspires even in the minds of our own countrymen. "As for the matter of that" said mine host of the 'Saracen's Head,' at Newark, to a Scottish travel-

ler, who was complaining of the flatness of the country she was passing through on her route to London "an' you be so fond of hill, I carena' an' thou could'st carry Gunnerby away with thee in thy lap; for it's a murder to post horses."

true Sûfî holds himself absolutely aloof from all human patrons. But there is nothing more common in Eastern countries than for rascals and adventurers of every kind to assume the profession of the saint, merely in hopes of attracting the notice of the great.

The way in which some of the poet's own special doctrines are, as it were, wrapped up in the strange tenets and phraseology of mysticism in the ode next to be presented to the reader, is very original and striking; while one inherent feature of Sûfîism, *viz.*, fatalism, is at the same time exhibited :—

Rail not, O pure-souled Pharisee, at the followers of pleasure ;
The sin of another will not be written down to thee.

What of me, whether saint or sinner, go, see thou to thyself !
Let each reap at last that which he has sowed.

All mankind, the sober and the intoxicated alike, are seekers after
the Friend ;
Every place alike, whether Mosque or Synagogue, is a house of Love.

As for me, I have laid myself in the dust of the tavern doorway.
If the cavalier understand not sound words, let his head be broken
with a brick.

Make me not to despair before the Day of Judgment ;
What knowest thou, behind the curtain who comely, who unsightly.

Not I alone have been cut off from Piety's fold :
My father likewise let slip from his grasp the everlasting Paradise.

Rest not upon good works, O my master, for in the beginning,
What the creative pen may have written opposite thy name is all
unknown to thee

If thy soul's very essence be purity, still O pure one, beware !
If virtue's self reside within thee, yet alas for thee, O virtuous one !

Passing sweet are the gardens of the Blessed : and yet bethink ye !
And enjoy while ye may this world's willow shade, and waving fields !

O Hâfiz, what if in the hour of death you take a wine-cup in your hand,
Yet at one bound will the freed soul pass from the street of the
vintners to the heavenly mansions.

Odes like the above have been used to support the theory that Hâfiz was at heart a Christian; and it is more than probable that, like the founder of the Muhammadan faith himself, he may have had a book or traditional acquaintance with the teaching of Jesus. Parallelisms might even be attempted between some of the senti-

ments expressed in the course of the verses just translated, and one or two of the doctrines which are usually associated with the name of the great French reformer. But the teaching of Hâfiz, like that of Burns, had in truth, and as a whole, far less of the theology of Calvin about it than of the theology of the Sermon on the Mount. And the 'Prodigal Son of the Church of Scotland,' as Dean Stanley has finely called him, when he wrote the following lines, was only preaching what the 'Prodigal Son' of Persian Islamism had preached before him in many a noble poem :

"Then gently scan your brother man,
Still gentler sister woman."

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"Who made the heart, 'tis He alone
Decidedly can try us ;
He knows each chord—its various tone,
Each spring, its various bias :"

Then at the balance let's be mute,
We never can adjust it ;
What's *done* we partly may compute,
But know not what's *resisted*.

One other translation we propose offering to the reader :—

These are days when the only safe companions
Are a flask of pure wine, and a roll of love-songs.

Hold on your way alone, for safety's path is a narrow one ;
Take the wine-cup in your hand : sweet life ebbs once and for ever.

Not I alone of all men am sad because of short-comings :
The unhappiness even of the wise is because of theory without
practice.

Wisdom's eye, as it scans life's dangerous ferry,
Sees naught of stability, naught of reality, in the world and its
affairs.

My heart was filled with hope that Thy countenance would be
revealed to me :
But Fate stands in life's path, the very highwayman of hope.

The visage that has been marked from the beginning with misfor-
tune's black impress
Cannot be made bright by washing and washing : and so of all
things.

Lay thou hold of the ringlet of some moon-faced charmer, and
read not vain fables :
Good fortune is all of Venus ; sinister of Saturn.

Apt to decay is every edifice the eye can discover ;
Saving only Nave's own palace, which is free from flaw or breach.

In no age will they find one so composed
As our Hâfiz ; inflamed as he is with the wine of eternity.

The practice of virtue, whether for its own sake or as forming part of a theory of good works, being foreign to the whole scheme of Sûfism as such, as has been shown above, injunctions of an ethical character would have been met with even less frequently than they are in Hâfiz' writings, had the poet himself been a Sûfi and nothing more. In the following couplet, however an excellent moral precept is drawn from the instability of human prosperity :—

Fortune's favour is but a ten days' fiction, or fable :
Find then, O my friends, the opportunity of doing good to your fellows.

One of the greatest and best of our own poets and countrymen, towards the close of a noble life, recorded it, if we remember rightly, in his journal, as one of his chief sources of consolation, that he did not recollect ever having neglected a legitimate opportunity of helping a brother man. Were the principle thus inculcated by Hâfiz, and practised by Sir Walter Scott, ever to become general, what a change in the conditions of humanity would be produced by it, to be sure !

Further on in the ode from which the above couplet is taken, there occurs the following passage : which we quote partly for its own sake, and partly as illustrating the difficulty sometimes met with in fixing the meaning of writers belonging to another age, and using another language than our own :—

Peace for both worlds is wrapped up in these two principles ;
With friends courtesy, with enemies humility.

Now the word translated 'humility' (*mudârâ*) has the following meanings assigned to it in one of the best Arabic dictionaries : 'humility,' 'civility,' 'politeness,' 'dissimulation.' So that the question of whether Hâfiz taught the doctrine, merely of *disarming* our enemies, by means of a gentle and unassuming demeanour, or of *circumventing* them, by means of actual deceit or hypocrisy, can be answered only by those competent to decide whether the poet used a certain word in its primary, or derivative sense of dissembling ; or in its secondary, and apparently common and conventional signification of conciliating, or propitiating.

To attempt a comparison between Hâfiz and any of those great masters of the lyre with whom he is commonly bracketed seems to us a profitless task : and we do not even propose presenting

our readers with specimens of any of his purely lyrical compositions. Every harp demands the touch of its own peculiar minstrel ; or, at all events, it is not every form of poetry which admits of being transplanted ' from the garden where it grew ' to a foreign and possibly uncongenial soil. Some few verses there may be which, like Sappho's well-known lines to evening,—

“ Ἐσπερε πάντα φερεῖς,
Φερεῖς οἶνον, φερεῖς αἶγα—
Φερεῖς μᾶτέρνηπαιδᾶ—”

cannot fail to produce their own essentially poetical and pleasing effects, disguise them in whatever garb we may. Thus, the *παντα* which the going down of the sun brings to every human heart and body suggest themselves, with all the force and freshness of poetry's prime, the moment the word is read ; whether it be in the Sultan's palace, the Maori's hut, or the English labourer's cottage ; and even the slight and graceful amplification which the second and third lines contain was scarcely needed to give completeness to so universally intelligible a picture.* But turn to something rather more complicated, and take, for example, the Witch scene in Macbeth, or Burns' inimitable Cantata of ' the Jolly Beggars.' Translate those, one or both, into Persian, and present them in their Eastern dress before a Shirāz assembly, and the sensations produced in every mind will, we answer for it, be the very opposite of any of those which it is generally understood to be the province of poetry to awaken. Nay more ; submit, were it possible to do so, the themes of those masterpieces of genius to the anatomical treatment of our own Crabbe, and see how much, or how little, of the poetry of them would survive the process. All that is now being stated is so evident when applied to our own side of this matter, that the wonder is similar results should not be looked for when, for example, Persian poetry comes to be translated into English prose or verse. Where there is no community of thought—no intimate knowledge of one another—there can, obviously, be no sympha-

* Thus Byron, sending down the pitcher of his own imagination into the tiny Pierian spring of Sappho's lines, draws it up again with the following thoughts bubbling on the brim :

“ O Hesperus, thou bringest all good things ;
Home to the weary, to the hungry cheer ;
To the young bird, the parent's brooding wings ;
The welcome stall to the o'er-laboured steer ;
Whate'er of peace about our hearth-stone clings,
Whate'er our household gods protect of dear,
Are gathered round us by the look of rest ;
Thou bring'st the child too to the mother's breast.”

thy ; where no sympathy, no appreciation, far less admiration. Horace and Homer, or even Virgil and Sophocles, it is true, have been made famous all over the civilized world partly through the medium of translations. But then it has to be remembered that one result of our long established methods of education has been to cover Europe with large surfaces, so to speak, of ground where the mere mention of the great classical authors of antiquity serves to excite associations only a few degrees less sacred than those of the fatherland ; where more is known about Troy perhaps than about the nearest capital city ; and where the names of Augustus and Maecenas, Ajax and Ulysses, come home to the heart like household words, ' *Whatever you do with your sons, send them into the world saturated with Homer,*' said, in substance at least, a famous professor of Greek, on a great public occasion, a few years ago. How much of the spell exercised by Homer throughout many other lands than his own is due to the intrinsic and abstract excellence of his wonderful epics, and how much to the spirit of love and veneration with which the whole world has come to regard him, is far too knotty a point for us to discuss. But the vantage ground which an author occupies toward foreign readers when these approach him 'saturated' with the language, philosophy, and associations of his own times and country, must be sufficiently obvious. Among English scholars we know only of Sir W. Jones who, from his multifarious learning, not less than from the philosophical structure of his mind, has been able to deal with Hāfiz and other Eastern poets in that spirit of pure analysis which should always precede the forming of conclusions. Now this unquestionable judge has not hesitated to quote a certain ode of Hāfiz as not unlike a sonnet ascribed to Shakespeare himself ; and though far too ripe a critic to place on the same level as Homer any of the heroic poets who have succeeded him, yet he declares a 'very great resemblance' to exist between even the Iliad and Fardosi's great epic of the Shāhnāma. Both poets, he maintains, drew their images from nature herself ; without catching them only by reflection, that is, painting the likeness of a likeness ; and both, he adds, possessed in an eminent degree that rich and creative invention which is the very soul of poetry. So full indeed was the measure of appreciation which Sir W. Jones accorded to Hāfiz and other Persian poets, in an essay on the poetry of Eastern Nations, that he felt called upon to conclude his remarks as follows :

" I must request that, in bestowing these praises on the writings of Asia, I may not be thought to derogate from the merit of the Greek and Latin poems which have justly been admired in every age ; yet I cannot but think that our European poetry has subsisted too long on the perpetual repetition of the same images

and incessant allusions to the same fables; and it has been my endeavour for several years to inculcate this truth, that if the principal writings of the Asiatics which are repositied in our public libraries were printed, with the usual advantage of notes and illustrations, and if the languages of the eastern nations were studied in our great seminaries of learning, where every other branch of useful knowledge is taught to perfection, a new and ample field would be opened for speculation; we should have a more extensive insight into the history of the human mind; we should be furnished with a new set of images and similitudes; and a number of excellent compositions would be brought to light which future scholars might explain, and future poets might imitate."

In the case at least of Hâfiz, the marked influence which his writings have exercised on the Muhammadan character, and on the course of thought, in every portion of the East, during all the centuries that have elapsed since his time, has been more than once adverted to in the course of this article. At Constantinople it is said, his poems "are venerated as divine compositions." Throughout Muhammadan India, as well as in his own native Persia, he is to this day, as has been shown above, more often quoted perhaps than any other author. And, remembering the force of the old saying of Fletcher of Saltoun's, '*give me the making of a people's songs, and any one who likes may make their laws*,' we cannot help arriving at the conclusion that, judged of merely by the ascendancy which he has so long maintained among his own countrymen and co-religionists, a place among the master spirits of the human race must certainly be assigned to Hâfiz.

THE CORSAIRS OF THE ISLE OF FRANCE.

By COL. G. B. MALLESon, C. S. I.

BETWEEN the peace of Versailles and the outbreak of the Revolutionary war, the French Marine was but thinly represented on the Indian seas. But when in 1793, war was declared between the two nations, the flag of the French Republic, that flag which so soon was "to make the tour of Europe," appeared again to animate those whom it represented to fight, not on this occasion for victory, but for existence.

For, indeed, at the outset of the struggle the navy of France was far from being in a condition to combat the ships of her ancient rival with any prospect of success. The nobility, from which its officers had been drawn, had emigrated in large numbers, and the democratic principle, which had been introduced upon the ruins of that which had crumbled away because its foundations had rotted, had been denied the opportunity granted to the land forces of developing, on the spur of the moment, a perfect system of promotion and command. Nevertheless, even under these trying circumstances, the navy of France proved not unworthy of the renown it had inherited from Tourville, from Duguay-Trouin, from Jean Bart, from de Forbin,* and from Suffren. The battle of the 1st June, fought by an untried admiral, with a fleet in no way superior to its enemy in numbers and weight of metal, and newly officered from the lowest to the highest grade,† was indeed a defeat,

* The memoirs of the Count de Forbin, Commodore of the French Navy in the time of Louis XIV, were considered so remarkable, that they were translated into English and published in London in the year 1731.

† Rear Admiral Kerguelen, writing at the time, gives an animated description of the flagrant mode in which officers were appointed to the ships of war "by charlatans and ignorant empirics." He gives details to prove his statements. Captain Brenton, R. N., writing on the same

subject, says: "The French fleet was no longer manned and officered as in the splendid times of Louis XIV. * * Most of the seamen had been marched to the Rhine and the Moselle to fill the ranks of the army, and their places were supplied by wretched conscripts and fishermen. The captains of the line were men totally unqualified from their habits for such a station; they had been, with few exceptions, masters of merchantmen, and knew nothing of the signal book or of the mode of conducting a ship of war."

though not a very decisive defeat; yet who will say that under all the circumstances of the case, that defeat even was not glorious to the French arms?

Another cause which tended at this period to the demoralisation and injury of the French fleet, was the intense party-feeling which prevailed throughout the country. It was this party-feeling that induced Toulon, one of the great harbours of France, to revolt against the established form of government in the country. This revolt caused the loss to the French of twenty ships of the line and twenty-five frigates. Of these, three ships of the line, one of 120 guns, and twelve frigates, fell into the hands of the English—not conquered in fair fight, but betrayed by the partisans of the used-up race which France had expelled.

France, then, thus heavily weighted at starting, could dream no more of conquests on the Indian seas. She could not even defend her possessions on the mainland of India. These fell without a struggle to her fortunate rival. But she could still protect the islands, to the chief of which she had lent her own fair name; she could still protect her commerce; she could still inflict damage on the commerce of her enemy.* But to carry out this programme on the Indian waters, she had now no fleet available. To light squadrons, to single ships, to privateers, she had to leave these arduous duties. The deeds which were under such circumstances accomplished possess an interest all their own. Some of those performed by the privateers are worthy to be classed with the achievements of Duquesne, of Duguay-Trouin, and of Jean Bart.

Conspicuous amongst the commanders of these privateers was Robert Sucof. His exploits were so intimately connected with the Indian seas; he took so leading a part in the devastation of English commerce from the very outbreak of hostilities, that I make no apology for bringing him at once before my readers, as one of the most considerable and the most successful of the naval adventurers with whom our countrymen had to deal on the Indian waters.

The advantages offered by the Isle of France and Bourbon as

* That she was successful is shown by the following tables taken from the official documents.—

		Merchant Ships taken by the French from the English.		Merchant Ships taken by the English from the French.	
In 1793	...	...	261	...	63
" 1794	...	...	527	...	88
" 1795	...	...	502	...	47
" 1796	...	...	414	...	63
" 1797	...	...	562	...	114
		2,266		375	

} Being a proportion in five years of more than six to one.

a refuge for French cruisers, whence these could sally to commit depredations upon British commerce, induced the British authorities to despatch, in the early part of 1794, a squadron to watch and blockade the islands. This squadron, originally intended to consist of four ships, was finally composed only of the *Centurion*, 50, Captain Osborne, and the *Diomedé*, 44, Captain Smith.

The islands, in the first throes of the revolution, had been virtually abandoned to their own resources by the mother country, nor did the latter fully resume her protective control until after the events of the 18 Brumaire. In the meanwhile the chief men in the islands, military, naval, and commercial, had formed a sort of provisional administration. The first question to be solved was that of 'how to live?' This was answered in the manner I have indicated above. A few stray frigates and a considerable and increasing number of privateers were sent to prey on the English commerce. Their gains, as may well be imagined, were enormous; and from a portion of these gains, the treasury of the colonies was replenished.

The alarm which spread in the islands when the news reached them of the arrival in their waters of two English ships of war to intercept their cruisers can easily be imagined. There were not wanting, however, bold men, who forbade their fellow-colonists to despair, and who promised to sally forth and drive away the daring strangers. Prominent amongst these adventurous spirits was Jean-Marie Renaud, a captain in the navy of France, and commodore of the small squadron which found itself at the time at the islands. This squadron consisted only of the frigates *Cybèle*, 40, and *Prudente*, 36, the brig *Courier*, 14, and the privateer *Jean-Bart*.* Renaud called a council of war of their captains, and as they agreed with him that boldness was prudence, he took out his little squadron that same afternoon to attack the strangers. He found them, and bore down upon them at half-past 3 o'clock on the third day (22nd October). The combat which followed was obstinate, bloody, and, as it appeared at the moment, indecisive. The French lost more men than the English; Renaud was wounded; his flag captain, Flouet, was killed; the same fate befell the first lieutenant of the *Cybèle*. Yet, in spite of these losses, the French succeeded in their main object. The two English ships renounced the blockade and disappeared.

At this time Robert Surcouf was engaged in cruising between the Isle of France and the coast of Africa. Born at St. Malo on the 12th December 1773, descended by his mother from the illustrious Duguay-Trouin, he had been sent to sea at the

* The English historian, James, guns, though that would seem doubtful, but she was only a privateer. speaks of the *Jean-Bart* as a 20-gun corvette. She may have carried 20

age of thirteen. In 1790 he made a voyage to India in the *Aurora*. On the breaking out of the war with England he was transferred to the French navy and returned to France. Arriving, he left the navy and set out as captain of a slaver, the *Gréole*, for Africa. Having landed in the islands the negroes he had obtained, he quitted for ever that service, and accepted, in September 1795, the command of a privateer of 180 tons burden, carrying four six-pounders, and a crew of thirty men. The name of this vessel was *la Modeste*, but Surcouf changed it to *l'Emilie*.

For some reason the Governor of the islands, M. de Malartic, declined on this occasion to give Surcouf a letter of marque. He granted him permission only to defend himself in the event of his being attacked. Surcouf's ostensible mission was to proceed to the Seychelles islands and procure thence a supply of turtle for the colonists.

The *Emilie* was a very fine sailer, and Surcouf, glowing with the ardour and enterprise of his twenty years, was a bold and daring seaman. He was not quite the man to be content with procuring turtle for his fellow-citizens. However, he directed his course straight to the Seychelles, and cast anchor off one of the islands on the 13th September. Here he stayed several days employing himself in taking on board articles of native produce. Already he had nearly loaded his vessel, when on the afternoon of the 7th October, he discovered two large English ships bearing down upon him from the south-east-by-south.

To cut his cable, to thread the intricacies of the navigation of the Archipelago, and to gain the high seas, was an object to which he instantly bent his energies. It was a daring exploit, for the navigation of the Seychelles islands was but little known, and many ships had been lost there. But, again, daring was prudence. With every sail set he traversed the difficult passages, then, finding himself in the open sea, he directed his course eastward. Caught by the changing monsoon, when approaching Achin, he again altered his course, determined to fly before it. When the fury of the storm had moderated, Surcouf turned the head of the *Emilie* towards Pegu. Scarcely, however, had he doubled Cape Negrals when he found himself almost face to face with an English vessel.

This was a trading ship, the *Penguin*, laden with wood. Surcouf captures her, places a few of his men on board, and starts her off for the islands. He then turns and follows, as nearly as he can, the coast towards the Bay of Bengal. He meets, however, no craft upon which he can seize; till, suddenly, at day-break on the 19th January, he finds himself close to two English ships, towed by a pilot brig, at one of the mouths of the Ganges.

Surcouf attacked and took the three ships. Then, finding that

the pilot brig was more adapted to his purposes than the *Emilie*, he removes to her his guns and his crew, calling her the *Cartier*, and sends off the *Emilie* in charge of his two prizes to the islands.

Still cruising off the mouths of the river, Surcouf discovered on the evening of the 28th January, a large three-masted vessel going out to sea. He at once made for her and captured her. She proved to be the *Diana*, having on board a large cargo of rice. He then started with his prize for the islands.

But fortune was not always to befriend him. The very morning after the capture of the *Diana* he sighted a large English ship bearing up for the coast of Orissa. This was the *Triton*, an Indiaman carrying 26 guns and a crew of 150 men. Surcouf let the *Diana* approach him so as to increase his own crew; which, by the addition thus obtained, reached the number of nineteen men, himself and the surgeon included. He then set sail towards the *Triton*, of whose force he was naturally ignorant. Finding that she sailed better than the *Cartier* he hoisted the Union Jack. The *Triton* recognising the *Cartier* as a pilot brig, hove to. As Surcouf approached her, he became for the first time aware of her formidable armament and of the number of her crew. At first he hoped these latter might be lascars, and it was not till he arrived within cannon-shot that he discovered them to be all Europeans.

He was lost. What could his seventeen men and four guns effect against the 150 men and twenty-six twelve-pounders of the enemy? And he was within cannon-shot! Destruction seemed inevitable. He could not flee, for the *Triton* had shown herself a better sailer. The smallest hesitation would betray him. What was he to do?

Once more boldness was prudence. Not for one moment did Surcouf relax his onward movement. He summoned his crew, pointed out to them the enemy's guns, and told them that the *Triton* must be either their tomb or the cradle of their glory. The crew declared with enthusiasm that they would conquer or die. Surcouf at once sent his men below, then keeping near him only the master, the officer of the watch, a sailor, and two or three lascars whom he had taken from his prizes, he came up rapidly to within half pistol-shot on the windward quarter of the *Triton*. Then suddenly replacing the Union Jack by the Tricolor, he fired a broadside on the group of sailors on the Indiaman's deck. Terror and astonishment contended with each other amongst the assaulted English. Surcouf at once turned his ship's head to the wind, clambered on board the *Triton*, and took advantage of the confusion which prevailed there to send up six men into the shrouds of the mizen-mast, thence, supported by the fire of their comrades, to carry the poop. A desperate struggle then ensued. The *Cartier* is ranged

alongside the *Triton*; every Frenchman gains the deck; the English surprised, unarmed, are one by one driven below; gradually the hatches are closed up by their gratings; the portropes are cut, and Surcouf does everything in his power to keep the enemy below.

Many of the English had been killed at the first broadside. The remainder, recovering from their surprise, make a manful resistance. Their indignation is increased by the discovery made by some of them of the small number of their assailants. They attempt to blow up the quarter deck; but Surcouf discovering their project, opens so heavy a fire upon them through the main-hatchway that they are forced to desist. At last, finding their efforts useless, the crew surrender.

Such was the capture of the *Triton*,—a very *Triton* caught by a minnow,—a capture so marvellous that even the Indian journals of the day wrote of it as “an extraordinary capture.”* Undoubtedly it was an act of piracy, for Surcouf bore no commission to attack English vessels, yet the captain of the *Triton* was necessarily ignorant of this deficiency in the powers of his enemy. He knew that France and England were at war, and he ought to have known that an enemy will always take advantage of any ruse to gain his ends; that stratagem is fair in war.

Leaving out of consideration for a moment the defect in Surcouf's commission, it must be admitted that his conduct in most dangerous circumstances showed wonderful self-possession, daring, and nerve. He was not then twenty-two. Had he known the force of the *Triton* neither he, nor any man in his senses, would, under the circumstances, have attempted to capture her. But finding himself suddenly in a position from which it was impossible to escape, except by the display of a surpassing audacity and the happiest presence of mind, he, on the moment, did display those qualities—and conquered.

After the capture had been effected, Surcouf, embarrassed by the number of his prisoners, who greatly exceeded his own crew, ransomed the *Diana* to her former captain for a bill for 30,000 *sicca* rupees,† and after transferring to her his prisoners, he let her go. Then removing the bulk of his crew to the *Triton* he sailed in her for the islands, instructing the *Cartier*‡ to follow as rapidly as she could. Surcouf reached the Isle of France in safety; but scarcely had he landed when he was informed that the Governor, M. de Malartic, had confiscated his prizes on the

* *Madras Courier*, 16th February 1796. transaction was illegal.

† The bill on presentation was not paid; the drawee contending that he had discovered that the ‡ The *Cartier* was recaptured in the Bay of Bengal by an English man-of-war.

plea that he was unauthorised to make captures. Against such a ruling Surcouf appealed in person to the Directory. The case came before the Council of the Five Hundred, who, on the 4th September 1797 (17 Fructidor, year V) pronounced a decision in Surcouf's favour. His prizes, sold at the islands, had realised the sum of 1,700,000 francs; but certain difficulties having arisen regarding the question of exchange, Surcouf agreed to accept for himself and his crew the diminished sum of 660,000 francs. This amount was paid him.

Surcouf remained about fourteen months in France. Tired then of inaction, he obtained at Nantes the command of a privateer brig, called the *Clarisse*, mounting 14 guns and having a crew of 120 men. He set out with her in September for the Indian seas, and reached the line without sighting a vessel. Scarcely, however, had he entered the southern hemisphere when a sail was signalled. She proved to be an English three-masted vessel, carrying 26 guns. The wind was in her favour, and she bore down with all sail on the *Clarisse*.

Here again destruction seemed inevitable. The prospect did not, however, appal Surcouf. He first exchanged broadsides with his enemy, then wearing, came down on the starboard tack and took up an advantageous position on his quarter. For half an hour the victory was obstinately contested, but at the end of that time, the stranger, having been considerably maltreated and having lost her captain, clapped on all sail and bore away. The *Clarisse* was in no condition to follow her.

The damages sustained on that occasion were quickly repaired, and Surcouf pursued his journey without interruption to the Indian seas. Still sailing eastward he captured, after a severe combat, two English merchant ships with rich cargoes. He returned with these to the island of Bourbon, the Isle of France being blockaded by British cruisers. Having there repaired and refitted the *Clarisse*, he sailed again (August 1799) for the Straits. In this voyage he touched at Java, and landed there to replenish his water-tanks. Whilst on shore here with only a few of his crew, he was suddenly attacked by a chieftain of the country who came upon him with a large following. Unprepared, and his crew unarmed, Surcouf owed his escape to the presence of mind which never failed him. Leaving his musket still slung across his shoulders he advanced towards the Javanese chieftain and placed in his hand a red handkerchief he had untied from his neck. The chieftain, whose actions up to that moment had denoted the greatest hostility, seemed so fascinated by the colour of the present he had received, that he contented himself with making signs to Surcouf and his men to re-embark immediately. It need scarcely be added that the hint was promptly taken.

In the cruise which followed, the *Clarisse* captured a Danish ship carrying an English cargo, a Portuguese ship, and an English merchantman, the *Auspicious*. A few days later Surcouf was in pursuit of another merchantman and was fast approaching her, when he perceived bearing down upon him from an opposite direction a vessel which was unmistakably a ship of war.

This was no other than the English frigate *La Sybille* of 48 guns, which had but recently captured off the Sandheads the French frigate *La Forte* of 52 guns. Surcouf was apparently lost, as the English frigate soon showed herself a better sailer than the *Clarisse*. But he did not despair. He cast overboard his spare masts and spars; then eight of his heavy guns; and that not being sufficient, he half-emptied his water casks. Thus lightened the *Clarisse* gained rapidly on the frigate, and at day-break the following morning the latter was completely out of sight. Two days later Surcouf captured an English merchantman, the *James*, laden with rice, and on the fourth day after that the American ship *Louisa*. With these captures Surcouf closed his career in the *Clarisse*. Returning with his prizes to the islands, he was offered the command of a new privateer, just arrived from Bordeaux, and reputed to be the fastest sailer afloat. Surcouf accepted the offer.

The new privateer was named *La Confiance*. She was of between four and five hundred tons burden, and carried sixteen guns. Her crew consisted of 159 Frenchmen, 25 volunteers from the island of Bourbon, and about 20 natives. She left the islands for her cruise in the Indian waters the middle of April 1800.

Surcouf went first to the Malabar coast on account of the monsoon. But in July he directed thence his course towards Trincomali. Chased, though in vain, off that harbour by an English man-of-war, he pushed his way towards the mouths of the Ganges, having captured up to this time one American and two English merchantmen. He was off the Sandheads on 7th October when a sail was signalled to the eastward. Soon she was discerned to be a large and heavily-armed ship. She was in fact, the *Kent*, an Indiaman of 820 tons, carrying twenty-six guns, and having on board 437 Europeans, including troops.*

The *Kent* carelessly approached *La Confiance*, taking her to be a friend. Nor was it till she was within cannon-shot that her

* The French accounts state that besides twenty-six broadside guns, the *Kent* carried twelve on her quarter-deck and fore-castle. James implies that this was not so. On the other hand, James reduces the number of the crew, including passengers, to about

140. But this is manifestly incorrect, for besides her own crew of more than 120, she had taken on board the entire crew of the *Queen*, an Indiaman burnt at St. Salvador, and she had besides, the troops and passengers of both vessels.

captain perceived his mistake. Still he made light of his enemy, and opening fire, in a very short space of time he inflicted severe damage on the hull, the rigging, and the masts of the Frenchman. Still Surcouf did not reply. It was his object to board, and he endeavoured to manœuvre in such a manner as to gain the port side of the *Kent*. When at length he had succeeded in this, he opened a tremendous broadside and musketry fire, then fastening the grappling-irons he attached himself closely to his enemy. Thenceforward, from her superior height out of the water, the fire of the *Kent* could only pass over the deck of *La Confiance*.

To climb on the enemy's deck followed by his crew, was a work of an instant. After a desperate conflict the English were driven below, their flag was hauled down, but still they did not surrender. The fight continued below in the batteries, nor was it until resistance had become useless that it ceased, and the *Kent* surrendered.

In this battle the French had sixteen men wounded, of whom three died of their wounds. The English lost seventy men killed and wounded.* Surcouf at once transported the greater part of his prisoners, amongst whom was the daughter of the Margrave of Anspach married to an English general, on board a three-masted coasting vessel which opportunely came near enough to be captured; then placing sixty of his men under an officer on board the *Kent*, he sailed in company with her to the islands. He arrived there in November. There, too, he received instructions to re-conduct the *Confiance* to France with a view to her receiving a more powerful armament. He sailed with this object on the 29th January 1801, and arrived at La Rochelle on the 13th April following, having captured a Portuguese vessel, the *Ebro*, carrying 18 twelve-pounders, on the way.

That same year the brief treaty of Amiens put a stop to hostilities: Surcouf then married. But the war being resumed in 1803, the First Consul offered him the commission of post captain (*capitaine de vaisseau*) in the French Navy, with the command of two frigates in the Indian seas. In the interview which followed with the First Consul, Surcouf would only accord a provisional acceptance of the offer. "I am willing," he is reported to have said, "to undertake the duty, provided I am made independent of all superior command, whether of the admiral in the Indian seas, or of any senior officer. I may encounter." The First Consul declined to grant him a power so excessive; but struck by his manner, and perfectly cognisant of his reputation, he asked his opinion as to the policy by which the French Navy could be placed on such a footing as to cause the greatest injury to the English.

* James says about fifty-eight.

The reply of Surcouf was eminently characteristic of the man : " If I were in your place " he replied, " I would burn all my line of battle ships ; I would never deliver battle to the English fleets and squadrons. But I would construct and send into every sea frigates and light ships in such extraordinary numbers that the commerce of the enemy must be speedily annihilated." Napoleon was then too much engaged with the project of the invasion of England, rendered abortive by the misconduct of Villeneuve, to depart so markedly from the established traditions of naval warfare ; but he did not the less appreciate the intelligent ideas of the bold sailor. He conferred upon him the Cross of the Legion of Honour.

Until the year 1806 Surcouf remained in France, living on his savings, and sending out privateers commanded by his friends and relations. But in 1806 he became tired of inaction. He panted again for life on the Indian seas. He accordingly in that year had built, under his own superintendence, a vessel to carry eighteen guns and a crew of 192 men. In this ship, which he called the *Revenant*, he sailed from St. Malo for the Indian waters on the 2nd March 1807.

The islands were reached, without any adventure worthy of note, on the 10th June. So great was the consternation in Calcutta on the news that this famous cruiser was on his way once again to the mouths of the Ganges, that the reward of a lakh of rupees was offered by the English Government for his capture.* But undeterred by this, Surcouf, on the 3rd September, sailed for his destination. On the 26th of the same month he arrived off Vizagapatam. The same day he captured the *Trafalgar*, a merchant ship laden with rice and carrying twelve guns, and the *Mangles* with a similar cargo and carrying fourteen guns.† In the next few days the *Admiral Aplin*, the *Susanna*, the *Hunter*, the *Fortune* (previously captured from the French), and the *Success* struck their flags to him. Such was the terror he inspired that the Governor-General in Council placed on all the

* I have been unable to discover the actual order ; but the Indian journals for 1807 and 1808 abound with complaints of the injuries caused by Suffren to the British trade. The *Asiatic Annual Register* records in October 1807, that the losses in the value of captured ships in the preceding six weeks, amounted to thirty lakhs of rupees.

† The *Asiatic Annual Register* (1808) states that these vessels were insured for 1,50,000 rupees each ; that Surcouf sent their crews on shore, detaining only the captains, and

Mr. Nichol, who would appear to have been a person of some consideration. Subsequently Mr. Nichol managed to effect his escape in a manner, says the *Annual Register*, fair and honourable, yet such as was likely to cause great irritation to Surcouf. Yet the French captain would not allow his feelings to interfere with what he considered to be due to propriety. He took the first opportunity of forwarding to the British Government the whole of the personal property left by Mr. Nichol on board his ship.

vessels anchored in the Hùghli an embargo to be binding as long as Surcouf might remain in the Bay of Bengal

Hearing of this order Surcouf took an eastern course. On the 16th November he sighted three Indiamen conveying troops. These he avoided. But the next day he captured the *New Endeavour*,* laden with salt; and two days later the *Colonel Macauby*.† On the 12th December, returning from the Burmese waters, to which he had repaired without making a capture, he was chased, ineffectually, by a man-of-war and a corvette. Two days later he captured two brigs, ‡ from whose masters he learned that the embargo had been taken off the English vessels in the Hùghli. On the 17th he captured the *Sir William Burroughs* of 700 tons, laden with teak, and bound from Rangoon to Calcutta. He sent her to the islands. Early on the morning of the third subsequent day he found himself within cannon-shot of an English man-of-war. The smallest indication of fear would have lost him. But Surcouf was quite equal to the occasion. He steadily pursued his course, unquestioned and unmolested, his true character unsuspected, and he soon sailed out of sight. A few days later he captured a Portuguese vessel, the *Oriente*, and a fine ship under Arab colours, but whose papers attested her to be English property. Both these vessels were likewise despatched to the islands.§ His crew being reduced to 70 men, and he having received intelligence that a new English frigate had arrived with the express mission to capture him, Surcouf resolved to follow his prizes thither. Chased, though ineffectually, by an English man-of-war, he arrived at Port St. Louis on the 31st January 1808, and found that all his prizes had safely preceded him.

Surcouf shortly afterwards set out for France in a vessel called the *Charles* || with a cargo valued at five millions of francs. His vessel, the *Revenant*, ¶ after a short cruise under

* Surcouf ascertained that this vessel belonged to the captain who was navigating her, and that she was not insured. With a rare generosity he restored her to her owner unconditionally.

† From the *Colonel Macauby* Surcouf took 1,440 bottles of claret, some specie and some gunpowder. He then restored her to her owner for the same reason which had prompted his restoration of the *New Endeavour*.

‡ These brigs were restored to their owners.

§ Thither also had been despatched all the captures not specially referred

to in the text, except the *Admiral Aplin*, shipwrecked on the Coromandel coast,* the *Hunter*, which he abandoned, and the *Success* which he burned.

|| The *Charles* was an old frigate called *La Semillante*, worn out in service, and sold for the purposes of commerce.

¶ The fate of the *Revenant* was curious. After a short cruise under the Command of Potier, in which she captured a Portuguese frigate, the *Conceição de San Antonio*, pierced for 64, and carrying 54 guns, she was taken up by the Governor, added to the

her first lieutenant, Potier, had been taken up by the Governor, General Decaën, for the defence of the islands, and there appeared to be no chance of a further cruise in the Indian waters.* He reached St. Malo on the 5th February 1809. In a few days he went to Paris, where he received a flattering reception from the Minister of Marine.

His active life on the sea was now terminated. The capture shortly afterwards by the British of the Isles of France and Bourbon tended very much to shut out the French cruisers from the Indian seas. Surcouf continued nevertheless during the war to arm and fit out privateers.† When peace came, he devoted himself to maritime commerce, to agriculture, and to shooting.

Surcouf died in 1827. "France," writes M. Cunat, in his admirable biography, "lost in him a distinguished warrior; the naval service one of her bravest captains; and St. Malo, his native town, an illustrious offspring. Whilst the tears of the unfortunate proclaimed his charity, his fellow-citizens felt deeply the loss they had sustained. Their regrets were a last homage to the man whose enterprise, as a sailor, had astonished the world, and who, as a trader, had benefited all the industries of the country which he idolised." It would be difficult to add a word to this eloquent eulogy. It may perhaps, however, be permitted to add that in him died the most formidable and most successful maritime adventurer the English had ever encountered in the Indian seas.

II

A contemporary, a fellow-townsmen, and almost to the same extent a destroyer of English commerce on the Indian waters, was François Thomas Lemême, whose adventures I am now about to record.

Born in 1763 at St. Malo, Lemême enrolled himself as a volunteer on board the privateer the *Prince de Mombany*, commanded

French Navy as a corvette of 22 guns, and re-named the *Jena*. In this new form she sailed with an envoy and despatches for the Persian Gulf, captured the schooner *Swallow* with 2,500 dollars on board her, and the *Janet*, a small country craft, but had herself to succumb to the *Modeste*, a frigate of greatly superior force, which she had approached in the belief that she was a merchant ship. The *Jena* was added to the English Navy, under the name of the *Victor*.—*Asiatic Annual Register*.

James states that the *Modeste* car-

ried 36 guns; and the *Jena* 18. Seven of these, together with her boats, hencoops, and spars, she threw overboard in her attempt to escape.

* As I am not writing a life of Surcouf, I do not propose to enter upon the subject of his disputes with the Governor, especially as the Emperor Napoleon gave a decision in his favour.

† Amongst the most successful of his privateering ventures were the *Auguste*, the *Dorade*, the *Biscayenne*, the *Edoard*, the *Espadon*, the *Ville de Caën*, the *Adophe*, and the *Remard*.

by one Boynard. This was during the war for the independence of the United States, when opportunities offered to the sons of Brittany and of Normandy to prey upon the commerce of the great rival of France. The cruise of the *Prince de Mombany* was not altogether fortunate. She took, indeed, some merchantmen, but she was forced herself to succumb to an English frigate, "and it was in the prisons of Great Britain," says M. Gallios, "that Lemême learned, in his early youth, to hate with a hatred altogether national, the islanders whom he was destined later, often to encounter and to overcome."

Released from his British prison by the treaty of Versailles, Lemême continued his seafaring life. He happened to be at the Isle of France in 1793 in command of a small transport brig, the *Hirondelle*, when the intelligence arrived that war had been declared between France and England. Instantly Lemême transformed the *Hirondelle* into a privateer. He armed her with twelve four-pounder carronades, and manned her with eighty men. In addition to these, volunteers pressed forward to serve under him; of them, however, he could take only thirty.

Thus armed and manned, Lemême sailed from the islands in July 1793, taking the direction of the Indian Ocean. On the 16th August he encountered, and carried by boarding, a Dutch corvette carrying eighteen nine-pounders, called *The Good Werwagting*. It is related that before Lemême had been able to lay the *Hirondelle* alongside her powerful opponent, the fire from the latter had so damaged the French privateer, that one of her officers remarked to the captain that the enemy's fire would sink her. "That's just what I want," remarked Lemême, "we shall be obliged then to put our feet on the decks of that one." Immediately afterwards he brought the *Hirondelle* alongside and boarded.

Nine days later, in company with, and aided by his prize, Lemême attacked, and after a contest of forty minutes, captured the *William Thesied*, a large Dutch Indiaman, pierced for sixty, but carrying only forty guns. With these two prizes Lemême returned to the islands.

He did not stay there long. Transferred from the *Hirondelle* to the *Ville de Bordeaux*, carrying 32 guns and having on board a crew of 200 men, Lemême started again in the month of October for his old cruising ground. Proceeding direct to Sumatra, he stormed the fortifications of Padang, one of the Mantawi islands close to the mainland, and seized all the shipping lying off it. Obtaining most advantageous terms from the Dutch Governor, he quitted Padang, his ship well laden with the products of the expedition, and returned to the Isle of France, capturing on his way a Portuguese merchantman, the *Santo Sacramento*. The share of the plunder accruing

to Lemême from; this expedition amounted to eleven hundred thousand francs, equal to £44,000 sterling.

In the *Amphitrite*, of which he next took command, Lemême made several rich captures; but of the particulars I have been unable to obtain a record. Transferred again to *L'Uni*, carrying twenty guns and a crew of 200 men, he became the terror of the Indian seas. She is reported to have captured in her short cruise six merchantmen, two of which carried very valuable cargoes, and four native *grabs** all laden with specie. Lemême, however, having placed insufficient prize crews on board, these, the Moplabs, who had originally manned them, rose upon and killed their captors. Amongst the letters found on the body of the chief officer was one from Lemême to the owners of *L'Uni*, in which he announced his intention "to sweep the Malabar and Coromandel coasts and to call at Tranquebar for refreshments."† He would appear to have kept his word.

After the return of *L'Uni* to the islands, Lemême made two more cruises in the Indian seas, the first in the *Clarisse*; the second in the *Grande Hirondelle*. The cruise in the *Clarisse* was at least as successful as the cruises which had preceded hers. Hostile ships of war were successfully avoided and merchantmen were successfully encountered. But the same fortune did not attend the *Grande Hirondelle*. After making three captures, she herself was forced to succumb, on the 31st December 1801, to the British frigate *La Sybille*, 48 guns, commanded by Captain Charles Adam.‡

Released from confinement by the treaty of Amiens, Lemême, who had realised an enormous fortune by his cruises, renounced the sea, and started as a merchant. But he managed his affairs so unsuccessfully, that when the war broke out again in 1803, he had lost all he had possessed. Again he resumed his earlier profession, and hoisting his flag on board a three-masted vessel, the *Fortune*, carrying twelve guns and a crew of 160 men, he made his way, towards the end of 1803, to the Bay of Bengal.

This time his success was unexampled. In a very brief period he captured at least fifteen vessels.§ The sums realised by the

* A *grab* is a three-masted vessel peculiar in those days to the Malabar coast.

† *Asiatic Annual Register*.

‡ The fact of the capture of the *Grande Hirondelle* when under the command of Lemême has been ignored by all the French authorities, I have been able to consult. In his biographical sketch of Lemême, M. Gallios merely mentions that before the peace of Amiens, he had cruised in the *Clarisse* and *la Grande Hir-*

ondelle. Yet I have before me not only Captain Adam's official report of the capture, dated 2nd January 1802, but also a letter from Lemême himself, dated the 7th idem, written when a prisoner, and addressed to Captain Adam himself.

Vide *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1802, pages 42, 45, 46.

§ The official report of Admiral Linois, published in the *Montieur* gives a list of ten, viz. the *Barlow*, the *Eleonora*, the *Active*, the *Pomona*

sale of these was enormous, the official returns showing that the first six on the list sold for nearly twelve hundred thousand francs. Yet unfortunately for Lemême, he did not live to enjoy his gains. On the 7th November 1804, in the waters of the Arabian sea, he found himself early in the morning in close proximity to the *Concorde*, a British frigate carrying 48 guns, which had been sent from Bombay in search of him. In vain he attempted to escape. The *Concorde* was a better sailer, and at half-past three o'clock she came within range; Lemême did all that man could do to cripple his adversary. But it was useless. At half-past 10 o'clock, his ship reduced to a wreck, he had to strike his flag.

With this action ended his career. Shipped, the 15th February 1805, on board the *Walthamstow* as a prisoner bound for England, he died on the way (30th March). In him France lost one of the most daring of her sailor adventurers, and the Anglo-Indian community were relieved of the obligation to give to the question, as to the name of the privateersman by whom their last merchant vessel had been captured, the stereotyped reply of '*toujours lemême*.'

But little inferior to Lemême as a destroyer of British commerce in the Indian seas was Jean Dutertre. In the chronicle of the *Asiatic Annual Register* for November 1799, there appeared the following notice:—"On Monday morning the 28th October last, an express arrived at the General Post Office, Bombay, from Masulipatam, conveying accounts of the capture of the undermentioned ships by a French privateer, a little to the northward of the Madras Roads, viz., the Nawab of Arcot's ship, the *Suprise* galley, the *Princess Royal*, formerly a Company's ship, the *Tekonas*, ditto, an extra ship, the *Joyce*, belonging to Masulipatam, the *Lord Hobart*, belonging to Madras * * *. The privateer by which these ships were captured is supposed to be the *Malartic*, mounting 12 guns, and commanded by the same person who took the Danish ship *Haabat* on the coast four months ago."

• The supposition was correct. The privateer was the *Malartic*, carrying twelve guns, having a crew of 110 men, and commanded by Jean Dutertre. Dutertre was born at Lorient and early took to the sea. He happened to be at the Isle of France when the *Emilie* arrived there in charge of the prizes which Surcouf

the *Vulcan*, the *Mahomed Bux*, the *Nancy*, the *Creole*, the *Fly*, and the *Shrewsbury*. M. Gallois adds to this list the *Industry*, a packet boat, restored to its owner; the *Bembow*, the *Daos* and the *Lionne*. In the *Asiatic Annual Register* for March 1804, I find the following: "On the 1st ultimo, the *Taxbuz*, under Arab

colours, was fired at, and at 9 P. M. taken possession of by the French privateer *La Fortune*, commanded by Citizen Lemême * * *. Captain Mercer was informed on board the privateer that she had taken three vessels, the *Sarah*, the *Eissa*, and the *Active*." The *Taxbuz* was restored to Captain Mercer.

had taken in her. Surcouf, it may be recollected, had abandoned her for his prize, the *Cartier*. Dutertre was then appointed to her command, and in her he made one or two cruises, the details regarding which are altogether wanting. He was next heard of as commanding the *Malartic*, in which, he made the prizes to which I have alluded, and subsequently, in addition, he captured the *Gouverneur North* and the *Marquess Wellesley*. Shortly afterwards, however, the *Malartic* was forced to strike her colours to an English vessel of superior force, the *Phoenix*, and Dutertre was taken prisoner to England.

Released by the peace of Amiens, Dutertre recommenced his career in the Indian seas. He again became the terror of those waters. In concert with another adventurer, named Courson, he, in one season, captured the *Rebecca*, the *Active*, the *Clarendon*, the *William*, the *Betsy Jane*, the *Henry Adairington*, the *Admiral Rainier*, the *Lady William Bentinck*, the *Nancy*, the *Actæon*, the *Brothers*, the *Hebe*, the *Mongamah*, and the *Warren Hastings*. So great was the consternation caused, that we find the English journals of the period complaining that "there is no part of the world, notwithstanding the superiority of the English marine, in which the enemy does not succeed in molesting our navigation, and in causing us infinite losses."

It was, after all, but the natural consequence of the system of privateering thus affecting the power which carried the commerce of the world.

After this cruise, which began in 1804 and closed the following year, Dutertre entered the French Navy and became lost to the public view. He died in 1811.

Amongst the other adventurers who caused great damage to English commerce, I find the Courson above referred to, and who, previous to the peace of Amiens, had made several captures, and had then been taken prisoner and sent to England; Potier of St. Malo, who succeeded Surcouf in the *Revenant*, and who in command of that privateer carrying eighteen guns, captured the Portuguese man-of-war the *Concedo* pierced for 64, but carrying 54 guns; and Mallerouse of St. Malo, who, commanding the *Iphigénie* of 18 guns, and having captured the *Pearl*, Indianan, carrying ten guns and having on board treasure amounting to more than three lakhs of rupees, found himself suddenly face to face with H. M.'s ship *Trincomali*, carrying eighteen 24-pounder carronades. The combat which ensued was so remarkable that I make no apology for recording it at length. I am fortunately able to quote an authority which every Englishman will recognise as impartial, for the extract which follows is taken from a private letter written to his brother in England by Mr. Cramlington, who

was chief officer of the *Pearl* when she was captured, and at the time a prisoner on board the *Iphigénie*.

After recounting the story of the capture of the *Pearl*, Mr. Cramlington thus continues: "The treasure was shifted on board the privateer the next day; and they were so elated with their success, that they determined to return from their cruise immediately. But on the 10th, at night, we fell in with H. M.'s ship *Trincomali*, Capt. Rowe, mounting eighteen 24 pounder carronades, but badly manned.* She had been fitted out at Bombay, and had been cruising in the Gulf nine or ten months; her crew very sickly, had lost a number of them by death, and had no fresh supply. I have been told she had only seventy active men on board.

"A partial action took place the next day as they passed each other, and on the 12th, at 3 P.M. they came within gunshot again, and kept firing at each other till after sunset, but at too great a distance for much damage to be done. Owing to calm and light airs they could not get near each other. A schooner, named the *Comet*, was in company with the *Trincomali*, mounting eight small guns. The captain of the privateer wanted very much to cut her off, but through the bravery and good conduct of her captain all his schemes failed, and she served to engage the *Pearl*, for whom she was more than a match.

"At half-past 6 o'clock the same evening, a fine breeze springing up, the privateer bore down towards her prize. The *Trincomali* followed and at 10 P.M. (being moonlight) brought her to action, which continued for two hours with great fury within musket-shot; when, with one ship luffing up, and the other edging down, they fell alongside each other and grappled muzzle and muzzle. In this situation they remained about half an hour, the slaughter very great on both sides. The French being more numerous, were preparing to board, when by some fatal accident, the *Trincomali* blew up, and every soul on board perished, except one English seaman, named Thomas Dawson, and a lascar. The explosion was so great, and the ships so close, that the privateer's broadside was stove in.

"I leave you to judge the dreadful situation I was in at this crisis; being below two decks, in the square of the main-hatchway, in the place appointed for the wounded, which was full of poor souls of that description in circumstances too shocking to be described. All at once the hatchway was filled in with wood

* James, in his *Naval History*, writes quite at random regarding the armament of the combatants. He speaks of the *Trincomali* as carrying 16 guns, probably six-pounders (the italics are mine), and of the *Iphigénie*

as carrying 22 guns. The French captain he calls "Malroux." Compare his account with that given by the English eye-witness in the text.

the lights were driven out, the water rushing in, and no visible passage to the deck. The ship appeared to be shaken to pieces, as the hold beams had shrunk so considerably, that where there was room before to stand nearly upright, you could now only crawl on hands and knees, which I did, towards the hole on the side where the water was coming in. Close to this, by the light of the moon, I found a hole through both decks, which had been newly made, I suppose, by the falling of some of the *Trincomalli's* guns, or other wreck. Through this I got with difficulty upon deck, when I found the ship just disappearing forward, and hastened aft as fast as I could over the bodies of the killed, with which the deck was covered, to the tafferel, and jumped overboard.

"I swam a little way from her, dreading the suction, and looked round for her, but she had totally disappeared. I afterwards caught hold of a piece of wood to which I clung for about an hour and a half, and at which time the boats of the *Pearl* came to pick us up, there being about thirty Frenchmen in the same predicament. They, however, were all taken up first; and when I solicited to be taken in, I had a blow made at my head with an oar, which luckily missed me. This treatment I met with, from two different boats, and I began to think they were going to leave me to my fate. But the French officer in command of the *Pearl*, hearing there were some Englishmen on the wreck, ordered the boats immediately to return and take us up, viz, myself and Thomas Dawson, then the only survivor of the *Trincomalli*.

"There were killed and drowned on board the *Iphigénie* 115 or 120 men. Among whom were the captain, seven officers, the surgeon, two young men, volunteers from the Isle of France, the first boatswain, gunner, and carpenter. All the treasure went down in the privateer. Captain Rowe of the *Trincomalli* was killed before his ship blew up, as was also the first lieutenant whose name was Williams. The *Comet*, immediately on the accident happening, made sail from the *Pearl*.* I suppose she was afraid there might be too many Frenchmen for her to manage. On the 15th we arrived here" (Muscat) "for water, &c., and the French officer was so good as to give me my liberty."

The *Pearl* subsequently reached the Isle of France in safety, but the career of Mallerouse was over.

* James says that the *Pearl* escaped from the *Comet*. It would appear from the impartial statement of the Englishman in the text, that the *Comet* fled from the *Pearl*. But let the facts speak. The *Pearl* remaining on the scene of action picked up by successive trips of her boats about 30 Frenchmen and two Englishmen. The

captain of the *Comet*, in his official report, dated 18th February 1800, admits that he only picked four sepoys and a lascar, and those immediately after the accident! It is clear from this that it was not the *Pearl* which sailed first from the scene of the encounter.

In addition to the preceding I may mention Pinaud of Nantes. One incident in the career of this brave adventurer deserves to be recorded.

In my notice of Surcouf I have mentioned the feats he was able to accomplish in the *Clarisse*, a brig carrying fourteen guns. When Surcouf left the *Clarisse* for the *Confiance*, the command of the former was entrusted to Pinaud. Pinaud took her in 1800 to the Indian seas, made many captures, but was forced himself to succumb to an English man-of-war. Taken to Madras, he was thrown into prison, and finally placed, with about six hundred other prisoners, on board the *Prince*, Indianman, to be taken to England under the convoy of a squadron of six ships of war returning thither. The convoy sailed the middle of 1801, and reached in safety the latitude of the Isle of France. The locality Pinaud considered favourable, if other circumstances should combine to strike a blow for freedom. He communicated his plan to his companions. They approved. It so happened that on the 29th October the squadron was surprised when near the Isle of France, by a heavy squall which dispersed the vessels composing it. Pinaud considered the moment opportune. The chief officer was in the fore-topmast crosstrees; the second officer in charge of the deck; the captain, the military officers, and two French officers (prisoners) were in the cuddy taking tea, when suddenly there rushed upon them Pinaud at the head of a strong party of prisoners. Another division at the same time took possession of the deck. The surprise had been so well managed and the secret so well kept, that there was not even the semblance of a struggle. Pinaud took command of the ship, followed the course laid down for some time so as not to excite suspicion, then when night fell, he put out all the lights, changed the ship's course, and reached the Isle of France a few weeks later (20th November). Pinaud next made a most successful cruise in the *Subtile*. He subsequently transferred his cruising ground to the West Indies.

It would be a tale of repetition to recount the deeds of several other adventurers, such as Cautance of the *Eugene*; Peron of the *Bellone*; and Henri of the *Henriette*. It will suffice to state that the injury inflicted on the British trade with the East was enormous, and the gain to the French so immediate, that the privateers continued to increase and prosper in spite of our overwhelming naval superiority.

III.

The secret of their impunity lay in the fact that in the Isle of France and Bourbon, the enemy's cruisers possessed a strong base of operations. It was the charmed refuge to which they could retire; from which they could issue with renewed strength.

It may be asked why the British, boasting as they did of the command of the seas, allowed those islands to remain so long in the possession of their deadliest enemy. The question is difficult, even at this distant period, to answer. The sagacious intellect of Marquess Wellesley had early detected the weak point in the British armour, and with characteristic vigour he had at once applied himself to repair it. Very soon after the fall of Seringapatam he had organised from the armies of the three presidencies a force which, massed at Trincomali, should proceed thence to the conquest of Java and of the French islands. This expedition had been on the very point of setting out when urgent orders from England, despatched overland, diverted it to Egypt to aid the expeditionary corps of Sir Ralph Abercromby. Partly, probably, owing to the "timid councils" which supervened on the departure of the great Marquess from India; partly, likewise, on account of the exaggerated idea entertained in England of the strength of the islands, and of the great difficulties which would attend an expedition, the idea was allowed for some years to drop. The British Government contented itself with spasmodic directions to blockade the islands,—a measure, the effective carrying out of which was impossible, and which, even when attempted, did not affect the successful egress and ingress of the adventurous cruisers.

At length the damage done by those cruisers aroused a cry of indignation and despair to which it was impossible that the Government should remain longer deaf. Under the pressure thus excited the Governor-General, Lord Minto, urged upon the Home Government the necessity of adopting measures more effectual than that of a blockade by ships depending for their supplies on the Cape or on Bombay. Lord Minto was in consequence authorised to occupy Rodriguez, a small island about three hundred miles to the east of the Isle of France. Still, neither the English Government nor the Governor-General entertained any idea beyond gaining a base from which to supply blockading squadrons. In accordance with these views a small force, consisting of 200 Europeans and two hundred natives, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Keating, was despatched in May 1809 from Bombay, in H. M.'s ship *Bellaqueux*, to occupy Rodriguez.

Rodriguez, used by the French as a garden to supply the larger islands with vegetables, was garrisoned by three Frenchmen, gardeners, and these were insufficient, even if they had been inclined, to offer any serious resistance. The English detachment, therefore, occupied the island without opposition, the 4th August. They kept the French gardeners to grow vegetables on its soil, whilst using the island also as a dépôt for ships' stores. These were landed in great numbers.

It was soon found, however, that the French privateers still

sailed and returned with their prizes as they have been accustomed to sail and to return. They continued to elude, as successfully as they had before eluded, the vigilance of the British cruisers. In a word,* it was found that even with a base so near to the scene of operations as was Rodriguez, effectual blockade of the islands was impossible.

Under these circumstances the garrison of Rodriguez was strengthened, and Colonel Keating was authorised to make an attempt on the Isle of Bourbon.* That officer accordingly embarked on the 16th September (1809) 368 officers and men, of whom one-half belonged to the 2nd Bombay Native Infantry, on board H. M.'s ships *La Néréide* and *Otter* and the Hon'ble Company's cruiser *Wasp*. On the 18th these three vessels arrived off Port Louis, and the following morning they joined H. M.'s ships *Raisonné* and *Sirius*; the naval force being commanded by Commodore Rowley of the former. That same day the seamen and troops destined for the attack, amounting to 604 men, were massed on board the *Néréide*, and towards evening the squadron stood for the Isle of Bourbon, off the eastern coast of which it arrived on the morning of the 20th. Colonel Keating, however, had resolved to attempt to carry St. Paul, the chief town on the western side, to secure the batteries there, and to force the surrender of the enemy's shipping in the port.

At 5 o'clock on the morning of the 21st the troops were disembarked to the south of Point de Galotte, seven miles from St. Paul. They were formed into three columns: the reserve, composed of eighty men of the Pompadours, and eighty of the Royal Marines under the command of Captain Forbes; the second column consisting of the detail of the 2nd Battalion 2nd Bombay Native Infantry under the command of Captain Imlack; the centre column formed of 100 sailors under Captain Willoughby, and of the remainder of the Pompadours and Marines, about 140 in number, under Captain Hanna.

Colonel Keating landed first with the reserve to cover the disembarkation of the other two columns. This having been effected, the reserve column was directed to proceed under Captain Forbes by the road leading to St. Paul, until it should pass the bridge over the lake, when it was to make a turn to the left, and take possession first of the barracks, then of the second battery, La Pierre, and then to proceed on to the first battery, La Centière, where it would receive fresh orders from the commanding officer: the second column under Captain Imlack, was directed to pass the river Galotte, then to

* This is, and was then called formity I adhere to the nomenclature "Bonaparte", and was subsequently it bore from the time of its first occupation by the French.
'Reunion'; but for the sake of uni-

proceed along the seashore until it should reach the rivulet running from the lake into the bay. It was then to advance up the bed of the rivulet, past the right flank of the battery, Lamboucère, then move out and form towards the sea, thus bringing it within pistol-shot of the rear of the battery, of which Captain Imlack was to take possession, spike the guns, and then move on to La Centière.

The centre column under Colonel Keating was to march straight on the battery La Centière and occupy it, detaching thence a force to take possession of the battery, La Neuve. La Centière was to constitute the main post.

Whilst the British troops are marching in the order above indicated, I propose to take a glance at the means possessed by the French commandant of the island to resist so formidable an invasion.

The commander of the French force in the island of Bourbon was General des Bruslys. That force was very small. There were concentrated at the capital, St. Denis, under the personal command of General des Bruslys, about one hundred troops of the line, and 300 Creoles. At St. Paul, there were on board the frigate *Caroline* anchored in the harbour, 110 troops of the line, and from two to three hundred Creoles. The remainder of the force, entirely Creole, was scattered over nine districts * from which they could not without difficulty be suddenly withdrawn and concentrated on a given point. Des Bruslys was expecting an attack not at St. Paul, but at St. Denis. His lieutenant at the former place, the Commandant St. Michiel, had received no intimation that the English were about to land. When they did land he had not then even withdrawn from the *Caroline* the European troops on board of her.

It can easily be conceived then that Colonel Keating's first attack was successful. The second column took possession of the battery Lamboucère, and the centre column of the battery La Centière without any strong opposition, except that offered by the fire from the enemy's ships in the river. The reserve column had likewise moved on La Centière and had turned its guns on the enemy's shipping. The second column, under Captain Imlack, consisting only of 142 men of the 2nd Bombay Native Infantry and of twelve Europeans, was then sent to take possession of the battery La Neuve deserted by the enemy.

But before Captain Imlack could reach La Neuve the French appeared on the field. Very early that morning the Commandant St. Michiel had ordered the disembarkation of the 110 Europeans from the *Caroline*, and had directed them to join him

* These were St. Leu, St. Louis, Penoit, St. André, St. Suzanne, and St. Pierre, St. Joseph, St. Rose, St. St. Marie.

as soon as possible in a very strong position he had taken up in front of the battery La Neuve. This position was covered by a stone wall, carefully loop-holed, and flanked on both sides by a strong natural defence. Each of these flanks was again covered by three six-pounders.

This position had been occupied by St. Michiel whilst the English were marching on the batteries Lamboucère and La Ceutièrre. He occupied it still with about 150 Creoles when the swarthy sons of India under their English officers marched upon it. The attack was conducted with great gallantry, but the defences were too strong and the artillery fire too concentrated, and the sepoy's fell back. A second attack was not more successful. The British centre column, consisting entirely of Europeans, was then ordered up to reinforce the native troops. Again the attacking party charged. This time they succeeded, after a desperate conflict, in taking two of the enemy's guns, but they made no impression on his position. It was now the turn of the French to be reinforced. They were joined by 110 Europeans from the *Caroline*, and by many Creoles from the hills. The contest was now resumed with greater fury than ever, and it became necessary for the English commander to bring up the reserve under Captain Forbes. This officer, advancing by a circuitous route, occupied the battery La Neuve and thus took up a position very nearly in rear of the enemy.

St. Michiel felt his post no longer tenable. He evacuated it therefore, and fell back upon St. Paul; losing, after a most gallant resistance, his four remaining guns. After that the course of the English was easy. The fourth and fifth batteries, La Pierre and La Caserne, fell into their hands. By half-past eight they had taken possession of the town, the magazines, eight brass field pieces, one hundred and seventeen new and heavy iron guns of different calibres, and all the stores. The commodore, seeing the success of the troops, immediately stood in, anchored close to the enemy's shipping, and compelled it to surrender. The same evening Colonel Keating destroyed all the public property in the town not fit for transport, and re-embarked his troops.

General des Bruslys learned with surprise the same night the landing of the British troops on the west coast of the island. He immediately collected all his available men and marched towards St. Paul. He arrived on the hills covering the town on the evening of the 22nd and encamped there. Colonel Keating determined to dislodge him the following morning. He accordingly embarked his entire force in boats early on the 23rd. But whether it was that des Bruslys thought that further resistance would only lead to greater disaster, or whether the moral tension was too strong for

him, this at least is certain, that he did not wait for a contest but retreated to St. Denis and shot himself.*

The Commandant St. Michiel succeeded to the post thus vacated by des Bruslys. There was nothing left for him but to negotiate with the conqueror. The conditions insisted upon by the latter were not heavy. It was arranged that he should retain possession of St. Paul until he should be able to place on board his ships the stores he had taken there, and to fit out the captured vessels† for sea. This was soon accomplished, and on the 2nd October, Colonel Keating evacuated the island and set sail for Rodriguez.

IV.

The success of this expedition showed the Government how far from formidable were the resources possessed by the islands, and how easy it would be to strike a decisive blow at these harbours of safety for the French privateers. Impressed with this idea Lord Minto, without waiting for orders from England, despatched in the spring of 1810, considerable reinforcements from the three presidencies to the island of Rodriguez. These reinforcements raised the troops under Colonel Keating's orders to 3,650 men, of whom not quite one-half were Europeans. So confident was Lord Minto of the success of his plans, that he nominated, in anticipation, Mr. Farquhar, of the Bengal Civil Service, to be Governor of the island!

The transports conveying the reinforcements to Colonel Keating arrived off Rodriguez on the 25th June, but it was not till the 3rd July that the expedition was able to start for its destination. This time Colonel Keating had determined to strike at once at the heart of Bourbon, at its capital, St. Denis. With this view it was arranged that the transports should meet at a given point about fifty miles to the windward of the island; that the troops should then concentrate by brigades on board H. M.'s ships of war‡ and that these should proceed at once to the points marked out for each beforehand.

About 4 o'clock on the afternoon of the 7th July, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, and 150 troops of the 4th brigade, accom-

* He left a paper saying that he had destroyed himself to avoid death on the scaffold,—a commentary on the dread caused in a weak mind by the terrible knowledge that his master required, before all things, success.

† These were the *Caroline* frigate, 44 guns; the *Grappler* brig, 11 guns; the

Streatham, a merchantman, 850 tons and pierced for 30 guns; 1' *Europe*, 820 tons, pierced for 26 guns; the *Fanny*, 150 tons, the *Tres Amis* and *La Creole* of sixty tons each.

‡ These were the *Boadicea*, 38; the *Sirius*; the *Iphigenia*; the *Magicienne*; and the *Nérétide*.

panied by Captain Willoughby, R. N., commanding a party of sailors, the whole constituting the advanced guard of the force, were successfully landed at a point between the battery St. Marie and the batteries of the town. A few moments later, Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod, commanding the 3rd brigade, effected a landing with 150 men, somewhat to the right of Colonel Campbell's party, expecting to be joined by the remainder of his brigade. But just at this moment the weather, which till then had been calm and moderate, suddenly became stormy. So violent was the surf that further disembarkation was impossible. Under these circumstances Colonel Keating could not fail to be very anxious for the safety of the handful of troops which had but just landed. Impressed, however, with the truth of the motto that in all doubtful circumstances boldness is prudence, the colonel was desirous that his troops should try to daunt the enemy by themselves taking the initiative. But the violence of the surf had increased and was increasing. No boat could take an order to them. Yet the fate of the three or four hundred men just landed seemed to depend upon their receiving one. Every device was tried. A small vessel was beached, stern foremost, in the hope that one at least of her crew might make his way to the shore. But the fury of the elements frustrated even this attempt. Further effort appeared impossible. Colonel Keating was in despair. At this crisis Lieutenant Foulstone, H. M.'s 69th Regiment, came forward unsolicited, and volunteered to swim through the surf and carry orders to Colonel Macleod. His offer was promptly accepted. Carried in a boat to the edge of the surf, Foulstone jumped in, and though a good deal knocked about, reached the shore. He carried orders to Colonel Macleod to unite the two parties which had landed, and at once to attack and storm St. Marie. Macleod carried out these instructions with spirit and energy, occupied the post, and remained there unmolested all night.

As the weather next day showed no signs of moderating, Colonel Keating proceeded with the third and fourth brigades to the leeward, to Grand Chaloupe; where, on the 8th, about 11 A.M., he succeeded in effecting a landing. Colonel Keating at this point was separated from the town by heights. He lost no time in crossing these, and before 2 P.M., he occupied a position from which he could command the enemy's entrenchments.

But affairs had gone somewhat too fast for him. The first brigade, commanded by Colonel Fraser, had succeeded at 2 o'clock on the afternoon of the 7th, in effecting a landing in a position to the south of the capital within sight of the enemy. This daring achievement had the effect of concentrating upon Colonel Fraser the entire attention of the French commandant, and diverting it from Colonel Macleod's isolated party. Colonel

Fraser resolved to keep his attention fixed. He at once pushed forward, dislodged the enemy from the heights, and then took up a commanding position just above the town.

He had with him only 350 bayonets, all Europeans, but with these he kept the enemy anxious and occupied until darkness fell. He then retreated to a secure position a little in the rear which cut the communications between St. Denis and St. Paul.*

Re-inforced during the night by from 300 to 400 sepoys, and by his guns and pioneers, Colonel Fraser, posting the sepoys so as to protect his rear, advanced at 4 o'clock in the morning towards the town, re-occupied the position of the previous evening, and, forming his troops there, waited for the day.

When day broke Fraser saw in the plain below him the whole available French force. This force, consisting of 190 Europeans and 350 Creoles, was drawn up in two columns, each with a field piece at its head, covered by the concentrated fire of the batteries, and commanded by the successor of the unfortunate des Bruslys, Colonel de Suzanne. Fraser did not hesitate. Under a mixed shower of balls issuing all at once from the many and deep-toned mouths of the ordnance and musketry* the British soldiers descended the heights in steady and unbroken alignment. When they reached the plain Colonel Fraser gave the order to charge. They at once charged home.

The French stood firm, covered by their guns, till the rush of the British grenadiers warned them of the earnestness of the play. They then retired in good order, without waiting for actual contact, behind the guns. But even there they were not safe from their infuriated enemy. Where they could retire he could follow. And he did follow. The dash of the onset could not be withstood. The French commandant escaped with difficulty; the second in command was taken prisoner; the men were driven headlong from position to position, until all their redoubts were occupied by their victorious rivals, and though rallying, they did make an effort to recover these, the attempt was not only unsuccessful, but it cost them the life of their leader. Shortly afterwards the French commandant sent a cartel asking for terms. A little later Colonel Fraser was joined by the second brigade under Colonel Drummond.

Such was the position when Colonel Keating with the third and fourth brigades came within sight of St. Denis on the afternoon of the 8th September. He was about to march on the town when a messenger from Colonel Fraser brought him the intelligence of its surrender.

The formal capitulation was not indeed signed till the evening

of the following day. By the terms of it the entire island of Bourbon, containing a population upwards of 100,000 souls, became British territory. This conquest had been effected with a loss of only eighteen men killed and seventy-nine wounded. There was no further resistance. The French troops were transported as prisoners of war to the Cape.

V.

The news of the capture of Bourbon reached Calcutta on the 24th August. It had the effect of stimulating the determination to conquer the larger island. It was known that the French squadron charged with the protection of the two islands, and consisting of the *Bellone* and *Minerve* frigates, and the sloop *Victor*, was absent on a cruise in the Indian seas. Mr. Farquhar, the new Governor of Bourbon, considered then the moment opportune, even before he should receive official authority, for feeling his way towards the accomplishment of this greater work. Accordingly on the 13th August he embarked 250 men on board the boats of the frigates at his disposal, and sent them that night to attempt the surprise of the Isle de la Passe. This small island, distant only three miles from the mainland, lies at the entrance of the harbour of Grand Port, then called Port Imperial, on the south-eastern coast of the Isle of France. The expedition was successful, and a garrison of 130 men was left to guard de la Passe. From this advanced post the English were able to communicate with the mainland, and Mr. Farquhar thought he could make an advantageous use of this communication by distributing to the people of the island copies of a proclamation in which the ambition of the French was contrasted disadvantageously with the good government of the English. This somewhat childish demonstration met with the fate that might have been anticipated. It failed to seduce a single islander.

Before advertg to the measures next taken by the English, I propose to remark for a few moments on the state of affairs at this moment in the Isle of France. The Governor of that island was General Count Decaën. He was one of the most distinguished officers of the French Army. He had made his earlier campaigns under Kléber, Hoché, and Moreau. At Hohenlinden he had contributed more than any other general, excepting perhaps General Richepanse, to the decisive victory. Named in 1802 by the First Consul Captain-General of the French possessions to the east of the Cape of Good Hope, he had accompanied Admiral Linois to the Indian waters, had with him visited Pondicherry, and recognising the impossibility of keeping that place in the event of the breaking out of a war, then imminent, with England, had sailed to the Isle of France, thence to concert the measure which it might still

be possible to direct against the resolute enemy of his country. But he did not stop there. He devoted himself with all the ardour of his generous and enlightened nature to the amelioration of the condition of the islanders. He modified and improved the old commercial laws; he established a number of useful institutions; codified the general, the civil, and the criminal laws of the island, embodying them in a code which, I believe, is still known as the Code Decaën.* So salutary were his reforms, so beneficent his administration, that many years later an illustrious† Frenchman referring, in a speech in the Chamber of Peers, to his achievements in the islands, used this remarkable expression: "General Decaën made the people over whom he ruled almost forget even the names of La Bourdonnais and of Duplex." "

Such was the man. Let us now glance at the means at his disposal in 1810. He had with him only 800 French troops of the line,‡ and scattered over the island, from 2 to 5,000 Creole militia. In Port Louis were three frigates, the *Astrée*, the *Vénus*, and *La Manche*: the others, constituting the squadron under Commodore Duperré, had not then returned from their cruise. With these small means to meet a powerful and well-organised attack, he must have felt that all the resources, even of his own brave heart, would be abundantly drawn upon.

Before, however, the English had been able to take advantage of their possession of de la Passe, Commodore Duperré returned, bringing with him, besides his own three vessels previously named, two Indiamen, the *Windham* and the *Ceylon*, captured in the Indian waters. As he approached the island on the 20th July, Duperré noticed the Tricolor still flying on the staff of the small fort in the Isle de la Passe. With it likewise was a signal advising him that "the enemy was cruising at the Coin de Mire." A three-masted vessel, also flying the Tricolor, was likewise discerned lying at anchor under the walls of the fort. Deceived by these appearances, Duperré signalled to his squadron to make the best of their way to Grand Port, directing the sloop *Victor* to take the lead closely followed by the *Mimerve*, each in passing to communicate with the three-masted vessel lying off de la Passe. The *Victor* sailed on without the smallest suspicion, till, as she was doubling

* So highly appreciated were the merits of this code, that when the Isle of France was surrendered to the English, it was made an article of the capitulation that it should be continued to be ruled by the Code Decaën. The article ran: "Shall preserve their religion, laws, and customs."

† Gérard Lacuée, Comte de Cessac,

one of the ablest of Napoleon's ministers. He died in 1841, leaving behind him, says M. Chanut "one of the purest and most honourable reputations of our epoch."

‡ He had also enlisted 500 foreign prisoners, mostly Irish; but these could not be depended upon to fight against their own countrymen.

the fort she received at once broadsides from the strange ship and from the battery on shore; these simultaneously hoisting English colours. The surprise of every one on board the French ships may be conceived. But Dupefré was equal to the occasion. Signalling to his ships to keep close to windward, he made his way into the harbour and anchored in a very advantageous position, admitting of constant communication with the shore. In this operation he had, however, the bad fortune to lose one of his prizes, the *Windham*, owing to the indecision displayed by the officer in charge of her.

Notwithstanding the advantageous position taken up by the French commodore, Captain Pym of the *Sirius*, in communication with Captain Willoughby of the *Néréide*, determined to attack him. On the 22nd accordingly both these frigates stood in, but they had scarcely arrived within a mile of the enemy's line when the *Sirius* grounded. The *Néréide* did not care to go on alone. The attempt therefore failed for the moment.

Meanwhile intelligence of the events occurring in the vicinity of Grand Port reached General Decaen. That able officer immediately despatched on board Duperré's squadron all the available seamen in the island. He ordered also the three frigates in Port Louis, the *Astrée*, *La Manche*, and the *Vénus* to proceed under the senior captain, Hamelin,* to the aid of their sisters threatened in Grand Port.

But before Captain Hamelin could reach the scene of action the two English frigates had been reinforced by the *Iphigenia*, and the *Magicienne*. As these approached the shoal on which the *Sirius* had struck the previous afternoon, but from which she had just then extricated herself, that vessel and her consort prepared to weigh anchor. But before deciding to renew his attack, Captain Pym assembled on board the *Sirius* the captains of the three other ships and all the available pilots. The conference resulted in a resolution to proceed at once to the attack, the certain effect of which no one questioned for a moment.

Duperré had expected this attack; and he had prepared to meet it with the skill which marked his long and glorious career. I have said that his ships had easy communication with the shore. All along that shore, below his vessels, he had erected formidable batteries, had armed them with heavy guns, and manned them with those of his sailors who were most skilled in the art of gunnery. His own ships, covered by shoals and by

* Uncle of Admiral Hamelin who commanded the French Black Sea fleet during the Crimean War.

sunken rocks, the navigation amongst which was difficult, had been so placed as to be able to meet with a concentrated fire an advancing enemy. The Indianman he had taken, the *Ceylon*, had likewise been heavily armed, and the command of her entrusted to one of the best officers at his disposal; Duperré had himself seen to every detail; he had that morning inspected every battery, said a cheery word to every officer, spoken to his captains of his plans and his hopes. Having done this he waited, with a serene countenance and a bold heart, the advance of the English.

They came on,—they too, dauntlessly, even jubilantly. But no sooner had they, sailing close together, arrived within range, than the shore batteries opened upon them. The fire was tremendous and effective, but it did not check the onward progress of the British ships. The *Iphigenia*, in accordance with a perviously concerted plan, directed her course towards the *Minerve*, and opened on her so terrible a fire within half pistol-shot that she drove her out of the line. The *Magicienne* a little ahead of the *Iphigenia* was about to engage the *Ceylon* when she struck on a hidden rock and lay motionless in the water in such a position that but few of her guns could bear on the enemy. The *Néréide* close astern of the *Bellone* commanded by Duperré, engaged that vessel on one side, whilst Captain Pym in the *Sirius* attacked her on the other. The French sloop, the *Victor*, was meanwhile doing all in her power to aid the *Minerve* by firing at, and engaging the attention of, the *Iphigenia*.

The number of guns, the weight of metal, the inspiration of attack, all were in favour of the English, and Duperré saw that unless he used his brain to aid the physical power of his men, his squadron must be destroyed. He put in force then a manœuvre which he had arranged beforehand in concert with his captains. He signalled to them to cut their cables and let their vessels gently strand. The result fully answered his anticipations. As his own vessel, the *Bellone*, glided slowly towards the shore, Captain Pym, with all the impetuosity of his nature, turned the *Sirius* in pursuit. Not following, however, the exact line the French commodore had taken, he dashed his vessel on to a shoal; and there she remained fixed, immoveable, and powerless.

Having thus rid himself of one enemy, Duperré concentrated all the fire of the *Bellone* on the other, the *Néréide*, which, following the example of the *Sirius*, had likewise drifted on a shoal. Exposed to a most galling fire, the *Néréide* fought until most of her guns were disabled and the greater part of her crew had been killed and wounded. Incapable of protracting the defence she then struck. But in the excitement of the fire and in the blindness of the smoke, the hauling down of the Union Jack was not

perceived by the enemy, and the French continued their fire for some time longer.*

In the other part of the line, likewise, fortune had inclined to the French. The *Iphigenia*, warned by the fate of her consorts, had warped out of close range. The *Magicienne* on her rock had been so pounded by the *Ceylon* and the shore batteries that, when morning broke, she could scarcely keep afloat.

The firing continued all night. At 11 P.M. the crew of the *Magicienne* abandoned her. She blew up immediately afterwards.* At the early dawn Duperré sent off a boat's crew to take possession of the *Néréide*. The *Iphigenia* then endeavoured for a short time to extricate the *Sirius* from her position, but failing, that vessel too was abandoned and blown up. Of all the squadron that had sailed so proudly and so confidently to the attack on the previous day the *Iphigenia* alone remained!

But she was not destined to escape. Duperré, indeed, was unable to get off his stranded ships in sufficient time to follow her to the Isle de la Passe. But just at the opportune moment, just as she had been warped to her station off that islet, there arrived off Grand Port the squadron of three frigates which General Decaën had despatched from Port Louis. In the presence of a force so overwhelming Captain Lambert of the *Iphigenia* had no alternative but to yield his vessel and the islet. He tried hard to save the former; but General Decaën had arrived at Grand Port, and he dictated terms of absolute surrender. They were with a pang accepted. The *Iphigenia* and her crew were made over to the French, and the Tricolor once more floated over the little fort of the Isle de la Passe.

Thus ended the first attempt of the English on the Isle of France. If we are bound to admire the pluck, the daring, the determination displayed by our countrymen, we cannot in candour, refuse an equally appreciative acknowledgment of the combined skill and courage by which Duperré converted an apparently certain defeat into a most decisive victory. Later in his career Duperré accomplished great things. In 1814 he defended the lagunes of Venice against an Austrian army; in 1823, at the head of a French squadron, he compelled the surrender of Cadiz; in 1830, commanding a French fleet, he besieged and took Algiers. But it is probable that whenever, during the time intervening between that last great feat of arms and his death in 1846, he might have been disposed to pass in review the events of his distinguished life, he referred with the greatest satisfaction to the repulse and destruction

* Every man on board the *Néréide* was killed or wounded.—*Asiatic Annual Register*.

of an English squadron of superior force at Grand Port on the 24th and 25th August 1810!

Flushed with his success, Decaën resolved to resume the offensive. Collecting all the ships at his disposal, now constituting a formidable squadron, he blockaded the island of Bourbon, intercepting with great success the merchantmen which were bringing supplies to it from India. He hoped to starve the English garrison into submission before it could be strengthened by the large reinforcements which, he well knew, were on their way from India. The only English ship remaining in those waters, the *Boadicea*, 38, had, after the re-capture of the *Isle de la Passe*, taken refuge in the harbour of St. Paul.

Whilst the blockade of Bourbon was still being maintained, the British 38 gun frigate *L'Africaine* appeared off St. Denis. (12th September). Captain Rowley instantly brought round the *Boadicea* with the *Otter*, sloop of war, and the *Staunch*, gun-brig, to join the new arrival. The junction having been effected, it was resolved to attempt to drive away the blockading force, consisting of the *Iphigénie**—recently captured at Grand Port—and the *Astrée*.

The French frigates stood at once off to sea enticing the enemy to follow them. It was soon found that the *Africaine* was a far better sailer than the French frigates and her own consort, the *Boadicea*, and that in the chase she was rapidly leaving the latter behind. She therefore shortened sail. Before night fell, however, the *Africaine* had come up close to the enemy, and she then endeavoured to maintain this position until day should break, keeping up communication with the *Boadicea* by means of night signals. At 3 o'clock in the morning, however,—the *Boadicea* being then from four to five miles astern of her consort,—a sudden breeze caught the sails of the *Africaine*, and carried her, not without her commander's consent, within less than musket-shot distance on the weather quarter of the *Astrée*. Captain Corbet, who commanded the English frigate, could not resist the temptation, but at once fired into the enemy. The *Astrée* immediately replied. The second broadside from the *Astrée* severely wounded Captain Corbet, but his place was taken by the first lieutenant, and the action was continued for ten minutes with great spirit. By that time the *Iphigénie* had time to come to the aid of her consort. Whilst the *Astrée* continued within pistol-shot on the larboard beam of the English frigate, the *Iphigénie* came close up on her starboard bow and raked her several times.

A contest so unequal could not long continue. Yet one hour elapsed before the gallant crew of the *Africaine* would confess

* The French at once changed the final *e* into *e*.

themselves conquered ; and even then it was not till 163 of their number had been killed and wounded.

But the interlude was not yet over. Commodore Rowley of the *Boadicea* noticed at break of day that the *Africaine* had been captured. He did not at once attempt to disturb her conquerors, but made way towards the *Otter* and *Staunch*. Having joined these he set out with them in pursuit of the enemy. The French frigates were not inclined to risk another engagement with three fresh vessels. The rigging of the *Iphigénie* had been so cut up as to render her difficult of management. She had also fired away nearly all her ammunition. Captain Bonnet of the *Astrée* preferred then the abandonment of his prize to an encounter which could scarcely be successful. Taking, then, the *Iphigénie* in tow, he abandoned the *Africaine*,—which was helpless,—to her former masters, and returned to Port Louis, capturing on his way a sixteen-gun cruiser belonging to the East India Company.

Commodore Rowley and his prize then reached the anchorage at St. Paul. The blockade of Bourbon was at the same time resumed by the French frigate *Vénus*, 44, and the sloop *Victor*. Whilst engaged in this blockade, these vessels sighted the British 32-gun frigate *Ceylon*, having on board General Abercromby, on his way from Madras to Bourbon, to assume the command of the troops destined to act against the Isle of France. They at once set out in pursuit. The *Vénus*, being a better sailer, soon caught up and engaged the British frigate. After a close contest of three-quarters of an hour, in which the *Vénus* lost her mizen-mast, and the *Ceylon* was rendered almost unmanageable, the *Vénus* assumed a position to leeward, and continued firing only at intervals until the *Victor** should come up. This occurred about two hours after the action had begun. The *Victor* then took a raking position athwart the bows of the *Ceylon*, and the latter, then quite helpless, struck her flag.

But there was speedy vengeance in store for the British. The *Boadicea*, accompanied by the *Otter* and *Staunch*, having descried the French frigate with her prize abreast of St. Denis, started off at once in pursuit. The *Victor* vainly endeavoured to take in tow the damaged *Ceylon*, and the latter, cast off, was re-captured. Then came the turn of the *Vénus*. But she had been too much crippled in her fight of the previous night to be able to offer effectual resistance to a fresh and more powerful frigate, and too much damaged in her rigging to escape. Captain

* The *Victor* was no other than our old friend, the *Revenant*, so famous under Surcouf. Taken into the French Navy as the *Jéna*, she

had been captured by the English and re-named the *Victor*. She was subsequently re-captured by the French.

Hamelin, who commanded her, made, however, a hot fight of it, and only struck when further resistance had become impossible.*

The capture of the *Vénus* was the turning point in the scale. Thenceforward the favours of fortune were showered exclusively on the British. Shortly after that event there arrived at St. Denis the frigate *Nisus*, bearing the flag of Vice-Admiral Bertie, the precursor of a fleet and army on their way from England *via* the Cape of Good Hope, ordered to co-operate with the troops taken from the three presidencies, which had started from India about the same time, to effect the reduction of the Isle of France.

VI.

It was not, however, until the 14th October that Admiral Bertie had been able to refit the ships which he found at St. Paul and St. Denis. But on that date he sailed from the former port at the head of the *Boadicea*, the *Africaine*, the *Ceylon*, the *Nisus*, and the *Néréide*,† to blockade Port Louis. Leaving three of these vessels on that duty, he proceeded on the 19th in company with General Abercromby to Rodriguez, there to meet the troops and ships which, coming respectively from England and India, had appointed that little island to be their rendezvous.

On the 24th Admiral Bertie fell in with the British squadron on its way to the Indian seas, commanded by Rear-Admiral Drury and consisting of seven ships. Two of these, the *Cornelia*, 32, and the *Hesper* sloop, were at once sent to increase the blockading force off Port Louis; two others, the *Clorinde*, 38, and the *Doris*, 36, were detained at Rodriguez; the remainder were sent on to their destination. The Admiral arrived at Rodriguez on the 3rd November, and found there the troops which had been sent from Bombay. The division from Madras convoyed by the *Psyche* and *Cornwallis* arrived on the 6th, and that from Bourbon on the 12th November.

* It is gratifying to notice the manner in which Hamelin's gallant service, notwithstanding the loss of his ship, was acknowledged by Napoléon. In a despatch from the Minister of Marine, dated 27th December 1810, I find the following: "His Majesty has remarked, with pleasure that you rendered decisive the success which Captain Duperré had obtained between the 23rd and 25th August, and that you subsequently captured the frigate *Ceylon* in a hand-to-hand encounter. Whatever may have been the events which followed, H. M. has not the less appreciated the splendid

defence which you made, notwithstanding that, when disabled by a preceding combat, you were attacked by superior forces. He has deigned, in appreciation of these different actions, which testify to your courage and to your skill, to promote you to the grade of Commander of the Legion of Honour." The following year Hamelin was created a Baron and promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral.

† Formerly the *Vénus*. It will be noticed that three ships of the squadron had been in the possession of the French.

The troops from Bengal and those from the Cape were so long in coming, that the Admiral in concert with the General determined not to wait for them beyond the 21st. All preparations accordingly were made for the expedition to leave Rodriguez on the morning of the 22nd, when, on the evening of the previous day, the happy intelligence was received that the Bengal division was in the offing. The transports conveying it were at once ordered not to drop anchor, but to join the main fleet and accompany it to the selected point of debarkation, Grande Baye, about fifteen miles to the windward of Port Louis.

The armament, independently of the division from the Cape of Good Hope, which did not arrive in time to take any part in the operations, consisted of forty-six transports, and a fleet of twenty-one sail.* They carried 11,300 fighting men, composed as follows:—Of regiments of the line there were, the 12th, 14th, 22nd, 33rd, 56th, 59th, 65th, 69th, 84th, and 89th regiments; the artillery consisted of four batteries from Bengal and Madras; the European cavalry of one troop of the 26th dragoons. The native troops from Bengal and Madras consisted of four volunteer battalions, and the Madras pioneers: two thousand sailors and marines were likewise contributed by the fleet. The Europeans were to the natives of the force in the proportion of two to one.

General Decaën had not been unconscious of the coming storm. Aware of his own inability to oppose with success any large hostile force led with ordinary prudence, he had nevertheless exerted himself to the utmost to rouse the energies of the colonists. We have seen that he had at his disposal only 800 French troops of the line in addition to 500 enlisted prisoners, mostly Irish, upon whom he could not depend. The Creole element has been variously estimated. Extravagant English writers have rated it as high as 10,000; but it probably never exceeded 4,000, and of these it is recorded by the English annalist of the time, † that "they refused on the approach of the British armament to co-operate in the defence of the island." A few of the slaves were armed, but in a most cursory and inefficient manner.

General Decaën might, indeed, well have despaired. But he allowed no symptoms of any such feeling, even if he entertained it, to appear. No sooner had he received information that the hostile armament had left Rodriguez than he issued

* These were, the *Illustrious*, 47; the *Cornelia*, *Psyche*, and *Ceylon*, of the *Cornwallis*, 44; the *Africaine*, the 32; the sloops *Hesper*, *Eclipse*, *Ecate*, *Boadicea*, the *Nisus*, the *Clorinde*, and *Actæon*; the gun-brig *Staunch*, the *Menelaus*, the *Nélide*, each of and four smaller vessels. •
 38; the *Phæbe* and *Doris*, of 36; † *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1801-11.

a spirited * proclamation calling upon the colonists to aid the army and navy in the defence of the island, promising them victory, should they respond to his call. He could do no more in that way. Then, massing his troops, he took up a position near Port Louis, whence he would be able to move at once upon any threatened point.

Meanwhile the transports carrying the expeditionary force arrived on the morning of the 29th November before a narrow passage dividing from the mainland a small island called Gunner's Quoin. It had previously been ascertained by careful survey that this passage offered openings through the reefs by which several boats could enter abreast. Here, then, at 10 o'clock in the morning, the fleet came to anchor. The debarkation on the mainland commenced at 1 P.M., and was conducted to a successful result, without the loss of a single man, in three hours,—the small French party which had held Fort Malartic, situated at the head of the bay, retiring on the appearance of the British fleet.

The English army had, previously to its debarkation, been divided into six brigades. The first, under Colonel Picton, was composed of the 12th and 22nd regiments, and the right wing of the Madras volunteer battalion; the second under Colonel Gibbs, comprised the 59th regiment, 300 men of the 89th and 100 of the 87th formed together as one battalion, and the left wing of the Madras volunteer battalion; the third, under Colonel Kelso, consisted of the 14th regiment and the 2nd Bengal volunteers; the fourth, under Colonel Macleod, was formed of the 69th regiment, 300 marines, and the Madras native flank battalion; the fifth, commanded by Colonel Smith, comprised the 65th regiment, a troop of the 25th dragoons, and the 1st battalion of the Bengal volunteers; whilst the 6th or reserve brigade, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Keating, consisted of a battalion formed of the four flank companies of the 12th and 33rd regiments, of two companies of the 56th, of one of the 14th, and one of the 89th, of the 84th regiment, and of Captain Imlack's detachment of Bombay

* The following is a translation of the text of the proclamation;—

"Inhabitants of the Isle of France. Thirty-four of the enemy's ships are before the island! This number, which may be increased at any moment, leads us to suppose that the English have not relinquished their intention to attack this colony—an intention in which they have been already once baffled by the glorious success of the brave men of the division of Duperré. I do not forget the proofs of zeal and intrepidity

displayed by you both before and after that glorious feat of arms

"Inhabitants of the Isle of France! In the present conjuncture I would remind you of the enthusiasm with which, on the last anniversary of the fête of the great Napoléon, you renewed your vows of fidelity to your country. You are Frenchmen! Join then, your valour to the valour of the brave soldiers and marines whom I am about to lead against the enemy, and we shall not fail to be victorious."

troops which had done such good service in the capture of Bourbon.

The debarkation had no sooner been effected, than leaving the 5th brigade to cover the landing place, General Abercromby at 4 o'clock pushed on with the rest of the force through a very thick wood, lying between the coast and the high road leading to Port Louis. The troops forced their way for fully four miles through an all but impenetrable jungle, entangling their feet at every step, and dragging the guns only by the greatest and the most untiring exertion. They had, however, the good fortune to débouch into the more open country without any opposition. Just, however, as they reached that more open plain they came upon the advanced picquet of the enemy. The men of the picquet had not evidently anticipated an attack from that quarter, for they were surprised; and after a faint and irregular fire, they retreated from their position.

Their fire, however faint and irregular as it was, effected some damage. Two grenadiers were killed and two officers and several men wounded. Some officers and men likewise succumbed to the intense heat and to the fatigue of the march. The French picquet having retired, General Abercromby encamped his force in the open ground in front of the wood. He resumed his march in the morning with the intention of pushing on to Port Louis. But the heat of the day, and the extreme scarcity of water rendered this impossible, and the little army, after marching only five miles, was forced to take up a position for the rest of the day and for the night at Moulin à poudre, on the banks of a small river called Pamplémousses, which thus covered the camp.

To return to General Decaën. This officer had anticipated that the English army would disembark at a point nearer to Port Louis—whence the road to the capital was shorter and easier—and he had taken his measures accordingly. He never could have anticipated that an invader would land his troops on a point where the inland country was covered by an almost impenetrable jungle, defensible by a few determined men against an army. But the moment he received the news brought by the retiring picquet, he prepared to meet the new danger,—a danger the greater,—as the natural defence had been forced, and there were but ten miles between the enemy's camp and the capital. It was not, however, until mid-day of the 30th that he was able to collect a force at all respectable to make head against the enemy. This force, consisting, including the Irish prisoners forced into the service, of 1,300 Europeans and 2 to 3,000 Creoles, he posted in a rather strong position, about two miles in front of the capital. He drew up his men on a level ground over which the high road passed, the guns in the centre on either side of the road

concealed by brushwood, and both flanks covered by a thick wood impenetrable on the right and capable of a strong defence on the left. Having so disposed his small force, he galloped forward followed by his staff, by a few Creole cavalry and some riflemen, to reconnoitre the English position.

The English had been about two hours in their encampment at Moulin à poudre when General Decaën rode up. Approaching rather too closely, a smart skirmish ensued, in the course of which the French General received a contusion on his leg. What he saw there, however, was worse than any contusion. He counted a force exceeding his own in the proportion of ten to one, and ready the next morning to cover the five miles which still intervened between it and the capital.

Decaën must have felt as he rode back to his men that according to the probabilities, further resistance would but cause a useless expenditure of blood. He determined, nevertheless, to make one effort for victory. On his return to camp he despatched 300 men with two guns to occupy a position commanding the bridge over the Tambeau, about half a mile in front of his camp. Could he but keep the invaders there for a short time he might yet raise a force to operate on their communications.

But it was not to be. Early the following morning, before daylight, General Abercromby detached the fourth brigade to seize the batteries at the Tambeau and Tortue bays, whence it had been arranged that the army was to receive its supplies. The main body of the force under the personal command of the General, commenced its movement on Port Louis shortly afterwards. After marching about two miles it came within sight of the bridge over the Tambeau. As it was seen to be defended, the advanced column was halted, whilst the guns opened with sharpness on the enemy. The fire was so well directed that the French retired precipitately, leaving uncompleted the destruction, begun and partly executed, of the bridge. They fell back on their main body.

The injury done to the bridge had been so far effectual that the guns of the British were unable to cross it. They had to seek a passage lower down, at a ford commanded by the French artillery. The passage was attended with difficulty and some loss, but was nevertheless accomplished. The British force then moved on the position occupied by the French and flanked by thick woods already described.

General Decaën had witnessed, not unmoved, the passage of the Tambeau. He knew that he was now left with but one card in his hand. He played it boldly. Carefully reserving his fire till the heads of the hostile columns should advance within range, he then opened upon them a concentrated and continuous discharge.

This fire coming from guns which had been masked checked the advance for a few moments. But it was only that the British troops might deploy. For them there was nothing for it but the bayonet. The advance guard, led by Colonel Campbell of the 33rd, under the general direction of General Ward, having quickly formed, dashed straight on. Nothing could stop their splendid charge. The enemy's troops, after a gallant struggle, in which many of them were killed, were forced back from their position, leaving their guns in the hands of the conquerors. These, however, did not gain a bloodless triumph. Besides several privates, Colonel Campbell, 33rd, and Major O'Keefe, 12th, were killed. Whilst this was going on in the centre, an attempt which had been made on the left flank of the French, had proved not less successful. After a gallant resistance the enemy's position was forced, and all his guns were taken.*

The French force retired across the river Latanjers within the outworks of Port Louis. The English took up a position for the night just beyond cannon-shot of the enemy's lines.

But it was all over. The English fleet commanded the harbour, and the fortifications could not be defended by the small force at the disposal of the Captain-General. Reconnoitering the following morning, General Decaën observed preparations in the enemy's camp, betokening an intention to make a general attack upon the town. Such an attack would, he knew, not only be irresistible, but it would entail upon the inhabitants great calamities. In their interests, then, and in the interests of humanity, having done all that was possible for France, and exhausted every available resource, General Decaën resolved to capitulate. He sent an officer, bearing a flag of truce, with a proposal to this effect to the British camp.

He was just in time. General Abercromby was on the point of despatching a force to the southern side of the town, so that the assault might be combined and general. The proposal for a capitulation alone stopped the movement. The General agreed to it, though demurring to the terms proposed. But these were soon arranged. The Isle of France with all the ships in her harbours, all the arms in her arsenals, all the stores in her magazines, was transferred bodily to England. One point was insisted on by General Decaën, and, from motives of policy, accorded by the English commander. This was that the French troops

* In this action the French lost about 100 men, killed and wounded. The return of the English for this engagement, and for the slight encounter in front of the wood on the

29th November, is as follows. killed, 28; wounded, 89; missings, 45. Total 162. Besides these one sailor was killed and five were wounded.

should not be considered as prisoners of war, but should be permitted to return to France at the cost of the British Government with their arms and baggage.*

Thus did the French lose, after an occupation of nearly a hundred years, the beautiful island upon which had been bestowed the name of their own bright land, and which in climate, in refinement of luxury, in the love of adventure of its children, had been, in very deed, the France of the East. In the long struggle with England which had followed the Revolution, the Isle of France had inflicted upon the English trade a "damage which might be computed by millions," whilst she herself had remained uninjured—for eighteen years indeed unthreatened. She had proved herself to be that which the great Emperor had declared that Cherbourg should become,—“an eye to see and an arm to strike.” Protected for long, partly by the storms of the ocean, partly by the daring spirit of her children, partly by the timid councils of the British Government, she had been, for the privateers who preyed upon the commercial marine of the East India Company, at once a harbour of refuge and a secure base of operation. She had been the terror of British merchants, the spectre which haunted the counting house, the one black spot in the clear blue of the Indian Ocean. The relief which was felt by the merchants of Calcutta was expressed in an address presented by them to Lord Minto, in which they offered their “sincere congratulations on the capture of the only remaining French colony in the East, which has for so many years past been the source of devastation to the commerce of India, to a magnitude almost exceeding belief.” †

* I think it right and fair to give General Abercromby's own reasons for agreeing to the demand of General Decaën in this particular. In his report to Lord Minto he says: “I was prevailed upon to acquiesce in this indulgence being granted to the enemy, from the desire of sparing the lives of many brave officers and soldiers, and out of regard to the interests of the inhabitants of the island, who have long laboured under the most degrading misery and oppression, added to the late period of the season when every hour became valuable. I considered these to be motives of much more national importance than any injury which would arise from a small body of troops, at so remote a distance from Europe, being permitted to return to their own country free from any

engagement.” It will be seen that General Abercromby avows that he was influenced solely by considerations of general policy. His statement regarding the misery and oppression of the islanders, of which he had no personal knowledge, may be dismissed as gratuitous.

† It may interest many of those now residing in Calcutta to read the names of the merchants who signed this address. They were—Alexander Colvin, John Palmer, J. D. Alexander, J. H. Fergusson, Robert Downie, James Mactaggart, Joseph Barretto, John Robertson, James Scott, Johannes Sarkies and William Hollings. The object of the address was to ask Lord Minto to sit for his portrait in commemoration of the capture of the isle,

The ease with which the Isle of France was captured in 1810 suggests the question why she was so long allowed to pursue her aggressive career? An investigation of the cause of this apathy on the part of the British, when so many interests were at stake, can only tend to confirm the conviction of the prescience and wisdom of Marquess Wellesley; to show very clearly the unsoundness of the timid policy by which he was so often over-ruled. The great Marquess not only urged an expedition in 1800; he fitted one out in 1801. This was diverted to Egypt. Shortly afterwards the Court of Directors, dreading the genius which would, if unfettered, have advanced the civilisation of India by twenty years, replaced him by a Governor-General who began by undoing the large work of unification which his predecessor had initiated. When Lord Cornwallis died, the Court of Directors, after vainly endeavouring to confer the Governor-Generalship on a narrow-minded reactionist—who, in the short term of his acting incumbency, confirmed and extended a system which left the States of Rajpútáná a prey to Márhátá free-booters,—imposed a policy upon Lord Minto which restricted his power for that kind of aggressive warfare which is so often the best and surest defence. It is a high testimony to Lord Minto's intellect that in the end he burst those trammels, and forced one portion, at least, of the policy of Marquess Wellesley on a peace-loving Court of Directors and a distrusting ministry.

It is Lord Minto then who, taking up the dropped thread of the policy of Marquess Wellesley, wrested the Isle of France from her parent country. For France indeed, even her name, the name she had borne for about a hundred years, perished on that 3rd December 1810. Called by her discoverers, the Portuguese, Cerné, re-named in 1598 by the Dutch after their Maurice of Nassau, Mauritius; falling, after her abandonment by the Dutch between 1703 and 1710, into the possession of the French, the island had been subsequently known to the world by the name she bore when the English captured her. But the name did not suit the new conqueror. It was erased, and that bestowed in honour of the great Stadtholder was substituted. The Isle of France vanished from history with the last month of the year 1810!

With her conquest, too, ended the careers of the privateers on the Indian seas. They, too, vanished with the island which had nurtured them. Thenceforward the huge Indiamen of the Company could sail in comparative safety. In the course of a few years not only did the dread of the French cruisers vanish, but their exploits came to be listened to with a smile. Not the less, however, are the deeds which they did accomplish, worthy of being recorded. They show that if, in a future war, priva-

teering should again be legitimatized, it may be possible for a nation whose navy shall have been annihilated and whose ports shall be blockaded, to inflict, by means of it, on a nation which may even bear the title of the mistress of the seas, losses the full extent of which it would be almost impossible to estimate.

G. B. MALLESON.

JESSORE.—PART II.

BY H. JAMES RAINEY.

WE now propose reviewing and dilating on *only* the third part of Mr. Westland's report, which relates to "the first thirty years of British administration" of the district; inasmuch as it discusses subjects of importance, and occupies about double the space allotted to the two previous parts, and somewhat more than that given to the following three parts put together, exclusive of the Appendix, which latter, however, fills up but ten pages. We shall reserve for another, and probably final paper, the consideration of the remaining parts thereof.

The history of the early period of the British Government of Jessore comprises, as just mentioned, in all one score and ten years, and is stated to be "compiled chiefly from the official records" of the district, and may therefore fairly be assumed to be authentic and trustworthy. A preliminary chapter is devoted to a rather limited view of the state of the district previous to 1781, from which year the British administration is said to have actually commenced.

It will not, we think, be out of place to here very briefly set forth *how* and *when* the English came to assume the Government of the country, as a sort of introduction to what follows.

The popular notion on the subject is, we believe, that from the victory of Paláshi,* gained under the conduct of Clive on the 23rd June 1757, dates the British Government of at least Lower Bengal. But, although that memorable battle may be broadly said to have laid the foundation of the English power in this country, yet we for some time afterwards in no wise concerned ourselves with the internal affairs of even the afore-mentioned province as a whole, and the administration of civil and criminal justice, and the collections of the revenue remained, as heretofore, in the hands of the Nawáb of Murshidábád. And, it was only subsequent to the British obtaining the *Diwán* of Bengal, Bihár, and Orissá from the Emperor of Delhi, Sháh 'A'lam, on the 12th of August 1765, on the condition of paying a tribute of a couple of *lákhs* of rupees *per mensem*, out of the revenue, that they appear to have made any effort to interfere with the administration of the country.†

* The name of an insignificant place, thirty miles to the south of Murshidábád, on the left bank of the Húgli, and supposed to be derived from a grove of Palásh trees, (*Butea frondosa*, Rox.), which stood there, and which trees produce beautiful orange flowers, and yield a fine, yellow dye.

† The reasons for assuming the *Diwán* are fully stated in a letter of

the Governor in Council, to the Court of Directors, dated September 3rd, 1765, paras. 21 and 22, *vide* the Rev. J. Long's *Selections from the Records of the Government of India*, vol. I, pp. 425 and 426. The Court of Directors approved of the acquisition of the *Diwán* in their letter of 17th May 1766, paras. 10 and 13 *Ibid*, pp. 468 and 469.

When the British, in 1765, acquired the *Djauhi* of the three provinces aforesaid, the first of them, with which we need only concern ourselves, was governed by Muhammad Rizá Khán, on behalf of the Nawáb, under the title of *Naib Subahdár*, and his abode was at Murshidábád. He was confirmed by the English in his position as head of the administration, and Jagat Set and Rái Durlabh were appointed his colleagues.* The administration of the revenue affairs by Muhammed Rizá Khán under the British, lasted for about seven years, as the Company's servants, who were engaged simply in mercantile pursuits, had of course no experience of the Government of the country.

The commencement of the new year for the collection of rent, which takes place some time after the setting in of the Bengálí *San*, is ushered in, in every Zamindár's *Katchari* in the Lower Provinces, by a religious, or rather quasi-religious, ceremony of the Hindus, designated *Púrnya*, † literally signifying "good works," but used here in the sense of "first fruits;" and this was observed in a commensurately grand scale at the court of Murshidábád, where it was to be held in state, when the annual settlements of the revenues of Bengal were made. This was observed by the British for some time, and the first of them was held on the 29th April, 1766, and is thus described in the Board's proceedings of the 5th May of that year. "That His Excellency the Nawáb sat in quality of Nizam and the Right Hon'ble the President took his place as Collector of the revenues for His Majesty—that they thought it by no means advisable to deviate upon slight occasions from the established forms and customs of this anniversary, and therefore accepted for themselves and for us the usual presents of a dress and elephant to each. That the Zemindárs and other public officers have consented to pay to the amount of five lacs and twenty thousand rupees as first fruits of the ensuing collections; of this sum four lacs are already received, and the remainder they have reason to expect will be paid in a few days into the Treasury. That all possible despatch will be used in closing the balances of the present year so as to complete for the Province of Bengal a collection of 140 lacs; a

* There appointments were thus announced to the Court of Directors in the letter of the Governor in Council, bearing date the 3rd September 1765. para. 16. "As Mahomed Rizá Khán's short administration was irreproachable, we determined to continue him in a share of the authority, at the same time that we associated with him men of weight and character, so that each became a check upon the conduct of the

others. Accordingly we fixed on Jugget Seat and Roy Dullub for the reasons assigned in the proceedings; and we now have the pleasure to acquaint you that the business of the Government goes on with unanimity, vigour, and despatch."

† Thus showing that the Hindu custom, albeit a somewhat religious one, was maintained by the Muhammadan conquerors.

"revenue that must far exceed expectation, when it is considered that six months were elapsed before we took charge of the collections, and that the more weighty and considerable balances were actually incurred before we received the investiture of the *Diwāni*."

The civil and criminal affairs of the administration, previous to the *Diwāni* being transferred to the British, appear to have been in the hands of the powerful Zamindárs, who ruled with supreme sway, only reporting to the Názim when they had sentenced criminals to suffer the extreme penalty of the law, as executions were not allowed to take place without his sanction, but it was hardly ever withheld.

When the Government of the country came into the hands of the British, at first little or no change appears to have been effected with regard to the administration of justice, except that the heads of the factories were enjoined to exercise a general supervision over the courts established by the Názim, which, as was to be expected from those utterly destitute of experience and knowledge in the matter, was more or less imperfectly performed. However, in August 1769, a number of covenanted civil servants were stationed in several districts, under the designation of "Supervisors," with the sole object of regulating the native tribunals, where the Muhammadan law still prevailed.

In 1772 Muhammad Rizá Khán, who as Naib Subáhdár had charge of the revenue, and as Naib Názim supreme control over the police, was, under instruction of the Court of Directors, deposed by Mr. Warren Hastings, then Governor, whose vigorous administration had just commenced. On the 14th May of the same year, a proclamation was issued, announcing that the Company would thenceforth "stand forth as *Diwān*." The European officers previously appointed in the interior as "Supervisors," were now, under the designation of "Collectors," directed to personally look after the realisations of the revenue, and they were placed subordinate to a Committee, composed of four members of Council, who were empowered to make settlements, and generally control the fiscal operations. In each district there was established two separate courts. The one for the administration of criminal law, denominated *Faujdarí Adálat*, was presided over by a *Kázi* and *Mufti*, assisted by two *Maulavies* to expound the law, and placed under the supervision of the Collector, who, *inter alia*, was directed to have a box kept at the entrance of the *katchari* for petitions to be put in, which was evidently the prescribed mode of receiving complaints; and he was also required to forward bi-monthly an abstract of the register of the proceedings of the court to the superior court located in Calcutta, called *Sadr Nizámat Adálat*, in which a principal native officer sat, under the title of '*Dárogháh*,' or

'Superintendent,' and was aided by the head *Kāst* and chief *Mufti*, as well as three learned *Maulavies*. The other court, for the adjudication of civil suits, denominated *Dīwāni Addlat*, was presided over by the Collector personally, and assisted by the *Dīwān*. An Appellate Court, was also established at the same time in Calcutta, styled *Sadr Dīwāni Addlat*, to which the district civil courts were immediately subordinate.

Three years afterwards, or in 1775, we find that the *Sadr Nizāmat Addlat* was sent back to Murshidābād, and the administration of criminal justice vested again in the Naib Nāzim. He appointed *Faujders*, aided by *Kāzīs* and *Muftis*, to supervise the criminal courts, and to be responsible for the maintenance of peace and security in their respective jurisdictions, though, of course, in such effete and corrupt hands these results could not be expected to be realized, nor were they as a matter of fact attained. As regards revenue affairs, the European Collectors were withdrawn, and natives, under the title of Amils, appointed in their stead, and these new functionaries were also empowered to adjudicate civil suits. The only European officers left in the interior of the province were some half-a-dozen covenanted servants in the same number of circles into which Bengal had been divided, and who heard appeals from the orders passed by the Amils. These were, it must be confessed, retrograde measures, and they lasted for six years, that is to say, up to 1780.

Now, we shall proceed to consider what Mr. Westland has set forth as to the state of the district prior to 1781. He states that nearly the whole of the district was comprised within three or four great Zamindāries, and enumerates these: Isabpūr (Yūsufpūr), Syadpūr, Muḥammadshahi (Mahmūdshāhi) (and Bhusna), (Bosnah). We may here add that Sir John Shore, (afterwards Lord Teignmouth) has left it on record as a fact, that some seven Zamindārs in Bengal paid the Government as rent one million of rupis, which exceeded the rest of the aggregate revenue of the entire province. And Mr. W. S. Seton-Karr, a distinguished member of the Bengal Civil Service and an accomplished scholar, in his article on 'The Owner of the Soil,' (*Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXXII, page 310,) wrote when Judge of Jessore, and evidently in allusion to this district that "it was formerly—evidently prior to the Decennial Settlement—"parcelled out between two of the seven "whom Shore enumerated, with the addition of a third." He then goes on to state that: "These three, between them, were "liable for the revenue of a country which extended from the "Ishamatti not forty miles to the east of Calcutta to the north bank of the Poddha or Ganges." The then existing state (in 1859) of the successors of those Zamindārs, is thus graphically sketched:

"One is reduced from the receipt of rents exceeding half a million to a poor pittance of two or three lakhs a year. The second is represented by an individual on whom a liberal education, and the direct superintendence of watchful guardians, collectors and commissioners, during a lengthened minority, have bestowed just intellect and capacity sufficient to enable him to squander a good patrimony. The third, though noted for careless management and consequent indebtedness, is a generous landlord, a loyal subject, and a gentleman with tendencies somewhat in favor of the old school." As the writer has refrained, probably advisedly, from giving us their names, we do not think we would be justified in mentioning them.

Among the Zamindáries of less extent, we find Parganá's Hogla, Belfuliá (Belphúli), and Sultánpúr specified. The last of them, or rather thirteen anás thereof, was acquired by one Kasináth Datta in 1774, owing, we are told, to the former Zamindárs being unable to pay in the arrears of rent due. This fact is prominently brought forward in order to prove that the Zamindárs, prior to the Permanent Settlement, were not hereditary proprietors of the soil; but Mr. Westland evidently forgets that, although he must allow that the existing class of Zamindárs are in reality hereditary proprietors of the land vested in them—be it by virtue of legislative enactment if he will—yet they are liable to be dispossessed of their holdings in a far more summary manner, *i. e.*, by the sale of their properties,* simply on failing to pay in any one instalment of revenue due, before sunset of the particular date fixed for that purpose. Therefore, this argument, confidently advanced by Mr. Westland to establish that Zamindárs prior to British rule were not hereditary owners of the soil, is of no avail, and falls to the ground.

Besides the few important Zamindáries mentioned above, there were numerous minor ones, and the total number of them at the time of the Permanent Settlement is stated by the writer of the Report, to have been "just over 100." Mr. Seton-Karr, in his article in the *Cakutta Review*, quoted in the para. before the last, p. 354, mentions that: "In 1793 the number of estates for which separate engagements had been signed, was three hundred and seventeen." There is a considerable discrepancy between the former and latter figures, but it is easily accounted for, inasmuch as Mr. Westland evidently noted down only *de facto* Zamindáries,

* Of course the defaulter will now receive the surplus of the proceeds of the sale after deducting the amount due as revenue, if there be any, but the payment formerly of the arrears of rent must also be

considered as in some sort an equivalent of the price of the property, and to all intents and purposes it was nothing else. The price of landed property is now at its maximum: it was then at its minimum.

whilst the reviewer, it may be inferred, includes Independent or *Káhrjò Tálugs* as well, which at that time sprang into existence.

It is then curtly announced in the report, that "Zamindárs were mere contractors of revenue," and the case of Kasináth Datta, before referred to, is cited, as a "strong argument" in proof of it. We have by parity of reasoning shown that this argument is fallacious, and the very same objection can be urged to the other case, that of Manohar Rái, quoted by him as an additional proof in favor of his contention. But as Mr. Westland has frequently, in other parts of his report, reiterated what he states in this place, we think it as well to meet his arguments here, and shall dispose off the question once for all, at least as far as we are concerned.

The erroneous impression that the British Government found the Zamindárs nothing more than mere contractors of revenue, and raised them to their present position of hereditary proprietors of land, is generally prevalent among Europeans in this country, even in usually well-informed circles, and certainly requires to be dispelled. This we shall endeavour to do, though we are by no means sanguine that we shall be able to bring to our way of thinking those who have a *strong bias the other way*, for, as Butler says in his *Hudibras* :

"Convince a man against his will,
He's of the same opinion still."

It will be necessary for us to briefly glance at the *status* held by Zamindárs prior to the Muhammadan conquest, and during the Hindu government. The country was, we find, divided among a number of *Des-Adhikáris*, or "owner of provinces," under whom were sub-holders, designated *Grám Adhikáris* or "owners of villages." When the Muhammadans took possession of the country, they did not oust the *Des-Adhikáris* from the position they occupied, but simply changed their designation, and called them in their—the conquerors'—own language, *Zamindárs*, which, *par parenthèse* does not in any wise signify "contractors of revenue," the name for which is *Ijárdars*, nor "collectors of revenue," *Tahsildár*, but *bona fide* "holders of land." The profits of the land were distributed in certain fixed proportions thereof to the cultivator and the sovereign, leaving, evidently, a fair but undefined percentage, however, for the Zamindár which was equivalent to his share of the crop. And, as the crop represented the rent, the value thereof naturally fluctuated in different seasons, and therefore neither the demand of the king on the Zamindár, nor that of the latter on the *raiyat*, could be fixed. Englishmen are apt to understand the phrase "proprietor of land" in the

sense in which it prevails in England, that is to say, the absolute owner of the soil, therefore they find it well-nigh impossible, many of them absolutely impossible, to comprehend the position held under native rule by the Zamindár. Perhaps Harington's definition of the term Zamindár is the least open to objection : it is as follows :

"The Zamindárs were, under the Muhammaḍan practice, land-holders of a peculiar description, not definable by any term in our language,—receivers of the territorial revenue of the State from the ryots ;—allowed to succeed to their Zamindáriēs by inheritance, yet generally required to take out a renewal of their titles from the sovereign on the payment of a fine to the emperor and a present to the Názim,—permitted to transfer their Zamindáriēs, yet commonly expected to obtain previous special permission ;—privileged to be generally the annual contractors for the public revenue received from their Zamindáriēs, yet set aside with a limited provision in land or money when it was the pleasure of Government to collect the rents by separate agency, or to assign them temporarily or permanently by the grant of a *jaghir* or *altamgha* * ;—authorized to apportion to the different villages the cesses imposed by the *Subahdár*, yet subject to the discretionary interference of public authority to equalise the assessment,—and liable to render accounts."

That the Zamindár's position was generally insecure and uncertain under the despotic sway of the Muhammadans, and that he was at times treated with harshness and injustice, is no proof, we opine, that he had no right to better treatment at their hands ; for they were the arbitrary acts of an arbitrary Government, when the right of the cultivator to the crop he grew was equally uncertain, for another might appropriate it by force, and with the connivance of the rulers. If what one man sowed, another could reap, and that precious boon, life itself, and still more precious boon, the chastity of women, were not considered of any moment in the eyes of the ruthless Moslem rulers of the land, with how much less regard must have the right and title to property been treated by such relentless men. It must be borne in mind that, nearly all the Zamindárs were Hindu. And, finally, to prove that Zamindárs were not simply what Mr. Westland and others have represented them to have been, we shall quote a brief extract from the English translation of the firman

* This shows that the Zamindár had a lien on his estates, and as the grant in lieu thereof was in proportion to its extent, it may fairly be said to have represented its value,

of course arbitrarily, but in those "good old days" of anarchy and oppression, injustice was the rule, and not the exception.

of the Emperor of Delhi, Farukhsiyar, to the English, dated as far back as A. H. 5229, = A. D. 1717 : * "That the "rentings of Calcutta, Chuttanutty, and Govindpur, in the "Pargana of Ameirabad, etc., in Bengal, were formerly granted them and *bought by consent of the Zamindárs of them*"—this part of the sentence has been italicised by us and clearly shows that Zamindárs were *de jure et de facto* proprietors of their lands,—and were now in the Company's possession, for which they yearly pay the sum of Rs. 1,195-6 annas * * and that they have the renting of the adjacent towns petitioned for, *which they are to buy from the respective owners thereof.*" These italics are also ours, and conclusively establish that Zamindárs were entitled, according to the authority of the Emperor himself, to receive the full price of their Zamindáris. Furthermore, if the reader will turn to the Rev. J. Long's "*Selections from the Records of the Government of India*," Vol. I, p. 175, he will see what was the form of *Sanad* granted to the English by the Nawáb of Murshidábád, and the only difference in that and similar *Sanads* from others being, probably, that the former specified a fixed instead of a variable rental.

The array of facts above given, and the inference drawn from them, will, we hope, convince all who are open to conviction that the Zamindár was, under the Muhammadan régime, what his name signifies, *the owner of the land*. And it is rather puzzling to us to find that those who have had fair opportunities of ascertaining the true facts, do not apparently care to do so, and persist in maintaining a contrary opinion on such insufficient grounds.

For some time at first, it appears, that the revenue of the district, owing to there being no local treasury, was to be paid partly in Calcutta, and partly in Nator, (Rájsháhi).

We now come to the period when British administration of Bengal may fairly be said to have commenced. On the 6th of April 1781, the Governor-General in Council decreed the abolition of the establishments of the Faujdárs and Thánádárs, and the six covenanted servants presiding over the like number of courts in the country were trebled, and their courts augmented in the same proportion. These officers, besides being Judges, "were"—to quote the words of the Resolution—"invested with the powers, as Magistrates, of apprehending *dacoits* and persons charged with the commission of any crimes or acts of violence, within their respective jurisdictions." But they had no power to hold any trial, or

* Stewart's *History of Bengal*.

inflict any punishment on those apprehended. They could only forward them on to the nearest *Faujdari* Court, and deliver them over to the *Dároghah*, who was merely subject to the authority of the Naib *Názim* at *Murshidábád*, to whom he had to refer for orders in all cases, except the most trivial ones, in which latter he, the *Dároghah*, was empowered to award petty fines, or short terms of imprisonment. There were two *Dároghahs* then stationed in the district, one at *Jessore*, and the other at *Bosnáth*, where there were also jails, under their charge.

The head-quarters of the district was at the very commencement fixed at *Murli*, and the first officers appointed there were Mr. *Tilman Henckell*, Judge and Magistrate, on a salary of Rs. 1,300 per mensem, who arrived there some time in May 1781, and his Assistant, Mr. *Richard Rocke*, the Registrar, on a salary of only Rs. 300 a month, who also reached the place in the same year. Both were most able and energetic men, and the name of the first of the two has not yet been forgotten by the people of the district, though almost a century has passed away since he first appeared in *Jessore*. Mr. *Henckell*, we find, lost no time in endeavouring to organize an efficient police, and he stationed a force of 50 *Sipáhis* at *Murli*, 30 at *Mirzánagar* and *Bagnah*, respectively, and 4 at *Dharmpúr*, whilst at *Noábád* (*Khulná*), there was none, as the force attached to the Salt Department there was doubtless deemed sufficient for it. At all but one—*Murli*—of the five places named above, (the remaining four were old *Thánáhs*,) he placed police officers, designated *Girdáwás*, and not, as stated in the Report, *Girdwars*,* whose duty it was to apprehend all *Dácoits* and despatch them to *Murli* for trial. But, the Government within a very short time, about a year, directed the entire force, except that at *Murli*, to be abolished, on the score of its being too expensive.

The Magistrate was, in 1782, directed to make *Zamindárs* and other superior land-holders responsible for the apprehension of criminals and suppression of crime, and the punishment to be awarded to them, *i.e.*, the *Zamindárs*, for conniving at any serious offence, was declared to include the hanging of the delinquent. The *Zamindárs* were also required to erect *Thánáhs*, and to appoint proper officers to have charge of them; and some 13 *Thánáhs* appear to have been at first thus created, but the number varied at different times. These arrangements may be said to have continued in force till Lord *Cornwallis*

* We believe *Girdáwá*, گردوار is a *dwar*, دوار transliterated by Mr. Westland *Girdwar*, is an adjective and signifies "a patrol," whilst *Girdá* meaning "all round," or a circuit.

vigorously set about to effect, a thorough reformation of the administration ; and, that they were in *some measure* an improvement on the police establishments which existed during the time of the Faujdárs, was owing simply to the indomitable energy which Mr. Henckell brought to bear in their supervision, as also to the fact that he managed to retain the establishments at Thánáhs Jhenida and Noábád, being authorized to temporarily engage the services of Thánáhdárs and Girdáwás for special occasions.

Owing to the depredation committed by *Dácoits* in the Sundarban, Mr. Henckell induced the Government, after, as usual, a great deal of trouble and difficulty, to permit of his entertaining a special establishment of six patrol boats. That the most daring *Dácoits* were perpetrated there at that time, is evident from the following extract, taken from the first volume of *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*, by Mr. W. S. Seton-Karr, p. 269.

"The *Dácoits* who have so long infested the Sunderbunds and "the rivers leading to and from Dacca, have, in the last week, "been uncommonly daring in their depredations. A detached "party of seven boats were, on the 2nd instant at Sonarampoor, "where they laid under contribution every boat passing and re- "passing. The principal *Dácoit's* boat carried the Company's "colours, and they plundered without fear in open day. A large "party, said to consist of about fourteen armed boats, attacked "on the 3rd, between Calpudity and Gurneedy, a Mr. Burgh, on "his way to Calcutta : on their approach, Mr. Burgh desired them to keep at a distance, which they refused, calling out, " 'Toom ko marnaka iah,' or we are come to kill you, on which "Mr. Burgh fired his musket, but unfortunately was brought down by an arrow which pierced his breast, and afterwards, on their boarding his boat, being run through his back by a *roybans*, "a kind of spear, fell into the river, and his body has not since "been found. One of his *dándies* was also killed, and another "dangerously wounded with an arrow above the eye. * * The "same party are supposed to have proceeded towards Gazepore, "near Dacca, where, on the 4th, in the morning, two European "gentlemen in *budjrows* were attacked, and stripped of all their "things, even to the clothes which they wore. The *dándies* were "forcibly taken out of the boats to be employed by the *Dácoits* "in their future excursions. On the evening of the same day, Mr. "Willes, proceeding from Sylhet, fell in with the same party, "consisting of fourteen boats ; after having been chased some "time, finding the *Dácoits* gaining fast on his *pulwa*, he ordered "her to be run on shore, and escaped with his *dándies* and "servants. The *Dácoits* took possession of his boat and "plundered her of everything on board, remaining in her "from four o'clock till twelve at night, the greater part of

"which time they were occupied in emptying the bottles of liquor they found on board."

Again, at page 270 of the same work, another daring attack by *Dácoits* is thus narrated :

"In addition to the outrages of the Sunderbund *Dácoits* mentioned in our last,"—dated November 13th, 1788—"we hear that on the 15th ultimo, a naik and eight sepoy, proceeding from Calcutta to Culneá, (? Khulná) were attacked at the mouth of the Choonpoorie river" (? Chunkhuri, a creek about 16 miles or so below Khulná),—"by some five or six and twenty boats, each manned with some sixteen or eighteen men, a number of whom boarded the boats of the sepoy, wounded several of them, and plundered the whole of their property, as well as their muskets and bayonets. One of the sepoy being missing, was probably killed."

That the *Dácoits* did not carry on their audacious exploits with perfect impunity, and that Mr. Henckell was, to some slight extent, able to make way against them, will be seen from this extract from the same page of the above work already twice quoted :

"These repeated depredations call for immediate and exemplary punishment, and we are happy to hear that Mr. Henckell, the Magistrate at Jessore, has apprehended twenty-two persons supposed to have been concerned in the above robbery. Eleven others have also, we understand, been taken by Mr. Ewart, Salt Agent at Jynagur."

Among the leaders of the *Dácoits*, the writer of the Report mentions the name of one Hirá Sirdar ; and he also mentions that "of Kálisankar Datta or Rái,* the ancestor of the Narail family," who Mr. Henckell stigmatized as "a *Dácoit* and a notorious disturber of the peace," but Mr. Westland considers him to have been "rather a latthial Zemindár than a *Dácoit*." The Report then goes on to describe an *achievement* in arms of Kálisankar and his no less valiant brother, Nanda Datta. They having plundered a rice boat, were attacked by a body of Sipáhis under the leadership of "Kutbullah," a Girdáwá, sent out by Mr. Henckell to apprehend the promising brothers. Kálisankar having mustered a force of 1,500 strong at Narail, formed them into four divisions, and gave battle to the police force, who appear to have been ignominiously routed within three hours, with a loss of three killed, and fifteen wounded, including their leader. Subsequently, Kálisankar, Nanda Datta, and some others of the marauding band, who took a prominent part in the fight, were seized and lodged in durance vile at Muxli, but they were, according to Mr. Westland's information,—where

* The former indicates the name of the family, and the latter designation is used in these parts to signify that the holder of it is the owner of land.

obtained from it is not stated, but probably from some of the members of the Narail family,—tried by the Dárogah and acquitted. We must add that, Mr. Westland says, he was "told the offence"—the original one of course—"was not a *Dácoity*, but a *lut taraz*," and naively remarks:—"Still, he surely ought to have been punished for his armed resistance to his apprehenders."

Under the heading of "the Administration of Criminal Justice" from 1781, the thorough failure of the system of trial by Dárogahs is clearly shown; and, it is stated that, "in 1785 the Government empowered Magistrates to hear petty cases of "assault, abuse, and pilfering and to inflict on them punishments "not exceeding four days' imprisonment or 15 stripes." But, Mr. Westland does not in this place, or elsewhere, as far as we are aware, notice the regulation passed by the Governor-General in Council in June 1787, "for the better administration of justice "in the Criminal Courts in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa." We ought, we think, to here supply the omission. By this enactment, the "Magistrate was invested with power to hear and determine, "without reference to the *Faujdari* Courts, all complaints or prosecutions brought before him for petty offences, such as abusive "language or calumny, inconsiderable assaults and affrays, and "to punish the same where proved, by corporal punishment not "exceeding fifteen rattans, or imprisonment not exceeding the "term of fifteen days." Any case in which a greater punishment ought to be inflicted, was to be remitted, as before, to the nearest *Faujdari* Court, but the Magistrate could fine up to the sum of Rs. 200 in groundless and vexatious complaints, according to the reputed wealth of the culprit, which provision was adhered to in the law on the subject passed in 1793, *vide* Sec. 8, Reg. IX of that year. The Magistrate was required to inspect the jails in his jurisdiction periodically, and to report on them to the Governor-General, that "the necessary representations might be made to the Naib Názim." European British subjects charged with offences, were directed to be committed to the Supreme Court for trial, and all other Europeans were declared to be amenable to the authority of the Magistrates and the *Faujdari* Courts. We are indebted for these interesting particulars to Mr. Beaufort's able *Digest of the Criminal Law of the Presidency of Fort William*, published in Calcutta in 1846.

Mr. Henckell, among his other projects for the good of the Government and the people, proposed a plan for the reclamation of the Sundarban by means of convict labor, but though "this Sundarban plan," as it was called, appears to have been approved of by the Board of Revenue, the scheme of the *convict colony* was never even attempted. Another proposal of Mr. Henckell, of employing short-term prisoners to work on the roads, and long-term prisoners

to be deported to some penal settlement, was also approved of, and the former of the two recommendations at least would appear to have been at last partially adopted.

"The administration of Civil Justice" for a like period of ten years, is next dealt with, and takes up barely a single page. The two or three subjects there touched upon call for no particular notice, but we may remark that the Judge, who had limited power, was evidently able to effect but little good to the people.

The heading of the next chapter is rather startling, it must be admitted. It runs thus: "The Salt Department and its fights with the Magistrate." This narrative is likewise from 1781 to 1790, and occupies half-a-dozen pages. The Salt Agent, Mr. Ewart, C.S., whose head-quarters were at Khulná, evidently at the outset declared war with the Magistrate, and did all he could to oppose him, and often successfully too. The salt system was, no doubt, "founded on the most grievous oppression," inasmuch as contractors for the manufacture of that commodity, the Malangis, used to sub-contract with others, the actual manufacturers, called Maihandárs who were coerced to take advances on the most unremunerative terms, and seized and taken to the Sundaiban to prepare salt. Mr. Ewart supported the unrighteous Malangis in their oppressive acts on the Maihandárs, *vi et armis*, and Mr. Henckell, with his accustomed love of fair and honest dealing, strenuously endeavoured to protect the latter, hence the disputes between them, which raged with unabated fury for a series of years. Of the kind treatment by Mr. Henckell of this poor and oppressed class, the following short extract from Mr. Seton-Karr's *Selections*, Vol. I., p. 253, will best speak.

"It is a fact that the conduct of Mr. H.———",—obviously Henckell—"in the Sunderbunds has been so exemplary and "mild towards the poor Molungees"—Maihandárs is evidently meant—"or salt manufacturers, that to express their gratitude "they have made a representation of his figure or image, which "they worship amongst themselves. A strong proof that the "natives of this country are sensible of kind treatment, and "easily governed without coercive measures."

We may fittingly add that such is the detestation and horror with which Malangis are still regarded by the people in the southern and south-eastern parts of Bengal, that to call any one by that name is considered to be vile abuse. It has, in short, become a term of opprobrium.

As a commercial undertaking the salt department was in existence in the district prior to the British administration thereof,*

* In the Rev. J. Long's *Selections*, "Translation of a petition from the I, 408, in the Proceedings, Secret Vakeel of the zamindár of Buzzoorga : Department, May 7th, 1754, is a Medpoor," a Pargánah south of

and in the map of 1769, given with Mr. Sandeman's *Selections*, Vol. IV., Khulná, which was its principal station, is shown, and styled "Jessore-Culna," whilst Jessore appears nowhere else in the map.

In the *Cal. Jour. Nat. His.*, Vol., II, pp. 251 and 252, Mr. James Patton, Assistant Salt Agent, gives the following lucid and interesting account of the native mode of manufacture of salt as formerly pursued in the Sundarban.

"The *sea-water* during spring tides is permitted to flow over "a portion of ground levelled for the purpose, to allow the earth "to be impregnated with salt; the three highest tides are usually "sufficient; and as soon as the ground has become dry again, "the earth and salt are scraped together and placed in heaps. "The salt and earth in heaps are then put in a filter constructed "of straw, and washed with *sea-water*, the brine from "the filter "passes into a hole dug-out for that purpose, and plastered with "clay. From this the liquor is boiled in small earthen vessels "placed like a honey-comb, one vessel being attached to the "other. This method is followed in Báhárbung salt works. In "other salt works, called *Tuffaul*, the boilers are flat, and placed "in rows. The only difference in the two forms of boiling is, "that in the former dry wood is burnt to keep up fires only "during the day, and in the other, large logs of green wood are "burnt night and day, so that the one makes more salt; but the "quality of salt in both cases is *supposed* to be the same. After "the salt is all formed in the pots, it is taken out, and with the "liquid that remains, is placed in baskets for the purpose of "draining."

The salt manufactured out here was generally supposed to be adulterated freely with nitre, but Dr. J. McClelland says—*vide* the work and page just quoted—"The dirty and moist appearance of "the common bazar salt, is owing to its containing the muriates "of lime and magnesia, which give to the whole a deliquescent "appearance." Our table salt is, as the reader doubtless knows, a pure article, and known to chemists as 'muriate of soda,' but the natives of this country would not, until a comparatively recent period, taste it, under the impression that it was largely mixed

Báqirganj, and according to Mr. Blochmann, (*Jour. As. Soc.*, Pt. I, 1873, page 229) called after Buzurg Umed Khán, son of that well-known Governor of Bengal, Sháista Khán who ruled the province from 1664 to 1677 A.D. The complaint sets forth "the oppression of the Factories" (? Factors) "of the Company, and "many other English Traders, who, "it alleges, 'press the inhabitants

"and carry them in the woods of the "Soonderbuns paying them only half "their wages. They take possession of "lands in the Soonderbun and make "Tafalis of salt for which they pay "no rents.' Especial mention is made "of one Mr. Dobbins, who is stated "to be there committing every species of oppression and violating the "women of the inhabitants and erecting factories, etc."

with the pulverized bones of animals of all descriptions,—men, cattle, swine, etc., and were apprehensive of swallowing particles of human, bovine, porcine, or any other ossified matter, which would militate against their caste.

A chapter of a couple of pages is devoted to the Company's cloth factories, of which there were two, one at Buran, and the other at Sonabaria, and the superintendent in charge of them and Mr. Henckell appear to have been also at daggers drawn, as the latter wished to shield the weavers from the rapacity of the underlings, and the former considered such conduct as impertinent interference, and resented it accordingly. These factories were termed *aurungs*, and we find from the Rev. Mr. Long's *Selections*, vol. I, p. 63, that one of the two factories, named above,—Buran (Burron), is mentioned in the list of the Company's *aurungs*, in a despatch to the Court of Directors, dated December 8th, 1755, and that it was supplied with funds that year to the extent of "Current Rs. 82,261-0-3." There were then in all thirteen *aurungs*, and had an aggregate sum of "Rs. 12,81,637-2-0," granted to them as advances.

Next we have, in a chapter of less than two pages, a narrative of facts relating to the "establishment of the Collectorate at Jessore." At the suggestion of Mr. Henckell, Jessore was created into a Collectorship in 1786, and he was appointed Collector thereof, in addition to his other multifarious duties, which he discharged with zeal, vigour, and ability, leaving the impress of his mind on every department in which he was in any way concerned. The Collectorship at first comprised Pargánáhs Yúsúfpúr and Sydpúr, and we are told "also some estates separated from Murshidábád." The revenue, which then amounted to little less than Rs. 6 *lákhs*, was payable to the new local Treasury, and not as previously to the treasuries at Hughl and in Calcutta. In the following year, in the *Calcutta Gazette* of March 29th, (*Vide Mr. Seton-Karr's Selections*, vol. I, p. 185), we observe the appointment of the new collector thus stated: "T. Henckell, Esq. confirmed Collector of Jessore, with additions from Mahomedshahy, lately under J. Sherburne, Esq., Hooghly, lately under R. Holme, Esq., and part of other districts."

The chapter following deals with the proposed Permanent Settlement, in the discussion of which, in 1788, Mr. Henckell took a prominent part. His idea appears to have been that the settlement should be made with the rayots, and their rents realized through the Zamindárs, whom he considered to possess some sort of a right. The question of *lakhiráj*, or rent-free tenures, also came up for discussion at the time, and it was at first proposed to resume all such created subsequent to the acquisition of the Dívání, but eventually the grantees were somewhat less harshly treated. In A. D. 1784 the Government declared "the Burmutters and Dibutters and charity lands of

all kinds" in Burdwan, "should be upon the same footing as "those in the Calcutta Pergunnahs," and those only "exempt from any tax" as were "applied to maintaining of priests or schools." * These stringent provisions were departed from afterwards, still the resumption proceedings caused a great deal of dissatisfaction among the people, and they were in many instances unjust.

Another chapter describes at some "length the state of things" prior to the Permanent Settlement, "as regards landed property, from 1785 to 1790. * The estates are said to have been over-assessed, and Mahmudshahi,—" called after one of the three Mahmudshahis of Bengal," † given as Mahammadshahi by Mr. Westland, is brought forward as an example in point. In Todar Mull's rent-roll of A. D. 1582, given in the *Ain-i-Akbari* by Abul Fazl, we find that Sircar Mahmudabad, as it is there designated, is stated to have comprised some 88 *mahalls*, and yielded a revenue of Rs. 2,90,256 per annum, and Mr. Westland states that the whole of it was assessed in 1178 B. S.,=A. D. 1771-72 at Rs. 2,87,614, to which, if we add the Zamindar's allowance of Rs. 18,000, and the rents of the *Britti*, or endowed lands, Rs. 1,800, we have an aggregate of Rs. 3,07,414; but these two items should be properly excluded, as they were, probably, not comprised in the former assessment, and therefore the balance is in favor of it. Thus, it will be seen that the estates must have somewhat deteriorated in value between those two periods.

The half-a-dozen pages composing the next chapter, is devoted to the Permanent Settlement of, it is said, 1790, but this is hardly correct, for although the terms of the Decennial Settlement passed in that year were confirmed by the Permanent Settlement, yet the latter was not promulgated till three years afterwards, by Regulation I, of 1793. Mr. Henckell having been transferred to the charge of a more important district, Rajshahi, he was succeeded by his Assistant, Mr. Locke, on the 14th October 1793, as Judge, Collector, and Magistrate, and on him devolved the task of initiating the new measure. It appears that the Zamindar obtained a remission from the aggregate revenue of one-eleventh part thereof, the balance being paid to Government in four unequal instalments during the year. At the same time the Government abolished the "*Sayer*" or "duties and customs," as defined in Mr. Warren Hastings' "Explanation of Terms," submitted to the Government in 1759, and which is the earliest glossary of Muhammadan terms extant, as will be seen from the Rev. J. Long's *Selections*, vol. I, p. 117.

* The Rev. J. Long's *Selections*,
vol. I, p. 380.

† Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal,
Pt. I., 1873, p. 217.

The Tálúqs, well-known to the natives as *Kharija Tálúqs*, which were originally created by the Zamindárs, were now separated from the several Zamindáris to which they appertained, and their rents were made payable direct to the Collector. Another description of Tálúqs, the rents whereof were payable through the Zamindár, and which we may, we presume, style Shikmi Tálúqs, remained in the hands of the Zamindárs, but it was declared that, "their rent, and its *future increase*,"—the italics are ours, and show that such holdings are liable to enhancement—"ought to be stated with accuracy." Of course Zamindárs had in the beginning, and for a long time afterwards, to render annually their collection papers and accounts to the Government, i.e., the Collector. At the outset, the Kánungos, who were "officers deputed on the part of the ruling power to the offices of the Zamindáris," were retained, but their services were dispensed with in a very short time as unnecessary.

It would appear that the Náváb of Murshidábád was accustomed to grant certain favourites the right to levy some sort of an allowance from Zamindárs' estates, for Mr. Westland relates, that such privileges were conferred on "Boho Begum, one of the Murshidábád family," who claimed to realize Rs. 9,200 on that account. In 1790 the Government granted her in lieu thereof a life-pension of Rs. 6,300 per annum, which lasted only for four years, as she then died, but the amount was added to the permanent "revenue leviable from the estates," and thus the Collector did a fine stroke of profitable business for the Government.

The Government required the Zamindárs to grant *Páttás* to their rayats, before the close of the Bengali year 1198, or the middle of April 1791; but, according to Mr. Rocke, the Zamindárs were unable to do so, as all the rayats did not pay their rents directly to the Zamindárs, for some of them paid through the Gantidárs, or farmers. In all cases, however, where the Zamindárs received the rents direct from their rayats, they do not appear to have conformed to the rule laid down, which was, probably, not appreciated by the ignorant rayats at that time, who did not care to demand their *Páttás*.

Another chapter of some thirteen pages is set apart for a very full description of "the state of things following the Permanent Settlement," said to be from 1791 to 1802. It shows that the early Zamindárs, far from deriving any benefit from a fixed revenue demand, found themselves hardly dealt with, and unable to meet their assessments, which must have been therefore excessive. The vicissitudes of fortune experienced by the proprietor of the Bosnáh Parganá, and the Rájá of Nator, are related by Mr. Westland to prove that the Zamindárs at first had a hard time of it. Now Kálisankar Rái, an ancestor of the Narail

family and the founder of its fortunes, steps on the stage in a rather different character from that of the daring leader of *lathis*, in which he last made his appearance in the annals of Jessore. He was regarded by the then Rájá of Nator, Babú Kisori Chánd Mitra informs us, * "As a friend, philosopher, and guide. But he was unfortunately neither a faithful friend, a good philosopher, nor an infallible guide. He was, on the contrary, a principle of evil introduced into the Nator Ráj for its destruction." The splendid estate of Bosnáh was sold piece-meal in 1799, on account of arrears of revenue. We are further told by Babú K. C. Mitra,† that "the other estates of the Ráj shared the same fate as Bhusna," and that the "largest purchaser of these estates was Kálisankar Rái."

We may here fittingly observe that the Permanent Settlement was not, as too many deem it, a hasty, inconsiderate, and impulsive act of Lord Cornwallis, who was then, it is said, wholly unacquainted with this country and its people. The Court of Directors appear to have contemplated such a measure years before, for in their instruction to the new Governor-General in 1786, they state: "A moderate assessment regularly and punctually collected, unites the considerations of our interest with the happiness of the natives and security of the landholders, more rationally than any imperfect collection of an exaggerated *jumma*, to be enforced with severity and vexation!" And Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Kaye most accurately sums up the history of the measure, when he says:—

"It passed into law nearly seven years after Lord Cornwallis descended from the quarter-deck of the *Swallow*. It was sanctioned by the Court of Directors and the Board of Control after at least two years of consideration. It was approved as a Zamindaree settlement by all the first revenue officers in the country, and as a permanent settlement by many of them. It was based on information acquired during twenty-eight years' of diligent enquiry."

An account of "the ruins of the old Zamindárs" commencing from 1795, and proceeding down to 1802, comprises a chapter of five and a half pages. The next victim of the Permanent Settlement alluded to, was another native nobleman, Rájá Sri Kanta Rái, Zamindár of Yúsufpúr‡ an ancestor of the present

* *Calcutta Review*, January 1873.

† *Ibid.*

‡ This zamindari was thus advertised for sale in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 9th February 1797: "Sheriff's Sale—Notice is hereby given that on Wednesday, the 25th of January last, the Sheriff of Calcutta will put up to sale, by virtue of a

"writ of execution issued in a cause, wherein Nemychurn Mullick (who hath survived John Hart) is the plaintiff, and Rájáh Sereecant Roy and Gopeenath Roy are the defendants.

"All those six Pergunnahs in the zamindaree of the said Rájáh Sereecant Roy and Gopeenath Roy, called

Chanchrá Rájá. On his death the family were reduced to absolute destitution, and received a compassionate allowance of Rs. 200 per month from Government; and this pecuniary aid, subsequently reduced to Rs. 186, only ceased in 1812. Next, a third native nobleman's fortunes, or rather misfortunes, are narrated, that of the Rájá of Naldanga, the Zamindár of Mahmúdsáhi. Of this magnificent property a small portion only remains in the hands of the family. Several other Zamindárs also shared the same fate, for we find that Belpuli was sold several times, and Hoglá—it must have been one of the four shares into which it has been divided prior to the Permanent Settlement—once, in 1796. The difficulties and hardships of the Zamindárs will be readily appreciated, when we state that in 1800, the Collector reported no less than a thousand estates in arrear, and he, the year before, wrote to the Government that, “there was hardly a single large landholder in Bengal, who had not been reduced to ruin.” This gloomy aspect of affairs, however, gradually improved. The Collector in 1811 wrote that, there was “a general reclamation of waste lands,” and Reg. VII. of 1799—the much-dreaded *haptam káran*, as it was called by the natives, with its summary procedure for distraint and sale of the “crops, cattle, and other personal property of the under-tenant for arrears of rent,” enabled the Zamindárs to realize their rents from the rayots, and pay in the Government revenue.

Next, we have a chapter of 2½ pages on the “Creation of a new class of Zamindárs,” embracing the like period of seven years noticed in the foregoing chapter. It describes the breaking up of the larger estates into innumerable minor ones, which the author of the Report considers to have been, without doubt, an indirect advantage flowing from the Permanent Settlement, inasmuch,—to quote the *ipsissima verba* of the writer—“that society is always most prosperous where wealth is distributed over many individuals, instead of being massed in the hands of one or two only.” This proposition is no doubt unassailable in the abstract, but one which the losing side must always fail to appreciate, e.g., Mr. Westland would not, we feel sure, relish the idea that, the amount of expenditure sanctioned for the Indian Covenanted Civil Service Establishment, instead of maintaining the number of officers it now does, was to be distributed among double or treble its present numerical strength, say among the Uncovenanted Judicial and Executive Services as well, though by so doing the greater good to the greater number would certainly

“or known by the name of Issubpore, etc., within the district of Jessore.”
It then mentions the Parganahs, and that the highest bid for each of

them in the previous sale was Rs. 50; Vide Mr Seton-Karr's *Selections*, II. 605.

be attained. Another, and undoubted advantage was that, the estates were by these means reduced to manageable sizes, and that the new class of Zamindars that came in were neither so improvident nor so unaccustomed to business as their predecessors ; but they, the successors, belonged, we should say, to a lower, or inferior grade in the social scale. The following two chapters demand more attention from us than most of the preceding ones. They give a narrative of the "early attempts" to reclaim the Sunderbuns," *i.e.*, from 1784 to 1800, and an account of the establishment of the Chándkháli Sub-Division in 1786, respectively, which we shall consider together.

Mr. Westland says that, the Sundarban route was, in Mr. Henckell's time, nearly the same as that now existing, *vid* "Kochua, Khulná, Chándkháli, and by the rivers leading past Káliganj." Some time before that, however, it was evidently very different, for, in the "map of the Eastern Parts of Hindoostan," given with Mr. Sandeman's *Selections*, Vol. IV, and said to be "drawn chiefly from actual surveys," 1769,* we find, what is marked as "the Sunderbund Passage," between the Balishwar and Pasar rivers, to have been along a river running apparently, from where Morrellganj *alias* Saráliyá is, down to the meeting of the Pasar and Marjáltá rivers, some 60 to 70 miles below Khulná. It is not at all surprising to learn that this wild and uncultivated tract was infested with robbers and *ddcoits* ; and, Mr. Henckell in 1782 or 1783, established for the security and convenience of those having to take the route given in the report, three *ganjes* or Bázars ; one at Kochua, on the Bháirab, another at Chándkháli on the Kabadak ; and a third at a clearance made by Mr. Henckell himself, and called after him, Henckellganj, on the Khalindá, written as "Hingulgunge" in the Revenue Survey Map, and thus all but effacing its history.

To Mr. Henckell must be accorded the high honor of being the founder of the scheme for the reclamation of the Sundarban adopted by the Government.† He submitted, on the 4th of April

* Rennell's Sundarban map bears date A. D. 1781 ; he was appointed, when a Captain in the Bengal Army, in 1767, Surveyor-General on only Rs. 300 per mensem. That post is now held, and we believe deservedly so, by Colonel H. E. L. Thuillier, on just ten times that salary.

† But, he was not evidently the first British officer who leased out waste lands of the Sundarban, as the following extract from the *Statistical Reporter*, Vol. I, headed "The Sunderbuns," will show :

"In 1774 A.D., Mr. Claude Russell, as Collector-General of the 24-Pargunnahs granted leases under the authority of Government for clearing waste lands in the Soonderbuns, immediately south of the cultivated tracts of land between the Hooghly river and Channel Creek on the west, and the Roymungal on the east. At that time it would appear that the Roymungal was the boundary between the 24 Pergunnahs and Jessore."

1784, a plan for the clearance of these waste lands, on these terms: the grantee to be allowed 200 *bigás* free of rent,—out of how many *bigás* it is not stated,—and on the remainder he was to pay on the fourth year, a rental of 2 annas; on the fifth year, 4 annas, on the sixth year, 6 annas, and on the seventh year the maximum amount, 8 annas. This proposed measure was approved of, and Mr. Henckell, in addition to being Judge, Magistrate, and Collector, became “Superintendent for the cultivation of the Soonderbuns” which was the designation of this new post, the first created in connection with the Sundarban. Some degree of success attended Mr. Henckell’s scheme at first, so that he in 1787 considered it to be “a great success;” but he had soon to encounter opposition from the border Zamindárs, who claimed the new clearances, and probably rightly so, as belonging to their Zamindáris. Mr. Westland says that, “as the Pergunnahs were divisions which bore reference to the land revenue system, they did not extend southward of the cultivation, and land which was yet unreclaimed belonged to no Pergunnah at all, and therefore was within no Zamindári settlement.” But Mr. Westland will find, on a reference to the general register in the local collectorate, that the *mousas* within each Pargánáh were clearly specified, and the zamindárs had, therefore, every right to each one of them, whether cultivated or not, as lands of both descriptions were given over to them, with the full knowledge and consent of the Government. Besides, Mr. Westland reasons on the assumption that, the lands reclaimed by Mr. Henckell’s Taluqdárs were then cleared and cultivated for the first time; this we emphatically deny. We consider that the probabilities were, that they were cultivated before, but had for some cause or another, similar to what we witness even now-a-days, relapsed into jungle.

On the whole, despite the obstacles Mr. Henckell had to contend with, his scheme was partially successful. One of the Government clearances—and there appear to have been several of them—was Chándkháli; where Mr. Henckell, in 1786, established a sub-division—the very first of this class of establishments in Bengal—under Mr. Foster, who was directed to take “cognizance of civil and criminal matters of no great importance within thirty miles of his station,” and to grant licenses and receive rent for honey and wax within the Sundarban. Mr. Foster only remained there for a couple of years, and then the establishment was removed to Murli. Enclosed by a masonry wall, fast crumbling under the rude hand of time, is still to be seen the residence of the sub-divisional officer, a small brick-built house in a ruinous state, having three rooms and a verandah, but minus the roofing, which having been supported by rafters, probably *sundri* ones, has come bodily down. The walls, too, will most likely soon tumble down.

Regarding the cultivation of the Sundarban, *prior* to the British rule, we may quote the words of Clive, as he wrote to the Court of Directors in 1758, December 31st :

"The extent of the Pergunnah of Cursey Turies is unknown, "it reaches as far as Gunga Saugor to the south, the Sunderbunds to the east ; the revenue it formerly yielded, we are informed on good authority, amounted to 40 laks of rupees, "but the greater part of this Pergunnah is uncultivated, uninhabited, and overgrown with jungle. The rents of it amount to "no more than Rs. 2,925-9-0, and we pay the Nawab only Rs. 562-8-0."*

We may also here quote from the Rev. Mr. Long's "Introduction" to his *Selections*, (the first volume of which has only yet made its appearance, we regret to say), regarding the early cultivation of the Sundarban *subsequent* to the advent of the British Government. "That Captain Tolley" (? Tolly) "is mentioned "in 1766 as busy about a factory on the borders of the Sundarban, or passage through the woods." The canal to the south of Calcutta, spanned by Hastings' Bridge, is called after this officer, as well as Tollyganj in the suburbs. *

"The district and its head-quarters" from 1781 to 1810, forms the title of the next chapter. The names of the district officers up to 1815 are given, and heading this list, the most prominent among them are those of Messrs. Tilman Henckell and Richard Locke. Among the others, we may notice the name of Mr. Richmond Thackeray, father of the celebrated novelist, who acted as Collector in 1805. There was another Thackeray also in the Bengal Civil Service, and doubtless a relative of the late successful author : in 1766, Mr. William Makepeace Thackeray landed in Calcutta as writer, was posted to the Secretary's office, and was in the following year appointed cash-keeper.† Among the modern district officers of Jessore, the three best known to the people, for their ability, zeal, energy, and activity are, rather strange to say an Englishman, an Irishman, and a Scotchman, *viz.* : Messrs. Francis Lestock Beaufort, Edmund Weldon Malony, and James Monro, which is the order in which they joined the district. All of them are, we are glad to say, still living, and only one, the first of the trio, just retired from the service and the country for good, after an arduous official career of more than one-third of a century. We may here appropriately add, that the Uncovenanted, or Subordinate Judicial Service, was established in 1832, or somewhat less than half a century ago, by the *fiat* of Lord William Bentinck, and the following are the names of the two officers gazetted to the district, on the 20th March of that year, thus :—

* The Rev. J. Long's *Selections*, † Ibid, 447, and 504.
1752.

"Moulavi Ickram-Ullee, Principal Sader Amin, and Mr. J. N. Thomas, Sadr Amin."

The boundaries of the district appear to have undergone various changes at different times, and the Magistrate's and Collector's jurisdictions were not concurrent. Pabna and Faridpúr were districts created subsequent to the Permanent Settlement; the latter in 1814. The last rectification of the boundaries was as late as 1863, when a large number of estates were transferred from Jessore to Faridpur and *vice versa*.

About 1790, the head-quarters of the district was transferred from Murli to its present location, then known as *Sáhibganj*, for the other name given to it by the natives, *Kashá*, simply signifies in the vernacular "a town." When Mr. Henckell arrived at Murli, he appears to have found a house there, styled by him "the factory;" no doubt one of the cloth factories of the Company, which must have been a handsome structure to have been worth Rs. 18,650 at that time, when labour and materials could be obtained so very cheap. At the outset the Government had, we are told, 500 *bighas* in an about the existing station, taken from the Rájá of Chanchrá, but it has dwindled down considerably, owing, evidently, to the carelessness and neglect of the local authorities. That which remains to the Government within the station is called "*Sáhib-dakl*," a corruption of, no doubt, "*Sáhiber-dakhal*," or "the *Sáhib's* possession," from which it may be conjectured that the place acquired the name, "*Sáhibganj*" on the officials locating themselves there, or if it had the name before that, then from some Musalmán grandee of that ilk residing there, who bore the Muhammadan title of *Sáhib*. It may be mentioned that the largest *mahall* within *Sikár Khalsatábád* was in Akbar's time "*Jesar*" (*Jessore*), *alias* "*Rasulpúr*," the latter an obvious Muhammadan designation. It is called by these names in Todar Mall's rent-roll of 1582, given in Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari*, *vide* Jour. As. Soc., B., N. S., Vol. XLII, p. 217. This shows that the Hindú name of *Jessore* was giving way at that time to the Muhammadan one of *Rasulpúr*, or rather the latter was then attempted to be substituted for the former. The insalubrity of the place is recorded from the earliest times, and of the several early district officers, two of them died there, *viz.*, Mr. A. M. Willock, on the 18th, or 20th September 1807, and Mr. E. Parker, on the 18th September 1809. Their tombs, or rather tomb-stones, must have been destroyed long ago, for in the *Bengal Obituary*, the oldest monumental tablet at *Jessore* is stated to be inscribed thus :—

Sacred to the memory of
John Robert Carruthers,
Of the Bengal Civil Service, who departed this life
On the 10th July 1831, at this station.
Aged 21 years and 12 months.

In the *Calcutta Review*, vol. xxxii, p. 15, it is mentioned by Captain Sherwell, that Lieutenant Hugh Morrison, 4th Regiment B. N. I., is supposed to have died at the station of Jessore, of jungle fever in 1818, as the last entry in his Field-book, dated the 28th February of that year, contains these affecting and melancholy lines :—"I am so ill that I can no longer carry on the survey ; I have therefore got bearers to carry me by *dawk* to the station of Jessore." He, and his brother, Lieutenant W. N. Morrison, Bengal Engineers, surveyed that tract of the Sundarban lying between the Húglí and Bárá Pangsáiyá rivers, during the early part of the present century. The latter officer died some three years before his brother, having been killed by a grape shot in an attack on a Gurkhá stronghold on the 3rd June 1815. Thus perished these heroic brothers in the execution of their duties, far apart from one another.

At one time it appears to have been in contemplation to shift the head-quarters of the district to Mahmúdpúr, but somehow the plan was not carried out.

"Famines and Remedial Measures" for four years, commencing from 1787, form the burden of a chapter of nearly five pages in length. Starting as it does, it can of course give us no information of the previous famine, namely, that of 1784, when in Calcutta an embargo on the exportation of grain had to be laid, on account of the prices for that commodity being greatly enhanced. Owing to the combined action of an unusually high inundation and a severe cyclone, and doubtless the latter was accompanied by that destructive agent a storm-wave, a grievous famine was wrought in 1787 and 1788, which was felt most acutely in the eastern districts. The cyclone referred to by Mr. Westland as having occurred a few days after the 20th October 1787, actually took place on Friday the 2nd November, and the following account of it, as it was felt in Calcutta, is taken from Mr. Seton-Karr's *Selections*, vol. I., page 213 :—

"The violence of the storm on Friday last exceeded any that has been experienced in Calcutta for these 20 years past. The gale commenced about 12 o'clock the preceding night, and continued with occasional intermissions and increasing violence till about 11 o'clock A. M. the next day. The effects of its fury have not been less general than severe. Among many other accidents too numerous to particularize, about five thousand boats were cast away on the river between this and Berhampore ; a brick house in Cossitollah blown down ; upwards of fifty thousand maunds of grain lost in Calcutta ; and at Barrackpore many of the bungalows much damaged, though none entirely destroyed."

By way of remedial measures we find that the transportation of grain was temporarily suspended, monopolies prohibited, and the

surplus of grain belonging to traders was directed to be sold by public auction, and the proceeds were to be disbursed among the distressed, or given to the owners of the grain, at the discretion of the Magistrate. These were, to say the least, high-handed and arbitrary proceedings; and Mr. Henckell did not relish the restriction to free trade that these orders imposed, and judiciously recommended that they should be withdrawn, which was accordingly done. This produced its natural beneficial effects, in inducing traders to bring in further supplies to the district. He also persuaded the Rájá of Chanchrá to make advances to his tenants, amounting in all to about Rs 5,000, and he obtained from the Board a grant of Rs. 15,000 for similar purposes, and Rs. 6,000 for the repair of the damaged embankments.

Immediately following the scarcity of 1790, occurred another dreadful famine in the next year, caused by drought, and which necessitated the partial suspension of the revenue, amounting to, we are told, Rs. 69,000. Tanks were ordered to be opened out for the irrigation of the fields, and Zamindárs were told, that they could obtain advances on security of their estates to maintain tanks, reservoirs, etc, but not a single one of them responded to the offer.

The Government in order to provide against scarcity in future, established in 1794, a couple of large public granaries, one at Bábukháli, close to Maguráh, and the other at Sharganj, close to Phultalá but this plan proved a complete failure, and had to be abandoned within a period of seven years.

The ensuing chapter of three pages is devoted to "Floods and Embankments" for fourteen years, beginning with 1787. Expensive and substantial embankments had to be constructed and maintained in those days to prevent the country being swamped and the crops destroyed, which always occurred when they were breached, or over-topped by the waters of the flood, which used to sweep down in almost resistless fury in their course to the sea. In 1801 Captain Mouatt was deputed to put the embankments in an efficient state, as Government suspected that Mr. Jennings, the Superintendent of Embankments, had not done his duty in this respect. The Government appear to have attended to the embankments up to 1811.

The frequency of inundations in the districts in times past is accounted for by Mr. Westland in this way: he considers the excess waters of the Ganges to have been formerly discharged by rivers running through it, such as the Nabagangá, the Kumár, and the Chitrá, and he might well have added, the Bháirab also. The opening of the Madhumatí river is also supposed to have caused the inundations, as when it became fairly opened, the district was less subject to be flooded. These causes had, so

doubt, a good deal to do with the inundations, but it must be recollected that, as Deltaic action goes on, the level of the country is gradually raised, and becomes, of course, less liable to be submerged.

Less than a couple of pages gives us a brief sketch of the "establishment of the excise" for a score of years, commencing from 1790. It sets forth that the Muhammadan Government allowed spirits to be distilled on payment of a small tax, stated by the Collector to have been in B. S. 1032 (A.D., 1625,) "a tax of Re. 1-10" from the distillers. The British found, it is said, the Zamindárs in possession of this source of revenue, and it is stated to have formed an integral portion of the assets of their holdings, at least of such of them as sanctioned the manufacture of spirits, for all do not appear to have done so. We may add,* and it does seem *prima facie* strange, that the Muhammadans only patronised the liquor, according to the authority of the Collector, but they do not appear to have at any time strictly adhered to the precept prohibiting the use of strong drink inculcated in the *Kordn*, for there is abundant proof in the *Ain-i-Akbari* that the grandees of comparatively so strict a court as Akbar's, indulged in this pernicious habit to excess.

At first the British Government levied a license fee from every distiller and vendor, the amount of which was fixed by the Collector, but in 1792 the stills were required to be kept in some fixed place, and they were divided into two classes, and charged respectively, annas 12 and annas 6 *per diem*. Vendors were exempted from any tax whatsoever, and the tax upon *tári* was declared to be 25 per cent. of the rent of the trees from which it was drawn.† At the outset, in 1794-95 A.D., there appears to have been as many as 151 stills, which realised, however, only Rs. 567. A few years afterwards, in 1801-2, the collections on this head were estimated at Rs. 5,000. In 1868-69, the aggregate excise revenue in the district, amounted to Rs. 36,573, showing how immensely the taste for spirituous drinks has increased among the inhabitants since the present régime. Is this well? We think that most people will concur with us in considering it a deplorable, but probably inevitable, result of the advance of civilisation.

* In the accounts of the Burdwan Ráj revenues of A. D. 1762, given in the Rev. J. Long's *Selections from the Records of the Government of India*, Vol I., pp. 342-344, no such item is to be found.

† This tree is the *Tal*, or fan palm, (*Borassus flabelliformis*, Linnæus,) and does not appear to be now used for this purpose within the district. The mode in which the sap is drawn, thus graphically described by Abul Fazl in the *Ain*, Mr. Blochmann's

Translation Vol. I, p. 70: "The *Tar-tul*, and its fruits, resemble the "cocoanut and its fruits. When the "stalk of a new leaf comes out of a "branch, they cut off its end, and "hang a vessel to it, to receive the "out-flowing juice. The vessel will "fill twice or thrice a day. The "juice is called *Tári*; when fresh it "is sweet; when it is allowed to "stand for some time, turns sub-acid, "and inebriating."

A few remarks on drugs, in which category are enumerated *ganjā* and *bhāng*, or hemp, opium, and other more or less deleterious narcotico, concludes the chapter under notice. It appears that the hemp plant, (*Canabis sativa*, Willdenow.) was largely cultivated in various parts of the district, principally about Keshabpūr, and in 1809, the Collector estimated the outturn of *ganjā* to be from fifty to sixty thousand *māns*, and the price was, it is said, from Rs. 4 to 5 per *mān*. It is not stated when the cultivation of hemp ceased to be pursued in the district. Opium was, it appears, largely sold in Jessore before the Government became aware of the fact. In 1815 four vendors were appointed for its sale in the like number of places in the district, the names of which are, we regret to find, omitted in the report,

"Coinage and Currency," from 1793 to 1807, occupies a chapter of a little more than a single page. During the close of the last century, we are informed, half the Government demand was paid in gold, and in the early part of the current century, "one-third of the currency was in gold." Rapidly, from 1815, the silver coinage became abundant, and gradually superseded the more precious metal. It is a pity that the British Government did not endeavour to uphold the gold currency, or at all events maintain a double currency of gold and silver, for the continuous fall now-a-days in the value of the latter metal, and especially the loss in transactions in exchange with European countries, has almost brought the State to the brink of bankruptcy. But the Court of Directors decided as far back as A.D. 1758, that a gold currency was not so well suited for the country as a silver one, *vide* the following extract from their letter of the 3rd March of that year given in the Rev. J. Long's *Selections*, vol. 1, p. 132: "As the treasure by the ships unavoidably consists of gold, which we are sensible is not so proper for Bengal as silver, we have recommended it to the President and Council of Fort George to exchange as large a part of it as they can into bullion, or rupees."

Copper coinage was not current, we are informed, up to 1814; but Mr. Westland states on this head, "That either pice existed somewhere, or it was in contemplation to supply them." *Pais* were certainly coined long anterior to the above date, the first of them being struck in Calcutta in 1782,* the next, ten years afterward, marked "O.V.C. 1792," on the obverse, and bore a shield and crest on the reverse. The first quarter-anna piece was struck in Calcutta in 1795, and the next in the following year: it had the following inscription on the obverse:

سنة جلوس شاه عالم بادشاه

* They were actually coined at Pal- to the *Rupi*, *vide* Prinsep's "Useful
ta, by contract, and 192 of them went Tables," *Jour. As. Soc. B.*, 1843.

"In the thirty-seventh year of the reign of the Emperor Sháh A'lam."

On the reverse these words "*ek pái suká*," were inscribed in the following three characters, Bengálí, Persian, and Deva Nagrí.

We may add that, no copper coin was evidently coined at Murshidábád, or anywhere else in the Province of Bengal, by the native Government. We hope these additional facts which we have supplied will not be deemed out of place here, nor wholly uninteresting.

Paper currency, or Government Bank Notes, were heard of for the first time in August 1, 1809, when they made their appearance in the local treasury accounts.

The following chapter of a couple of pages or so gives a succinct *résumé* of "the Collector's duties," under which head are enumerated, "collection of land revenue," "Sháh's management," "assessment," "stamps," resumption," "*púnya*, or first fruits," and "annual tours." There is nothing here calling for particular notice, but it may be mentioned as a curious circumstance that Mr. Henckell in 1790, incurred the following expense to celebrate the *púnya*, *viz* :—"fire-works, Rs. 65 ; tom-tom, Rs. 7 ; dancing girls, Rs. 35 ; dancing boys, Rs. 15 ;" etc. It is characteristic of the Government of that day, that they declined to reimburse Mr. Henckell for the expenditure on the entertainment, because it was without precedent, and for no other reason.

•A comparatively long chapter describes the "Reform of the Administration of Criminal Justice," 1791, the most prominent feature of which was that the Magistrate superseded the *Dároghah*, and which fact we have referred to previously. It is a rather significant fact, showing how the Musalmáns have been displaced by the Hindús in Government service, that whilst in 1793 all the *Dároghahs* of the various *Thánáhs*, with a single exception, were Muhammadans, fifty years afterwards there were only two of that caste among a dozen *Dároghahs*, the rest being Hindús. This is, no doubt, one of the principal causes for the discontent, we may almost say disaffection, which pervades the Musalmán community throughout British India ; and considering that they were the dominant class when the British conquered the country, it must be admitted that they have a valid ground for complaint, and that they have been harshly dealt with in a great many ways.

Then we have a chapter of about a couple of pages, headed "The Civil Judge's Authority Extended," for eight years, commencing from 1793. In order to show the Judge's overbearing style of treating his brother officers, the writer of the report instances a curious case. The gentleman who held that post, Mr. Melvill, evidently in 1800, fined the Collector Rs. 200 for daring to prefer a petition for a review of a judgment passed by him, Mr.

Melville, in which he had dismissed a case brought against certain traders for neglecting to take out licenses for the sale of *ganjá*, and awarded them Rs. 5 compensation, which was ordered to be realised by way of a fine from the "Honorable Company." This is far more than the High Court have yet attempted to do, and which tribunal has always acted with extreme moderation, despite the apprehension and dislike with which it is regarded by those executive and judicial officers of all classes, in the Mofussil, who are prone to high-handed proceedings, and have an utter disregard of the laws of the land.

A short but interesting chapter is devoted to "Early notices of Trade and Agriculture," from 1788 to 1805. Almost all the marts flourishing in 1793, are still in existence, but, as was to be expected, the principal ones then are not so now, notably Fákir-hát on the Bháirab, which from being the second in importance in the whole district, has dwindled down to quite an insignificant place; whilst, on the other hand, Katchánpúr, then considered of little importance, is at present the largest mart, where according to "The Statistical Reporter," in 1874-75, the quantity of sugar manufactured was 1,56,475 *mans*, and *chitta-gur*, or molasses, 1,56,630 *mins*. There also appear to have been bazars at Gopálganj on the Madhúmatí, and Mirganj, which are not specified in the report under review, but are marked as such in the map of 1769 given with the fourth volume of Mr. Sandeman's *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*.

Of the products of the district reported in 1791, we find among food-grains, rice, and the vetches, *kallá* and *musuri*; cocoanuts and betelnuts were then, as now, sent out in large quantities, and tobacco to a much greater extent than at present. Cotton, here, as elsewhere in Lower Bengal, is now-a-days produced in infinitesimal quantity, but then it was largely grown; the local manufacture of cotton goods was considerable: it is now almost *nil*. Sugar was even then an article of export, and it is recorded that 10,000 *mans* were despatched to Calcutta for sale in 1791.

Regarding indigo, Mr. Westland says, "from the absence of indigo in the 1791 list of exports, we may justly conclude that no indigo was then manufactured;" and then goes on to state "that it was introduced by Europeans."

Indigo was an article of commerce in India from remote times, and ancient classical authors designate it as *indicum*. Pliny shows how good *indicum* could be detected from inferior stuff. He says, to quote his words as translated:—"The proof hereof is by fire, for cast the right *indico* upon live coals, it yieldeth a flame of most excellent purple." In the 17th century it was denominated "the devil's dye" in Europe, and its use was expressly prohibited by an imperial edict, bearing date

1764. It formed, we are told by Professor Royle,* "a prominent article of importation during the first century of their"—the East India Company's—"commerce." It was largely manufactured about Agrá by the Dutch. Bernier mentions, in a letter to Monsieur de la Mothe le Vayer, dated from Delhi, the 1st July 1763, that the Dutch "purchase of anilar, indigo, gathered in the neighbourhood of Agrá, particularly at Bianes, two days' journey from the city, whither they go once every year, having a house in the place. "Vide Bernier's *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, translated by Irving Brock, Calcutta, Lepage and Co., vol. I, p. 330. In the foot-note to page 156 of the appendix to *Jour. As. Soc.*, 1836, it is stated that, the "proclamation does not mention indigo: but about this period, —1631—"there was a large contract for its supply to the English at Agrá, and much loss was sustained, as it found, at that juncture, no ready sale either in Persia or England." In 1784, we find that Mr. Keble levied a toll of *Siká* Rupis 2 per 100 *mans* for indigo passing his canal between the Rupnáráin and Haldi rivers, as will be seen from a reference to Mr. Seton-Karr's *Selections*, I, 35. From the same work, p. 209, we learn that the East India Company, as far back as 1787, gave great encouragement to the manufacture of indigo; and in the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. IV, it is stated that there was an indigo factory in existence in 1790, on the banks of the Bhagirathi.

The following letter, dated February 4th, 1788, from Mr. B. Boyce, to the address of the Governor-General in Council, regarding the manufacture of indigo, is most curious, and will, we think, amply repay perusal:—

"Indigo, which is now made in the rainy season, should be made in the dry weather, the vegetation in the rainy season being too rapid, and forces the plant to apparent maturity before the dye is formed. And river and well water should be used instead of tank water, which, from having washed the surfaces of the earth, is highly impregnated with alkaline salt, that accelerates the fermentation before the dye has been sufficiently loosened from the plant; there being no country in the world that more abounds with alkaline salts than this, which I now take upon me to assert, are the real chemical bases on which our saltpetre is formed, by the acid of the air, for the natural produce of which India has been remarkable from time immemorial. Another obstacle from the present mode of supplying the plant is, that by making the quantity in two months which they should in eight, whatever the quantity of dye there may be in the plant, if not totally destroyed before it can get to the works (on account of the immense distance which

"it is brought), is considerably lessened, and this is what was acknowledged by the gentlemen who were called upon to examine my indigo, which I shall beg leave to quote literally:—

"We have seen specimens made by different persons nearly equal to that (my indigo), but the process is so expensive, that no one has found his account in making any quantity.' The physical reason is this, that from the time blood ceases to circulate in an animal, or sap in a vegetable, actual, though not vulgarly perceptible, putrefaction commences, on account of the alkaline and acid particles coming in contact for want of motion; this being the mode of dissolution, the purest of those salts and oils which alone constitute the dye of indigo, are either evaporated or changed into a putrid phlegm of insipid matter, unless prevented by instantaneously manufacturing the plant as soon as it is cut; but how much sooner this dissolution is liable to take place, I leave you to judge, when the very menstruum, or water itself, is charged with one of the first principles of putrefaction, an alkaline salt."*

In this district, according to Mr. Westland, the first indigo factory was established at Rupdiya in 1795, by Mr. Bond, who is described in the Government records as "a free merchant under covenant with the Court of Directors." Next in 1796, we have Mr. Tuft, who was allowed to establish indigo works in Mahmud-shahi,—we give the name of the place correctly. The Jingágachhá factory belonged originally, about the beginning of the present century, to Mr. Jennings, and the Civil Surgeon, Dr. Anderson, built factories at Daulatpúr, Barandi and Nilganj in 1801.

It is as well to state here that we find from Mr. Seton-Karr's *Selections*, Vol. II, p. 102, that the following appointments were announced in the *Calcutta Gazette* of June 13th 1793:

"The Governor-General in Council has been pleased to appoint Mr. David Vanderhayden, Commissioner in Behar; and Mr. John Fleming, Inspector of Drugs and Indigo in the room of Mr. Lyon Prager."

The above extract show that the appointment of "Commissioner" was created during the past century, and that there was at the time an officer to look after drugs and indigo, which facts are nowhere adverted to in the report under review, and must have, therefore, been unknown to the writer thereof.

The immense progress of commerce within the last eighty years in the district may be judged from the fact prominently noticed by Mr. Westland, that whilst in 1795 the trading capital was estimated to be less than nine lakhs of Rupees, the profits alone from trade were under the certificate tax of 1868, assessed at Rupees thirty-

* Mr. Seton-Karr's *Selections*, vol. I, p. 231.

two lákhs ! This is undoubtedly due to the peace and security conferred on the country by the beneficent British rule, which certain vernacular journals are pleased to deride as oppressive and injurious to the interest of the natives : comment on such conduct is superfluous.

Under the head of "Public Communications," we are supplied with information regarding "roads," "traffic," and the post. As to the first of them, we find it stated in the report, that the public road from Calcutta to Dháká passed through Jessore, and this fact, it is said, is noticed in a letter, dated 1791. The said road we find distinctly marked in the map of 1769, (*Vide* Mr. Sandeman's *Selections*, Vol. IV.) where it is shown as entering the district at Jingágáchhá, and passing through Chanchrá, Dáitálá, and Mahmúdpúr, and leaving it at a place called Hazi-ganj, or "Hadgigunge," on the banks of the Madhúmatí, which name we cannot find in the Revenue Survey Map. Mr. Westland mentions two other older roads, one leading from Jessore, *viâ* Jhenidá to Kumárháli, and next from the same place to Khulná ; but there is nothing stated of another road marked on the map of the last century, just quoted, which branched from the main road near Bangram, and proceeded by a circuitous way to Mirzá-ganj, and thence, with a slight *detour* to the east, direct to Mahmúdpúr, where it re-joined the trunk road. These roads were, we are told, "little more than uncared-for tracts," as the traffic was probably very inconsiderable, and this is pretty clearly proved by the fact that the Collector estimated that there were less than one hundred carts throughout the district in 1794, and only half-a-dozen of them could be obtained at the station of Jessore in 1810.

According to Mr. Westland, "a regular postal line was kept up "between Calcutta and Jessore" as early as 1790, as well as one from Jessore to Kumárháli *viâ* Jhenidá, and another to Jay-nagar *viâ* Klishara. But the posts maintained in the above several places were evidently exclusively restricted to the conveyance of official correspondence, and not open to the public ; for in Mr. Seton-Karr's *Selections*, Vol. II, p. 51, there appears a "table of rates of postage from Calcutta to different places," dated September 25th, 1791, and signed by C. Cockerell, Post Master General, where neither Jessore, nor any other place within the district, is specified. Baqirganj and Ráimangal are, however, mentioned therein.

The first Civil Surgeon of Jessore appears to have been Dr. Henderson, who was appointed, we learn, as far back as 1784, at the suggestion of Mr. Henckell. To him succeeded Dr. Anderson, referred to before as being engaged in the manufacture of "the blue dye."

In 1789, and again in 1802, we are told that the Collector submitted an estimate of the population of the district, amount-

ing to respectively, 1,056,109 and 1,200,000. The extent of the district was of course then very different from what it is now, and the estimates were altogether haphazard ones. From the "Memorandum on the census of British India of 1871-72," as officially presented to Parliament,* we find Jessore, exclusive of the Suhdarban, is stated to have an area of 3,658 square miles, 4,247 villages, 313,660 inhabited houses, and 2,075,021 inhabitants. The differences between the two former estimates and the result of the last attempt—for it cannot, in good sooth, be pronounced to be any thing else—at numbering the people, are very striking indeed.

A regular traffic in slaves appears to have been carried on in this district; and Mr. Westland states that, during the last century, one *Cæsar* is referred to in the Magistrate's letter of the 14th March 1785, as belonging to Mr. Osborne of the Salt Department. We may add that, slaves were openly sold in Calcutta about this time. There were numerous advertisements on the subject, and here is one of 1770, quoted by us in our "Historical and Topographical Sketch of Calcutta," published during the past year, page 71:

"To be sold.—Two French Hornmen, who dress hair and "shave, and wait at table."

In the Rev. J. Long's *Selections*, Vol. I., p. 383, we find that Captain Ross, who was murdered at Kerma in the Sundarban, in 1764, had two slaves with him at the time, named Phillis and Nicola; they were cruelly treated by the murderers, who were the crews of the several boats, and effected their escape by swimming ashore.

The writer of the report mentions that private individuals were in the habit of confining people during the last century, and it is referred to as a "custom" in 1792. In Tytler's "Considerations on the state of India," a work published in London, 1816, the following entry occurs:—

"C. P., Jessore. An order to all Indigo Planters to prevent "their imprisoning any one."

An account of the Sydpur Trust Estate, from 1814 to 1823 occupies a short separate chapter. The Government, it appears, took possession of it in 1816, owing to the two Trustees who had then charge of it quarrelling among themselves. This estate was bequeathed in 1814 by its owner, Haji Muhammad Mohsin, mainly for the benefit of the *Imambdra* at Húgli, but the proceeds thereof the Government have divided between that and the Húgli College, the latter getting two-ninths of the net annual value of the endowment, which is Rs. 70,000. This was certainly not the intention of the donor, and it was decidedly

* Supplement to the Statistical Reporter," Vol. I., p. 13.

unfair towards the Muhammadan community ; but this has since been altered, and the money restricted to Muhammadan uses.

"The Origin of Cholera" forms the startling title of another and last chapter under Part III of the Report. Mr. Westland has here fallen into the popular error of supposing that cholera originated in Jessore in 1817, *vide* our "Note on the History of Cholera in India," which appeared in the *Calcutt Review* of April, 1873.* We may add that Dr. John Macpherson's admirable work on the "Annals of Cholera," published in London in 1872, contains abundant evidence to satisfactorily prove that, the disease was prevalent in this country long prior to the advent of the British in India. Regarding the epidemic originating in Jessore in 1817, Dr. Macpherson thus writes :—

"The great epidemic of 1817 is usually described as having commenced at Jessore ; but in that year there was a fatal case of cholera in Fort William in the month of March, which attracted no attention. In May and June the disease was raging epidemically in Kishnaghur and Mymensing. In July it was at Sovergunge in the Dacca district, and as high up the river as the large city of Patna, and it did not reach Jessore till August, and not till after the middle of that month. It broke out at Calcutta on much the same date, or a few days earlier. In both places it caused great consternation, but the greatest in Jessore."

The foregoing quotation conclusively shows that, there is no foundation for the supposition that Jessore is the birth-place of cholera, sporadic or epidemic, and therefore that evil reputation ought no longer to be attached to it. There was, however, in 1817 a virulent out-break of cholera in Jessore, and owing to the panic it caused, the courts had to be closed for a short time. The following interesting account of it, we take from Dr. Norman Chevers' "Manual of Medical Jurisprudence," Calcutta, 1870, page 415.

"Dr. Robert Tytler has left on record a vivid picture of the moral shock which the first out-break of the great cholera epidemic of 1817 produced upon the people of Jessore. The disease commenced its ravages in August, and it was at once discovered that the August of this year had five Saturdays. The number five being the express property of the destructive Siva, a mystical combination was at once detected, the infallible baneful influence of which it would have been sacrilege to question. On the night of the 29th, a strange commotion spread throughout the villages adjacent to the station. A number of Jadoos (Jadoo-wallahs?) or magicians, were reported to have quitted Morully with

* In the *Madras Courier* of the 7th November 1787, mention is made of "disorder" which reached Vellore, and which is stated to be "Cholera Morbus." *Vide* Mr. Seton-Karr's *Selections*, vol. I, p. 214.

" a human head in their possession, which they were, to be directed
 " by supernatural signs, to leave in a certain, and to them unknown
 " village. The people on all sides were ready, by force, to arrest
 " the progress of these nocturnal visitors; for the prophesy foretold
 " that wherever the head fell, the destroying angel terminating
 " her sanguinary course would rest; and the demon of death,
 " thus satisfied, would refrain from further devastation in this
 " part of the country. Dr. Tytler says that on the night,
 " while walking along the road, endeavouring to allay the
 " agitation and to quiet the apprehensions of the people, the
 " Judge and he perceived a faint light issuing from a thick clump
 " of bamboos. Attracted to the spot, they found a hut, which
 " was illuminated, and contained the images of five Hindoo gods,
 " one of which was Seetillah, the celebrated and formidable Oolah
 " Beebee (Our Lady of the Flux), Avater of Kali, who, it is
 " believed is one day to appear riding upon a horse, for the
 " purpose of slaughtering mankind, and of setting the world on
 " fire. In front of the idols, a female child, about nine years of
 " age, lay upon the ground. She was evidently stupefied with
 " intoxicating drugs, and in this manner prepared to return
 " responses to such questions, as those initiated into the mysteries,
 " should think 'proper to propose.' By the light of our present
 " knowledge, we may apprehend that the poor little creature
 " lay, thus prepared, rather as the victim, than the oracle."

In Dr. D. B. Smith's pamphlet on cholera, it is mentioned that there were no less than ten thousand deaths within two months in Jessore at that time. Mr. Westland says that Dr. Tytler at first attributed the disease to "a vitiated state of bile,"* and then to the new autumn rice being "devoured with avidity by natives of all descriptions." The patients were treated with doses of calomel and opium, and this mode of treatment was pronounced to be "always successful when given at a sufficiently early stage of the disease," but no figures have been preserved to enable us to form an independent opinion in the matter.†

We have now finished our review of the third part of the Report. We find that our article has extended to a greater length than we had anticipated at starting. We reserve the remaining portions of Mr. Westland's interesting book for future con-

* This was simply giving the signification of the designation of the disease, cholera, which is derived from two Greek words, "Cholê," and "rheîa," meaning "the flow," or rather, "over-flow of bile."

† It is worthy of notice that the first out-break of cattle disease recognized as rinderpest in this country, was

discovered and announced by Dr. Charles Palmer, formerly Civil Surgeon of Jessore, vide his report on the Calcutta Epizootics to the Government of India, 1864, which has been re-published in extenso in *Jour. Agri. and Hort. Soc.*, B., vol. xiv, Appendix, pp. 41-67.

sideration ; but before concluding our present article, we have to notice a subject referred to by us in the previous number of the *Review*. Regarding Mirzanagar, we stated that, the ruins there were older than Mr. Westland represented them to be, viz., A. D. 1700, and showed, according to Stewart, that Mir 'Ali was Faujdár of Jessore as far back as at least A. D. 1696. We have now discovered from Mr. Blochmann's most excellent translation of Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 315, that Mirzá Hasan-i-Cafawis' son, Mirzá Cafshikan, who was Faujdár of Jessore, retired and died in 1073 A. H., = 1662 A. D. This fact proves the place to have been established during the middle of the seventeenth century ; and it is further interesting, as we may reasonably infer from it, we think, that its name was derived from this Faujdár, to wit Mirzá Cafshikan.

H. JAMES RAINEY.

FOREIGN ADVENTURERS IN INDIA.

BY COL. G. B. MALLESON, C. S. I.

AFTER the failures of the direct attempts made by Dupleix, by Bally, and by Suffren to establish French domination in Southern India, there remained to the Latin race but one mode of counteracting the progress of the English. That mode may be described in a few words. To enable the princes of India to meet the English successfully in the field, it was necessary, above all things, to impart to their troops a thorough knowledge of European discipline, and a complete acquaintance with the system of European strategy. To this somewhat venturesome task the sons of France bent themselves with untiring energy. They gave to it often their lives, almost always their every faculty. They had much to aid them. The native princes who employed them knew at least that their hatred of England was not feigned; that they had nothing so much at heart as the humiliation of the rival of their own country. They therefore gave them, almost always, a confidence without stint. Their behests were but rarely refused. They worked under the avowed sanction and with the authority of the prince whom they served. And if they did not succeed, their want of success is to be attributed rather to the jealousies which prevented combination amongst the native princes, than to any shortcomings on the part of the ablest and most influential amongst them.

Of all these adventurers, de Boigne was, with one exception, the ablest and the most successful. Born at Chambéry, the 8th March 1751, the son of a furrjer, Benoit de Boigne was at an early age sent to study law at the college of his native town. But he had scarcely attained the age of seventeen when his adventurous nature impelled him to renounce his studies, and to seek excitement in a career of arms. In 1768, then, he entered the regiment of Clare, a regiment in the Irish brigade in the service of France, and then commanded, in the absence of Lord Clare, by Colonel Leigh. De Boigne joined the regiment with the rank of ensign at Landrecies, and applied all the ardour of his youth to master the science of his profession. In this task he received great encouragement and assistance from

Colonel Leigh, and under his tuition de Boigne attained a complete knowledge of the art of war as it was understood in those days.

After serving in garrison for three years and a half at Landrecies, the regiment of Clare was ordered to Dunkerque to embark for the Isle of France. The regiment, having taken its tour of duty in the island for eighteen months, returned to France, and, disembarking at L'Orient, was ordered to Béthune.

This happened in 1773. France was then at peace with all the world, and no prospect of war seemed to loom in the future. The promotion of de Boigne had been slow; and, beginning to feel disgusted with a life so monotonous and so devoid of enterprise, he asked himself if it would not be advisable to seek another scene for the occupation of the abilities he felt that he possessed. It chanced that Russia was then at war with Turkey. The Russian Government was in the habit in those days of welcoming eagerly, instructed officers into the ranks of its army. De Boigne resolved, then, to resign his commission in the French service and to offer himself to her northern ally.

His resignation was accepted, and de Boigne went to Turin. Obtaining there letters of introduction to Count Orloff, who commanded the Russian land and sea forces in the Grecian Archipelago, he returned to Marseilles and embarked on board the first ship sailing thence for Greece. Almost immediately on his arrival there, he was appointed captain in a Greek regiment in the service of the Empress Catherine. This regiment formed a part of the army employed in besieging the Island of Tenedos. A detachment of it, to which de Boigne belonged, having been sent to effect a descent on that island, the Turks made a sortie, attacked the invaders in great force, and cut them off nearly to a man. De Boigne escaped with his life, but was taken prisoner and sent first to Chio and thence to Constantinople.

Seven months later the war came to an end, and de Boigne, with the other prisoners of war, was released. He had then attained the rank of major in the Russian army. Peace, however, had closed for him the avenues of further advancement. De Boigne then quitted the Russian service and embarked for Smyrna. Meeting in that town some Englishmen who had returned from India, he was so struck by their description of the adventurous life of that country, that he resolved to seek his fortune there. Returning to Constantinople he made his way to Aleppo, and joined there a caravan just setting out for Basrá. The caravan reached Bagdad in safety, but, as a furious war was then raging between the Turks and the Persians, the road thence to Basrá was deemed too dangerous to be traversed, and the caravan returned to Aleppo.

From that place de Boigne made his way as quickly as he could back to Smyrna and sailed thence to Alexandria. In

his journey from Alexandria to Rosetta he was shipwrecked and fell into the hands of the Arabs. These, with characteristic hospitality towards a stranger, befriended him, and by their aid he was able to reach Cairo. Here innumerable delays occurred, and it was owing to the kindness of the English consul, Mr. Baldwin, that means were at last provided for him to reach India. He embarked at Suez and sailed thence at the end of the year 1777 for Madras.

Amongst those whom de Boigne had met in his European wanderings was an English nobleman, Earl Percy. With him he had formed a friendship, and Lord Percy had in consequence furnished him with letters to Lord Macartney and to Warren Hastings. On his arrival at Madras de Boigne wished at first to act independently of the British Government. But the circumstances of the time were against him. The British were on the eve of their last war with Haidar Ali, and it is natural to suppose that they should be unwilling to afford opportunities for foreign adventurers to find their way to the camp of that formidable leader. Having no other resource, then, de Boigne, who had been a major in the Russian service, accepted the rank of ensign in the 6th Regiment Madras Native Infantry.

The war broke out immediately afterwards. It happened that the 6th Regiment N. I. was one of those under the command of Colonel Baillie when that officer was attacked by the combined forces of Haidar and Tippú at Perambákam in September 1780. A few days before that fatal conflict, however, two companies of the 6th Regiment had been sent to escort supplies of grain to the main army. With these two companies was de Boigne, and in this manner he escaped the almost entire destruction which befell the main body of his regiment.

Shortly after this de Boigne quitted the English service. Various reasons have been assigned for this step.* But he himself undoubtedly stated the truth when he affirmed that in a service of progressive promotion there was at his age no chance of his ever attaining to high command. He resolved therefore to return to Europe by way of Kashmir, Afghánistán, and Persia.

With this object in view he came round to Calcutta and presented to Warren Hastings Lord Percy's letter, and one with which he had been provided by Lord Macartney. That illustrious statesman gave him a warm and cordial reception; entirely approved of his design to return to Europe by the route he had indicated; and furnished him with letters to the British residents at the various native courts he would be likely to visit *en route*.

* *Vide* Ferdinand Smith's Sketch; and the *Memoire sur la carrière du* pages 67-68; the article de Boigne *Général Comte de Boigne*.
in the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*;

as well as to the independent native princes in alliance with the British Government.

At Lakhnáo, the first city which he visited on his travels, de Boigne was extremely well received by the Nawáb, to whom he had been presented by the resident. Not only was a khilat of the value of 4,000 rupees bestowed upon him, but the Nawáb presented him likewise with a bill on the bankers of Kábu for 6,000 rupees, and another for an equal amount on those of Káhdahár. At Lakhnáo de Boigne remained five months, making many friends amongst the English officers and studying their system. He then went on to Dehli, where he arrived at the end of the month of August.

The Emperor of Dehli at that time was Shah Alam; his minister, Mirza Shaffi. Without the aid of the latter it was impossible for de Boigne to obtain an interview with the Emperor, and Mirza Shaffi was in the camp before Agra. Thither, accordingly, de Boigne repaired.

It was during his sojourn in this camp that de Boigne's ideas took a direction which influenced his whole life. Rebuffed by the minister, who refused to allow him to be presented to Shah Alam, he turned his attention to the political events passing before his eyes. Noting the rivalry of the various native princes, the indiscipline of their armies, the ignorance and want of knowledge of their generals, it occurred to him that a great career was open to an instructed European soldier. The unleavened masses were fermenting all about him. Let the instructed European soldier but procure for himself the authority to leaven but one of those masses, and his master would become the chief of all his rivals, if not indeed the ruler of India. The idea grew daily; it ripened quickly into feasibility; thenceforth the career of de Boigne was determined.

At that time the Ráná of Góhad was closely besieged in his fort by Mádhají Sindia. To offer himself to the latter, immensely superior in power to the Ráná, would have been a folly. In such a case even had Mádhají accepted his services, no credit to himself could possibly have resulted. But to enter the service of the besieged Ráná, and by skill and dexterity to paralyse the movements of his enemy, would be to gain a reputation and to acquire a moral power such as would open out the brightest prospects for the future. Thus reasoning, de Boigne made secretly the following proposition to the Ráná. He offered, in consideration of a certain stipulated sum of money, to raise two thousand men at Agra, one thousand at Jaipúr, four thousand at Dehli, and one thousand near Góhad; to concentrate these troops with all imaginable secrecy at a point on the frontier of the Ráná's territory; and with them to attack the besieging force in the rear, and drive it from his dominions.

The Ráná of Góhad, without declining this offer, did not at once accept it. He hoped rather to be rescued from his perilous condition by the intervention of the English. Meanwhile, however, he was not sufficiently careful to keep the secret. With the publicity he allowed to be imparted to the offer, the possibility of carrying it into execution vanished. De Boigne then broke off the negotiation, and offered his services to the Rájá of Jaipúr.

But before an answer could come from Jaipúr, de Boigne had accepted an invitation from Mr. Anderson, the British resident at the court of Mádhají, to visit him in his camp. Mádhají Sindia was then besieging Gwáliár. Thither accordingly de Boigne repaired, and agreed to remain there, the guest of Mr. Anderson, until he should receive the reply of the Rájá.

De Boigné received that reply at the end of October (1783). His offer was accepted. Before taking up the appointment, however, he thought it becoming to inform Warren Hastings officially of his intention to renounce his journey to Europe and to take service with the Rájá of Jaipúr. Warren Hastings, in reply, requested de Boigne to return in the first instance to Calcutta that he might inform him personally of the sentiments entertained by the Government of India regarding the course he proposed to pursue. De Boigne, though sensible of the arbitrary nature of this request, felt that his gratitude and his interest alike counselled him to comply with it. He returned accordingly to Calcutta,—no easy journey in those days. On his arrival there, Warren Hastings informed him that his requisition had been necessary because he, de Boigne, had given an official form to his letter, and that as such it had been laid before council; that as Governor-General in Council he could not give him authority to enter the service of a native prince, although, in his private capacity, he had no objection to his following such a course; and that if he chose to follow it, he would shut his eyes to his proceedings. The Governor-General added that he was about to set out for Lakhnáo, and that he hoped de Boigne would accompany him so far.

Armed with this power to act as he might think best, de Boigne accompanied the Governor-General to Lakhnáo, hastened thence to Agra, and obtaining there a small escort, pushed on towards Jaipúr. The difficulties, and they were not slight, which he encountered in his journey were surmounted, and in the spring of 1784 he reached Jaipúr.

But here disappointment awaited him. In the long interval which had elapsed between the acceptance of his offer and his arrival, the Jaipúr policy had changed. Peaceful counsels now prevailed, and the Rájá had no need of a general. To compensate de Boigne, however, for the trouble and expense which had been caused him, the Rájá presented him with ten thousand rupees.

Disappointed though not daunted, de Boigne repaired to Delhi. At this time the murder of Mirza Shafi and the anarchy which had followed, had re-awakened in the mind of Mádhají Sindia the hope of becoming master of the capital of the Mughols. He was fully sensible of the new difficulties which the power he might thus acquire would cause him : but, being able, farsighted, and ambitious, he was nursing his resources and seeking for means to meet the crisis which might arrive at any moment. At the time of de Boigne's arrival he was in the vicinity of Agra organising an expedition against Bandalkhand.

For this expedition de Boigne offered his services. He proposed to raise two regiments, each 850 strong : and to equip and organise them in the European fashion.

Mádhají knew de Boigne by reputation, and by something more. The offer he had made to be Rána of Góhad had struck him at the time as betokening a daring and resolute nature ; and, subsequently, when de Boigne had passed a night in his camp on his way to join Mr. Anderson, Mádhají had caused his tent to be pillaged. The property then taken was restored, but the papers were retained. It is probable that a perusal of these confirmed the impression which the Góhad scheme had given birth to. Such a man, he thought, could scarcely fail to be an acquisition. He accepted, then, after a short delay, de Boigne's offer.

The terms agreed to by de Boigne were that he should receive a thousand rupees a month for himself, and eight rupees a month for each man, officers and privates indiscriminately. To enable himself to give a proper salary to the officers, de Boigne fixed the pay of the privates at rupees 5-8-0 each. This arrangement provided him with rupees 4,250 monthly for the officers.

The men were speedily raised ; but the drilling was a matter of more difficulty. De Boigne had resolved to teach them European drill, to arm them with European weapons, and to impart to them European discipline. "The labour which this imposed on an individual," writes Mr. Grant Duff, "can easily be conceived by any person acquainted with military affairs." It was, indeed, at the outset a task which required no ordinary patience, perseverance, and self-control. But at length he had the satisfaction of seeing the end attained. Five months after he had enlisted his men, he marched with two perfectly disciplined regiments to join, in Bandalkhand, the army commanded by Appa Khandé Ráo.

In the short campaign which followed, the two battalions under de Boigne constituted the entire infantry of the Márhátá army, the remainder being mainly cavalry and a few guns. As it was a campaign of sieges, the brunt of the work fell, therefore, on his newly raised troops ; and this work they performed with valour and

with success. In the midst of his triumphs, however, de Boigne was called away to join the main army of Mádaháj at Dehli.

On the 22nd October 1784 the prime minister of the Emperor Shah Alam, Afraziáb Khan, was murdered by the brother of the minister whose assassination he had instigated. In the terror that followed this murder all parties turned to Mádaháj. The Emperor invested him with a power virtually supreme. By his advice the Peshwa was nominated Wakil-úl-Mútlúk or Supreme Deputy of the Empire. Mádaháj was appointed Deputy of the Peshwa, Commander-in-chief of the Moghol armies, and the provinces of Agra and Dehli were confided to his management.

But Mádaháj was not too elated by his success. He was well aware that the power which had been conferred by acclamation in a time of terror, of difficulty, and of danger, would be disputed as soon as men's minds had begun to calm. He therefore took instant measures to strengthen his position, and amongst other precautions he summoned de Boigne and his battalions from Bandalkhand.

To describe fully the events which followed could only be effected by trenching upon ground already occupied.* I must be satisfied with referring, as briefly as may be, to the deeds of de Boigne himself. Thus, in May 1787, he fought at Lálsót for three days under the eyes of Mádaháj against the Patáns and Rajpúts, and when, on the third, the other infantry of Sindia's army, 14,000 in number, deserted to the enemy, de Boigne kept his men true to their colours. For eight consecutive days they continued, as they retreated, to repulse the enemy's attacks. At the battle of Chaksána, fought on the 24th April 1788 against the same enemies, Sindia confided the command of his right wing to a Frenchman, M. Lesteneau, and of his left to de Boigne, whilst the centre was commanded by a native, Sindia being in reserve with the cavalry. On this occasion de Boigne and Lesteneau not only repulsed the attacks made on their wings, but were prepared to render the victory decisive, had they been supported by the centre, and the cavalry. But no prayers could induce either to advance, and the action, undecided, terminated by a retreat from the field. A few weeks later, however, an ample revenge was taken for these checks. On the 18th June, in the battle fought before Agra, the battalions of de Boigne and their leader contributed greatly to the victory obtained over the Patán chief. Less than four months later, de Boigne's battalions and the bulk of the Márhátá army re-occupied Dehli. Mádaháj himself followed shortly after.

The splendid service rendered by the two battalions of de Boigne at Lálsót, at Agra, and at Chaksána, their fidelity when

* Keene's *Fall of the Moghul Empire*, a vivid and accurate account of the events in Hindustan from the death of Aurangzib to the beginning of the present century.

their irregular comrades had deserted, and their unvarying steadiness under fire, had particularly attracted the notice of Mádhají Sindia. But the prejudices of the Márhátá were still strong within him. When, therefore, de Boigne pointed out to him that these two battalions, though perfectly efficient, and capable even of retarding a defeat, were yet insufficient to decide the fortunes of a campaign; that it would be advisable to increase them to the strength of a *corps d'armée*, with artillery attached, Mádhají hesitated. Influenced partly, probably, by a dread to place in the hands of a European a small army obedient only to the orders of its immediate general; partly by the Márhátá leaning towards cavalry; partly also by the annihilation of his enemies and by the expense which the proposed scheme would entail, Mádhají resolved to defer his sanction. As, however, he indicated no fixed time for the announcement of a final decision, de Boigne regarded his reply as a veiled refusal. He therefore offered his resignation. Mádhají accepted it.

De Boigne left Dehli a comparatively rich man. It is stated that he owed the greater part of his wealth to the munificence of Mádhají, who thus showed his gratitude for the unequalled services rendered to him during the late campaigns. Certain it is that, renouncing his military career, he proceeded to Lakhnáo, and there, on the advice of his old friend, Claude Martin, engaged in mercantile speculations which speedily augmented his capital. He was still engaged in these when he received from Mádhají pressing solicitations to re-enter his service, accompanied by an assurance that he would be at liberty to carry out the measures he had formerly proposed.

The fact was that Mádhají Sindia had not found his position by any means so assured as, in the first moment of his triumph, it had appeared to him. The Patán army had been beaten and dispersed, but its soldiers still existed. He was menaced from the north by the Afgháns, from the west by the Rajpúts, whilst he had perhaps even more to dread from the jealousy of Náná Farnawís, the minister of the Peshwa, and from the scarcely veiled hostility of the other chiefs of the Márhátás.

He felt the want, then, of just such a body of troops as de Boigne had proposed to raise,—troops who would surpass all his other troops in skill and discipline; who would obey one man, and that man impervious to intrigue, devoted to himself alone. In this extremity he bethought him of de Boigne; and upon that thought there speedily followed the missive of which I have spoken.

De Boigne was not deaf to the demand. Arranging, as speedily as was possible, his commercial affairs, which however he left in full action in the hands of agents, he hastened to Mathurá, where Mádhají then had his head-quarters. His proposals

were at once agreed to. He was authorised to raise a *corps d'armée* consisting of thirteen battalions of infantry, five hundred cavalry, and sixty guns.

De Boigne went to his task with his accustomed energy. He reclaimed the two battalions he had drilled and commanded before. A third battalion was formed of the soldiers who had been raised and drilled by the Frenchman Lesteneau, but who, mutinying for arrears of pay, had, on the advice of de Boigne, been disbanded. He had to enlist men from Rohilkhand and Oudh for seven more battalions. All these were dressed and drilled on the European principle. But, in addition to these ten battalions, de Boigne raised three more of Afgháns, dressed in their national costume, and armed with matchlocks and bayonets. For the service of the camp he raised five hundred *Méwátis*, dressed and armed as irregular troops.

The *corps d'armée* thus consisted of 8,500 regular infantry, 2,400 Afgháns, 500 *Méwátis*, 500 cavalry and 100 artillerymen. Each regiment was commanded by a European officer. These officers were men of all nations, many of them British, and in many instances respectable by birth, education and character.* There were always two European officers to each regiment, sometimes more. The non-commissioned officers were in the first instance taken from the three disciplined battalions. The colours of the corps were the national flag, the white cross of Savoy.

For its command de Boigne was granted a salary of Rs. 4,000 a month. To provide for this, as well as for the regular payment of the troops, Mádhají made over assignments of land to the charge and management of de Boigne, allowing him two per cent. upon the net revenue, in addition to his regular pay.†

By dint of great exertions the new *corps d'armée* was brought into a condition fitting it for active service early in the year 1790. An opportunity soon offered for the display of its efficiency. On the 20th June the Márhátá army engaged, near Patán, the Patáns under Ishmáil Beg, aided by the Rajpút troops of Jaipúr and Jódhpúr. The battle was obstinate and bloody. Holkar, who had promised to aid Mádhají, held aloof. The Patáns three times charged through the infantry of de Boigne, cutting down the artillerymen at their guns. But the coolness of de Boigne and the discipline of his troops soon repaired this disaster. With re-serried ranks they attacked the too daring enemy and drove him back. Then there opened on both sides a heavy artillery fire. This ceasing on the side of the Márhátás at 6 o'clock in the evening, de Boigne placed himself at the head of his infantry and led them to the charge. The attack was irresistible.

* Grant Duff, vol. iii., Chapter ii. each regiment was fixed at, 700. •
Subsequently the number of men in † *Ibid.*

One by one the hostile positions were carried. At 9 o'clock the enemy were in complete flight, utterly disorganised, having lost all their guns,—ten battalions of their infantry having previously surrendered.

De Boigne then received orders to invade Jódhpúr. He proceeded at once to the siege of Ajmír, but learning that the Rájputs had assembled a considerable army at Mirtá, he left about 2,700 men to blockade Ajmír and started to attack the enemy.

At daybreak on the 12th September, de Boigne assailed the enemy's position. By 9 o'clock he had obtained a complete victory. He gained this victory notwithstanding a false movement made by one of his lieutenants, and which for a time left his right wing exposed to the incessant charges of the Ráhtór cavalry. The Savoyard, however, showed himself quite equal to the occasion. At 9 o'clock, as I have said, the Rájputs were beaten; at 10 o'clock their camp and all their guns and baggage were captured; at 3 P. M. the town of Mirtá was taken by assault. Peace followed this decisive victory.

Sindia had now satisfied himself as to the immense advantage he had derived from possessing a *corps d'armée* armed and disciplined on the European principle—and commanded by a de Boigne. The troops thus disciplined and thus organised had disposed of his Mahomedan and Rájput enemies, but he still looked for more at their hands. It must never be lost sight of that the great dream of Mádhají Sindia's life was to unite all the native powers of India in one great confederacy against the English. In this respect he was the most farsighted statesman that India has ever produced. But to bring about this great end it was necessary that, in addition to the power which he wielded at Dehli and in a part of Central India, he should be master of all the resources of the Márháta empire. This he felt would be impossible until he could rid the Peshwa of the minister, Náná Farnáwis, who was jealous of his reputation. Nor, he felt, could this end be obtained, unless he could dispose of Holkar, the agent and last hope of the Náná. His plan, then, was to crush Holkar; to proceed to Púna; and obtaining then from the Peshwa the requisite authority, to unite all India in a crusade against the English. It was a grand idea, one capable of realisation by Mádhají, but by him alone, and which, but for his death, would have been realised.

Full of these views, and preparing carefully for the conflict he saw looming in the future, Mádhají determined at this time to increase still further the force which had been so useful to him. De Boigne was authorised to increase it to 18,000 regular infantry, 6,000 irregulars, 2,000 irregular horse, 600 Afghán cavalry and 2,000 guns. The force thus raised was to be divided into three brigades, or, as it would be more proper to call them, divisions.

For their payment a tract of country between Mathurá and Dehli, and some lands east of the Jamna, comprising in all fifty-two districts, yielding ultimately twenty-two lakhs of rupees, were assigned to de Boigne. That General was authorised to reserve to himself two per cent. of that revenue, in addition to his pay, now increased to 6,000 rupees a month, a sum which was doubled by other duly authorised emoluments. The fortress of Agra was assigned him as a depôt of small arms and cannon. Over these fifty-two districts, de Boigne was assigned, by Sindia, a power in civil and military matters entirely absolute. He fixed his headquarters at Aligarh.

It was while de Boigne was raising and drilling his brigades, casting guns, and bringing the districts under his sway into order; whilst Mádhají Sindia was endeavouring to arrange the scheme which was the dream of his later years, that war broke out between the British and Tippú Sultan. This war was a blow to Mádhají. He disapproved this isolated attack upon a power to which united India might only possibly be a match. Still more was he annoyed and enraged at finding that the Peshwa, guided by Náná Farnawís, had entered into an alliance with the common enemy. Nothing, Mádhají had always felt, could be more noxious to the general cause of the native princes of India, than the union of one chief with their most formidable rival to put down another chief. Still, for the moment, he was powerless to prevent this fatal action. He was forced to content himself with husbanding his resources, with guarding against an attack from the north, and with preparing his army for the great event to which he looked forward. Having done all that was possible in this respect, he set out for Púna, determined, after repressing Holkar, and unseating Náná Farnawís, to obtain the chief power himself, and, wielding it, to make one supreme effort to drive the British from Hindostan.

Mádhají left de Boigne and the greater part of his *corps d'armée* behind. He took with him as escort only two battalions commanded by Hessing and Filóže.* He arrived at Púna, the 11th June 1793.

Scarcely, however, had Mádhají crossed the borders of his own territories than his enemies began to raise their heads. First, the widow of Najíf Khan, a former prime minister at the Imperial Court of Dehli, refused to surrender the fort of Kanúnd to Sindia's officers. De Boigne sent one of his brigades, under the orders of M. Perron, to compel her. The often-defeated Ishmáíl Beg raised troops to support her. He encountered Perron under the walls of Kanúnd, and though beaten, yet succeeded in penetrating into the fort with

* * Vide pages 35 to 38.

a considerable body of men. The defence was prolonged in consequence, but the widow, having been killed, Ishmâil Beg, distrusting the garrison, surrendered himself and the fort to the French leader.

But this was not all. Taking advantage of the absence of Mâdhajî, Tûkajî Holkar, the minister of the famous Ahalya Bae, suddenly crossed the river Chambal in great force, and marched towards Rajpûtânâ, pretending that the aggressions of Mâdhajî's agent, Gopâl Râo Bhão, forced him to this act of open hostility.

Gopâl Râo Bhão had but a small force under him in Rajpûtânâ. Aware that Tûkajî was supported by a body of native troops armed and drilled in the European fashion, and commanded by the Chevalier Dudrenec, Gopâl Râo sent pressing messages to de Boigne, and to Lakhwa Dâdâ commanding the main body of Sindia's cavalry, to join him without delay. De Boigne set out at once from Aligarh at the head of nine thousand infantry and joined Gopâl Râo before the latter had been molested by Holkar. Lakhwa Dâdâ brought in his cavalry at the same time. De Boigne immediately assumed command of the combined force, consisting of 9,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, and about forty guns, and forthwith marched upon the enemy. Tûkajî became now aware of the double mistake he had committed; in the first place, in becoming the aggressor; in the second, in not at once crushing the small force opposed to him. He did his utmost, then, to avoid a general engagement. But de Boigne was not to be denied. He followed him up vigorously, and at last, on the 20th September, had the satisfaction of finding himself in front of his enemy posted at the pass of Lakhairî, on the road leading from Kanûnd to Ajmir.

Tûkajî and Dudrenec had under them four battalions of sepoys trained by Dudrenec, about thirty thousand irregulars, mostly cavalry, and thirty-eight guns. The position they occupied was very formidable. The pass of Lakhairî was extremely narrow; covered in front by wet ground, and impossible to be turned, both flanks being guarded by thick woods and rising ground.

De Boigne felt as he reconnoitred this strong position that he would have to employ all his resources. Yet his own position was not without some considerable countervailing advantages. His men were covered by tangled forests impervious to cavalry. His attack might fail, yet his position could not be forced. All other things being equal, victory must incline, he saw, to the side which possessed the greatest number of steady infantry. That side was his own.

There was nothing for it but to move straight on. He placed himself accordingly at the head of his tried battalions and batteries, and ordered them to advance. No sooner, however did

they emerge from the forest than the enemy's artillery opened a tremendous and effective fire upon them. De Boigne continued, however, to advance, and his own guns were soon sufficiently clear of the jungle to take up a position and reply. But they had scarcely fired half a dozen rounds before an event happened which might have been fatal in its consequences. The fire from the enemy's guns caused the explosion first of one tumbril, and then immediately afterwards of twelve others contiguous to it. The effect might have been made decisive. Túkají at once launched forth his cavalry to make it so. But de Boigne was equal to the occasion. He caused his men to fall back rapidly into the jungle. They reached it before Túkají's cavalry, feebly handled, could attack them. A concentrated fire of musketry sent back the horsemen more rapidly than they had advanced. A charge from Sindia's cavalry completed their overthrow. Thenceforward they took no part in the contest.

The cavalry having disappeared, de Boigne once more advanced his infantry and his guns. This time there was no mistake. The pass was so narrow that not more than three columns could act abreast. Covering these with five hundred Rohilla skirmishers, he crossed the wet ground and charged. But the battalions of Dudrenec did not give ground. They stood, and fought, and died at their post. But they were as one to three. The greatest number must inevitably prevail. And it happened so. After the most desperate conflict he had ever been engaged in, the troops of de Boigne stood the victors on the summit of that fatal pass! There was no one for them to pursue. The enemy's cavalry had disappeared, his infantry had died fighting; the guns had been captured!

This victory broke for a time the power of Holkar, and left Mádhají undisputed master of the situation. De Boigne followed it up by marching against the Rájá of Jaipur who had shown a disposition to take advantage of Holkar's outburst. De Boigne's movements were so rapid and his plans so well laid, that the Rájá was glad to compromise by submission, based on the payment of his arrears of tribute, and an immediate sum of seventy lakhs of rupees. De Boigne then returned to Aligarh, marching by Alwar, the Rájá of which place had some years before displayed great loyalty to Sindia in very critical circumstances. Here he had an audience of the Rájá. An incident which occurred at this audience is thus related in de Boigne's memoirs. "One day when the Rájá gave audience to the general, whom he had made to sit near him, M. de Boigne observed the minister of the Rájá, who was standing behind his master, bend down and whisper into his ear some words in the Persian language—a language which the general did not understand." The Prince

replied only by a sign of disapproval, and by a look in which anger and indignation were painted. The general's vakíl turned pale. The conversation nevertheless continued as before, and the audience terminated without the general having conceived the least suspicion. But in going out of the palace he was informed by his vakíl—who knew Persian and who had overheard the words whispered by the minister—that the latter had proposed to the Rájá to assassinate de Boigne in the hall of audience." De Boigne took no notice of the incident.

The power of Mádhájí Sindia was now consolidated in Hindóstan. While his armies had been triumphing in Rájputáná his policy had been gaining ground at Púna, whither, on his request, de Boigne had expedited ten thousand of his trained infantry under the command of Perron. Mádhájí, in fact, was on the point of crossing the threshold to attain which had been the dream of his later years. His plans had been successful everywhere; and he was on the eve of gaining the pinnacle which would have enabled him to form one vast combination against the English, when he was attacked by fever and died (12th February 1794).

With him the fabric raised with so much patience, so much skill, and so much foresight, fell to the ground. His successor, Daolat Ráo, was a boy of fifteen, with a character which, if unformed, still showed the germs of waywardness and of a want of self-control.

At the time of Mádhájí's death, de Boigne was virtually governor of Hindostan. Daolat Ráo confirmed him in this appointment, and he held it, resisting the advances made him by the partisans of the blind Emperor, Shah Alam, till the end of 1795. In the interval, feeling his health weakened, he had more than once asked permission to resign, but Daolat Ráo had as often begged him to remain. At last, at the end of 1795, he yielded to his urgent solicitations, and granted him permission to leave for Europe, still retaining him in his service.

De Boigne bade farewell to the officers of his army in February 1796, and set out for Calcutta. He took with him the regiment of cavalry which was his own peculiar property. He had offered this regiment to Sindia, but Daolat Ráo proposed to pay for it only on the return of de Boigne to India. On his way through Lakhnáo he offered it to the Nawáb, but they could not agree as to the terms. Finally he offered it to the English government; Lord Cornwallis took it on the general's own conditions. These were five hundred rupees for each horse, or for the entire corps, consisting of six hundred horses, one hundred camels, four pieces of light artillery, and some draught cattle, 3,60,000 rupees. The men at the same time entered the British service.

De Boigne embarked for Europe in September 1796, and

arrived in London in January 1797. There he married Made-moiselle d'Osmond, daughter of the Marquis d'Osmond. The marriage, however, was not happy. He remained principally in England during the Empire, but shortly after its fall he settled at the Villa Buisson near Chambéry. He spent the last years of his life in making a philanthropic use of the enormous fortune he had acquired. In Chambéry itself he built a theatre, and a college for the Jesuits, and embellished the town by new and handsome streets. When he died, on the 21st June 1830, he left 1,200,000 francs to build a hospital for old men; 500,000 for a hospital for the insane; 300,000 for the permanent relief of beggars; 200,000 francs for new beds in other hospitals, and 100,000 francs for the education of young girls. To his wife he left a life income of 600,000 francs.

It is impossible to part with de Boigne without adding some details regarding his person, his character, and his mode of administration. The following somewhat prolix description was written by a contemporary, one who knew him personally, in the year 1797: * "De Boigne is formed by nature and education to guide and command: his school acquirements are much above mediocrity: he is a tolerable Latin scholar, and reads, writes, and speaks French, Italian and English, with ease and fluency. He is not deficient in a general acquaintance with books, and possesses great knowledge of the world. He is extremely polite, affable, pleasant, humorous, and vivacious; elegant in his manners, resolute in his determinations, and firm in his measures; remarkably well versed in the mechanism of the human mind, and has perfect command over himself. To the political subtlety of the Italian school he has added consummate oriental intrigue; made his approaches to power in disguise, and only showed himself when too strong to be resisted. On the grand stage where he has acted a brilliant and important part for these ten years, he is dreaded and idolised, feared and admired, respected and beloved. Latterly the very name of de Boigne conveyed more terror than the thunder of his cannons. A singular instance of which I shall relate *en passant*. Najaf Kúli Khan in his last moments advised his Begam to resist in the fort of Kanúnd the efforts of his enemies, who would assuredly grasp, on his demise, at the small remnants of his patrimony; 'resist,' said he, 'but if de Boigne appears, yield.' He will be long regretted, long recollected in India. His justice was uncommon, and singularly well-proportioned between severity and relaxation. He possessed the happy art of gaining the confidence of surrounding princes and subjects. He was active and

* Letter of LONGINUS, to the *Telegraph* newspaper, dated 2nd January 1797.

persevering to a degree which can only be conceived or believed by those who were spectators of his indefatigable labours from the time he raised eight battalions till his departure from his station. I have seen him daily rise with the sun, survey his *Karkhana* (arsenal), inspect his troops, enlist recruits, direct the vast movements of three brigades, raise resources and encourage manufacturers for their arms, ammunitions, and stores ; harangue in his durbar, give audience to ambassadors, administer justice, regulate the civil and revenue affairs of a *Jaidad* (province) of twenty lakhs of rupees, listen to a multitude of letters from various parts on various important matters ; dictate replies, carry on an intricate system of intrigue in different courts ; superintend a private trade of a lakh of rupees, keep his accounts, his private and public correspondence, and direct and move forward a most complex political machine. All this he did without any European assistance. He used to say that any ambitious person who reposes confidence in another risks the destruction of his views. * * * * * In person he is above six feet-high, giant-boned, large limbs, strong featured, and with piercing eyes. There is something in his countenance which depicts the hero, and compels us to yield implicit obedience. * * * * * It has often been a subject of surprise to many how de Boigne could so long and so invariable aggrandise his power whilst many adventurers in the same line have repeatedly failed. Setting his talents, perseverance, and policy aside, there is another cause which is not generally known or considered. Other Europeans who have attempted the project which de Boigne realised, failed from the want of a fixed and sufficient fund to pay their troops. De Boigne's penetrating genius foresaw and obviated this fatal error. Soon after the establishment of his two brigades, he persuaded Mádhav Sindia to consign some certain pergunnahs for their payments. This was done in 1793. A *Jaidad* producing sixteen lakhs per annum was granted for the expense of his army, which still continues appropriated to that purpose. * * * This *Jaidad* has been augmented by the attention and equity of de Boigne to twenty lakhs a year, and is in as high a state of cultivation as the most fertile parts of Banáras ; and the ryots are as happy as sensual beings can be, abstracted from intellectual enjoyments."

This contemporary account is in many points confirmed by the remarks given in the memoir of his life published at Chambéry in 1829 " M. de Boigne," it is there stated, " did not limit his cares to the concerns of his army ; he directed at the same time his attention to the provinces which Sindia had confided to him. He introduced into them the greatest order. The collection of the public revenue was indeed made by the military authorities according to the custom of the country. But the amounts to be

received had been settled with justice, and they were fixed. It was this that caused the collections to be realised with greater regularity and with less difficulty than is the case generally in India. He had two offices of account, the one serving to control the other. In one, the accounts were kept in French; in the other all the entries were written in Persian. At the end of each month the statement of receipts and expenditure was transmitted to the Government.

"It was inevitable that so many details, so multiplied and so varied, should occupy all the time of the general; but the importance of his mission, and the desire by which he was actuated to carry it to a successful end, inspired him with an activity which sufficed for everything. He used personally to inspect the works going on in the arsenal; to visit the parade ground daily, for some hours, there to make the troops manœuvre and to pass them in review. From the parade ground he used to return to his office, there to attend to administrative matters.

"As the army never ceased to be the particular object of his attention, his troops became formidable alike for their numbers and for their perfect discipline. On this subject we quote the honourable testimony of an English writer: "It was not the least of the advantages arising from General de Boigne's merit," writes the *Bengal Journal* of the 18th September 1790, "that, in his military capacity, he should have softened, by means of an admirable perseverance, the ferocious and almost savage character of the Márhátás. He submitted to the discipline and to the civilisation of European armies, soldiers who till then had been regarded as barbarians; and to such an extent did he succeed, that the rapacious license which had formerly been common amongst them, came at last to be looked upon as infamous even by the meanest soldier."

Such was the opinion formed of de Boigne by those who lived in his times and who knew him personally. To us, who can look back on all that he accomplished, and who can form a tolerably accurate idea of the difficulties he must have had to encounter, he stands out as pre-eminently the foremost European figure between the departure of Warren Hastings and the arrival of Marquess Wellesley. It was de Boigne who made it possible for Sindia to rule in Hindostan, at the same time that he controlled the councils of Púna. It was through de Boigne alone that Mádhaj's great dream, dissolved by his death, became possible of realisation. But for de Boigne the power of the Márhátás had never become so formidable, had never been able to offer a resistance to the British so determined and so prolonged. It was de Boigne who introduced into the North-West

Provinces the germs of that civil administration which the English have since successfully developed. I cannot do better, in concluding this sketch of his career, than to quote the apposite language of the historian of the fall of the Moghol Empire: "Though moving in an obscure scene," writes Mr. Keene,* "de Boigne was one of the great personages of the World's Drama; and much of the small amount of civil and military organisation upon which the British Empire of Hindostan was ultimately founded, is due to his industry, skill, and valour."

II.

The commandants of the several brigades raised by de Boigne and his successors will now come under review. The first brigade, raised in 1792-3, was originally commanded by Colonel Fremont. He was succeeded in 1794 by Colonel Perron; the latter, in 1797, by Colonel Drugeon; he, the following year, by Colonel Duprat; Colonel Duprat, in 1797, by Colonel Sutherland, and Colonel Sutherland, in 1802, by Colonel Pohlmann.

The second brigade was originally commanded by Colonel Perron. On his transfer to the first brigade, in 1794, Major Gardner succeeded him. Major Sutherland replaced Gardner in 1795, and Major Pohlmann, Sutherland in 1799. In 1802 Sutherland and Pohlmann changed places, and the following year Sutherland was replaced by Colonel Hessing.

The third brigade was raised in 1795. Its first commandant was Captajn Pedrons. He was replaced in 1801 by Major Bourquin.

A fourth brigade was raised in 1803. Of this Colonel Dudrenec was the commandant. A fifth, raised the same year, was allotted to Major Browning.

Besides these there were, in 1803, attached to Sindia's army, the following additional brigades: that of Filoze, consisting of eight battalions of infantry, five hundred cavalry, and forty-five guns; that of Sombre, composed of six battalions of infantry, five hundred cavalry, and thirty-five guns; that of Shepherd, attached to Ambaji Inglia, numbering five battalions, five hundred cavalry and twenty-five guns.

Before proceeding to deal with the men whose names I have mentioned and some of whom filled a great part in the history of the period, I propose to give a detailed account of the internal economy of the brigades as finally settled by de Boigne.

A brigade was composed of eight battalions. Each battalion comprised within itself infantry and artillery. Each was com-

* *The Fall of the Moghul Empire*, by Henry George Keene. London: W. H. Allen.

manded by a captain having under him a lieutenant, either European, or European by descent. A battalion had eight companies of infantry, each commanded by a subadar, aided by two jemadars, one kót havildar, three havildars, four naicks, and fifty-two sepoys. The artillery of the same battalion consisted of one sergeant-major (European) and five European gunners, one jemadar, one havildar, five naicks, thirty-five gólančáz, five úndals, thirty-five klássis, twenty bildars, thirty gáriwáns, four ironsmiths, and four carpenters. A battalion had also a native surgeon, and a complement of matsadís, water-carriers, and the like. Every battalion had four hundred and eight stand of arms, four field-pieces, one howitzer, five tumbrels, one hundred and twenty billocks, and two native carts. Every gun had constantly ready with it three hundred rounds of shot and one hundred rounds of grape. A howitzer had fifty stone shells and fifty rounds of grape. The monthly pay of the native officers and men of a battalion was about four thousand five hundred rupees. The pay of the officers was as follows: A colonel received 3,000 rupees; a lieutenant-colonel 2,000; a major 1,200; a captain 400; a captain-lieutenant 300; a lieutenant 200; an ensign 150. These rates were increased fifty per cent. when the officers concerned were serving in the Dekhan. The men received, under the same circumstances, a proportional increase. Besides their pay, officers commanding brigades, whether colonels, lieutenant-colonels, or majors, received one hundred rupees a month as table allowance.

A brigade of eight battalions consisted of six thousand men. Besides the battalion complement of guns above detailed, the brigade had attached to it three battering guns and two mortars with men to serve them. Each had likewise two hundred irregular cavalry and five hundred irregular infantry (Rohillas).

The battalions were named after famous cities or forts, such as Delhi, Agra, Búrhánpúr. The men were disciplined according to the English regulations of 1780, then in force in the British army. The regular infantry were armed with muskets and bayonets, manufactured at Agra; the irregulars with match-locks and bayonets. The cavalry were well mounted. Seven hundred of them were armed with match-locks and swords; five hundred with carbines, pistols and swords; they were drilled in the European fashion.*

* I have taken all these details from a curious old book entitled '*A Sketch of the rise, progress, and termination of the regular corps formed and commanded by Europeans in the Service of the Native Princes of*

India, by Lewis Ferdinand Smith, late Major in Daolát Ráo Sindia's Service. The book was published at the beginning of the century, and is very scarce.

I propose now to consider the *personnel* of these battalions and brigades. Of the first on the list, Colonel Fremont, I have been unable to collect any interesting details. He would seem to have been amongst the first Frenchmen who joined de Boigne, for I find him commanding a brigade of six battalions in 1792, and storming at their head the hill fort of Báláhará, sixty miles to the east of Jaipúr.* Again, in 1794, he commanded a brigade of eight battalions at an action which took place at Datía in Bandalkhand. It is probable that he died shortly after that action, for in the year following it, the command of his brigade devolved on Perron, and his name ceases to be mentioned.

Perron was a very remarkable adventurer. He came out to India in the year 1774 as a common sailor on board the French frigate the *Sardaigne*. Being a man of energy, ambition, and strength of will, he quitted the naval service, and strove by various means to make a fortune in the country. It was not, however, till he made the acquaintance of de Boigne in 1789 that he very decidedly ameliorated his condition. De Boigne had just then acceded to the urgent solicitations of Mádhají Sindia by agreeing to re-enter his service. He was in want of officers. Struck by the energetic temper displayed by Perron, he offered him the post of captain-lieutenant in his second brigade. Perron jumped at the offer, and at once distinguished himself and won the heart of his chief by his attention to duty, his courage, and his activity. The camp became his world, and he devoted himself with all the ardour of his nature to take a leading part in it. He distinguished himself so much at the battles of Mirtá and Patán, that de Boigne soon after entrusted him with an independent command. He was sent in 1792 with his brigade to reduce the fort of Kanúnd. How he succeeded on this occasion I have related in the preceding section. For this service he was promoted to the rank of major. He then rejoined de Boigne and was present at the well-contested battle of Lakhairí. The following year he was detached by his chief at the head of his brigade to Púna, to take there also the command of the troops which had accompanied Mádhají Sindia to that court under the command of Hessing and Filoze. His whole regular force amounted then to 18,000 men. He was at Púna when Mádhají died (12 February 1794).

Into the intrigues which immediately followed the succession of Daolát Ráo Sindia it is not necessary here to enter. It will be sufficient to state that the unsettled condition of affairs at the court of the Peshwa roused the ambition of Nizám Ali Khan, the Nizám of Haidarabád. This intriguing prince was induced to believe the power of the Mahomedan rule might be revived

in the ruins of Pūna. He accordingly assembled an army at Bīdr, and advanced thence towards the Márhátá frontier.

Nizám Ali had some reason for his confidence. Besides some seventy thousand irregular infantry, he had serving in his army fifteen thousand regulars, commanded by a very famous Frenchman, M. Raymond, a man who had served under Bussy, and whose name still lives revered in the Dekhan. To support these Nizám Ali led into the field twenty thousand horsemen and a due proportion of artillery.

To meet this formidable invasion the Peshwa summoned all his vassal chieftains. Daolát Ráo Sindia brought 25,000 men; Raghújí Bhonslé 15,000; Holkar 10,000; Paréshráam Bháo 7,000. Other contingents increased the total number to 130,000; and besides these there were 10,000 Pindáris.

But the great strength of the Peshwa's army consisted in the brigades commanded by the *quondam* French sailor. Perron had ten of de Boigne's trained battalions, amounting with cavalry and artillery, to about 10,000 men. There were also serving under his orders six battalions commanded by Filoze, amounting with guns and cavalry, to about 5,000 men; and four by Hessing, amounting to 3,000.

Holkar, too, brought similarly trained troops into the field, *viz.*, four battalions of about 3,000 men, commanded by the Chevalier Dudrenec; and two of 1,500 led by Major Boyd.

The two armies met midway between the forts of Kardlá and Parindá. The battle which ensued was the first great departure since the death of Mádhají Sindia from the policy of that great statesman; the first marked deviation from his principle of one general alliance against an enemy who would otherwise destroy them piecemeal. It was fought the 12th March 1795. The Márhátás occupied a defensive position, of which Perron's troops formed the left. On the high ground near him Perron had placed his artillery, and he supported this arm by the infantry and cavalry in the plain below. The troops of Dudrenec and Boyd were with Holkar in the centre.

The battle began by an advance of the Mahomedans on the right wing and centre of the Márhátás. The attack competely succeeded. The Márhátá right wing was driven on to its centre at the same time that the centre itself was completely broken by the steady advance of Raymond's drilled troops. Both wings fled in confusion, carrying Dudrenec's and Boyd's men with them, and endeavouring to seek a refuge behind the still unbroken left. Towards this left, covered and supported by a cavalry flushed with victory, Raymond now advanced. Perron allowed him to approach almost within musket-shot, and then suddenly opened a concentrated and continuous fire from the thirty-five guns loaded

with grape which he had placed on the eminence. At the same moment Rághújí Bhonslé assailed the Mahomedan cavalry with a shower of rockets, the materials for firing which he had maintained on the ground during the general flight of the right wing. This simultaneous discharge sent the Moghol cavalry to the right-about. Raymond's infantry, however, not only stood firm, but succeeded for a time in making a successful opposition to all the efforts of Perron. It is difficult to say how the battle would have ended had Nizám Ali been endowed with the most ordinary qualities of a leader. But like most Asiatic commanders he trusted only to his horsemen. When, then, these fled, he fled with them, sending order after order to Raymond to follow him. Meanwhile the Márhátá horse, rallying, were hastening to support Perron. Raymond, then, most unwillingly was forced to follow his master. He did so, however, in the most perfect order, prepared to renew the fight the next day. An accident, however, converted the retreat during the night into a complete rout.* Three days later a humiliating accommodation was forced upon the pusillanimous Nizám.

The battle of Kardlá, if it crushed the Nizám, gave by its results, fuller impetus to the intrigues going on at Púna, and these received a further accession of force by the untimely death of the youthful Peshwa, Madhú Ráo (October 25th, 1795). An account of these intrigues would be foreign to my present subject. A few months after the Peshwa's death, de Boigne resigned to Perron the command of the armies of Sindia in Hindostan.

The fortunate man who had left France as a common sailor now ruled and administered in the name of Sindia the country from Lahore to Kotá and between Aligarh and Jodhpúr. He possessed greater power than any European had till that time possessed in Hindostan. This power he used, according to contemporary authority, in such a manner "as to aggrandise his authority and his riches"† In his admirable work on the Fall of the Moghol Empire, Mr. Keene has extracted from a record published by order of the local Government, a passage bearing upon the mode in which Perron's administration was conducted. "Perron,"

* This accident, is thus related by Grant Duff (vol. ii, chapter vi). "In the stillness of night a small patrol of Márhátas, in search of water for their horses, came by chance to a rivulet where lay a party of Moghols who, discovering what they were, instantly fired upon them. Raymond's sentries who were in the neighbourhood, also fired, when their whole line, who lay on their arms,

with their muskets loaded as they had retreated, started from their sleep and instantly fired a sort of irregular volley. The alarm which such a discharge of musketry occasioned, in the state of the Moghol army at that moment, may be conceived. . . . Nizám Ali in perfect consternation sought refuge within the walls of Kurdia." † Major Ferdinand Smith, before referred to.

says this record*, which I extract from Mr. Keene's book, "succeeded in erecting" (a principality) "for the maintenance of the army, and reigned over it in the plenitude of sovereignty." He maintained all the state and dignity of an oriental despot, contracting alliances with the more potent Rájás, and overawing, by his military superiority, the petty chiefs. At Delhi, and within the circle of the imperial dominions, his authority was paramount to that of the Emperor. His attention was chiefly directed to the prompt realization of revenue. Pargannahs were generally formed; a few were allotted as *jaidad* to chiefs on condition of military service; the revenue (of the lands in the neighbourhood of Aligarh) was collected by large bodies of troops always concentrated at head-quarters. A brigade was stationed at Sikandrabad for the express purpose of realizing collections. In the event of any resistance on the part of a landholder, who might be in balance, a severe and immediate example was made by the plunder and destruction of his village; and blood was not unfrequently shed in the harsh and hasty measures which were resorted to. The arrangements for the administration of justice were very defective; there was no fixed form of procedure, and neither Hindú nor Mahomedan law was regularly administered. The suppression of crime was regarded as a matter of secondary importance. There was an officer styled the Bakhshí Adálat whose business was to receive reports from the Amils (officials) in the interior, and communicate General Perron's orders respecting the disposal of any offenders apprehended by them. No trial was held; the proof rested on the Amil's report, and the punishment was left to General Perron's judgment."

The vacillating character of Daolát Ráo Sindia imposed upon Perron difficulties of a character different from those over which de Boigne had triumphed. Daolát Ráo possessed none of the foresight, none of the power of comprehensive view, for which his adoptive father was so famous. The influence wielded by the latter, and inherited for the moment by Daolát Ráo, was frittered away in contests for secondary objects at Púna. Gradually the tried adherents of Mádhají fell away from his successor, and Perron was then called upon to meet as enemies in the field the men who had been the allies and followers of de Boigne.

Foremost amongst these men was Lakhwá Dádá. Lakhwá Dádá was a Márhátá Brahman. He had distinguished himself in the service of Mádhají in 1788 by his brilliant and successful defence of Agra against the Patán leaders. He had fought side by side with de Boigne on many a well-contested field, and especially in the bloody battle of Lakhairí. To none of his adherents

* *Aleagurh Statistics.* By J. R. Hutchinson and J. W. Sherer.

had Mádhájí shown greater confidence. Such was the man, clever, influential, and far-sighted, whom Daolát Ráo, actuated by the suspicion that he had connived in the escape of the widows of his predecessor from the prison to which he had consigned them, deprived of his power and dismissed from all his employments.

In those days arbitrary power could not always be exercised with impunity towards a clever and influential servant of the State. Lakhwá Dádá knew that a great many powerful vassals were impatient of the yoke of Daolát Ráo ; that they wanted only a leader. He threw himself into their ranks, was recognised as their chief, raised a powerful army, repeatedly defeated the troops sent against him, and reduced all the country from Ujain to Sironj.* Agra, too, the place in which in his younger days he had won his spurs, fell into the hands of his adherents.

Perron had not been blind to the events occurring in his government. In Agra were his arsenals, his magazines, his manufactories. To Agra, then, he marched, at the head of his whole available force. He was joined before the place by Ambají Ingliá, one of Daolát Ráo's principal officers, at the head of a large body of cavalry.

Agra resisted long, but Lakhwá Dádá was not there to defend it in person, and in the end it surrendered. Perron then marched against Lakhwá Dádá, who had by this time mastered nearly two-thirds of Rájputáná. The hostile forces met at Sondia, in the Datiá territory, on the 3rd May 1800. The disciplined battalions prevailed. Lakhwá Dádá was beaten, and so severely wounded that he died shortly after.

Rid of this formidable adversary Perron had time to turn his attention to George Thomas, an adventurer who had almost succeeded, single-handed, in firmly establishing an independent principality in Northern India. Thomas was a very remarkable man. An Irishman by birth, Thomas had come out to India as a common sailor on board of an English man-of-war about the year 1782. Deserting from his ship as she lay anchored in the Madras roads, he had wandered about the Carnatic, and had finally taken service under the Bégam Sombre. A bold, indefatigable, active man, endowed with great natural abilities and a large share of common-sense, possessing, too, a handsome person and a winning manner, Thomas was just the man to rise to distinction under such a mistress. Opportunities did not fail him. In April 1788, when the contingent of the Bégam was serving under the orders of the Emperor Shah Alam at the siege of Gókalgarh, Thomas was fortunate enough to save the Emperor from death, or a worse

captivity. For five years Thomas continued in the service of the Bégam, and it is probable that, as time went on, he began to aspire to a position of a more intimate character. But, if he did entertain such a hope, he was disappointed. A Frenchman, named Le Vaisseau, supplanted him. Thomas upon this left the Bégam's service and set up for himself. He went first to the village of Anúpsahr where was stationed the frontier brigade of the English force. From this place he corresponded with Appú Khandí Ráo, an influential officer in the service of Sindia. The correspondence ended by Thomas obtaining from his friend the investiture of a few villages in Máhrátá territory. Subsequently Thomas obtained permission to conquer and administer the district of Hariáná, a part of the country so neglected and desolate, that up to that time no one had considered it worth taking. He first succeeded in taking a large village in Hariáná. His subsequent proceedings are thus described by a personal friend and contemporary.* "Thomas commenced his ambitious career in 1794, after he left the Bégam Sombre's service, by collecting a few men near Delhi, with whom he stormed a large village. The little money he acquired from this village laid the foundation for his future hopes and prospects: he made a few guns, enlisted more men, raised two battalions, and besieged parts of the desolated country of Hariáná * * * He increased his forces by plunder; the brass and copper vessels he found in the towns and villages were melted into cannon, and cannon procured him money. Thus he proceeded some time, gradually raising his forces as he augmented his means to pay them, until 1797, when they amounted to four battalions. He then cleared away the jungle from the abandoned fort of Hánsí, and put it in a state of defence. His range of depredations now became more extensive and his resources greater. At last, in 1801, he raised his party to ten battalions with sixty pieces of cannon, and secured a country to himself of three lakhs a year."

Such, in brief, is the outline of the history of the rise of George Thomas. But there are other details, not uninteresting, which served to help him on. Such was his adoption by Appú Khandí Ráo immediately subsequent to their joint visit to Dehli in 1794 to receive investiture of their fiefs from the local representative of Daolát Ráo Sindia. It was on this occasion that Appú Khandí conferred upon Thomas the right to occupy Hariáná, and extended the powers he had previously granted to him. Another characteristic incident of this part of his career was the restoration by his means of his old mistress, the Bégam Sombre, now once more a widow, to the principality of which she had been deprived by the

* Major Ferdinand Smith,

intrigues of her officers. A third, the invariable fidelity and forbearance he displayed towards his adoptive father, notwithstanding the repeated intrigues, amounting often to treachery, indulged in by the latter. Latterly he recognised Ambají Ingliá, the favourite general of Sindia, as his most trusted ally.

Before proceeding to the events which brought Thomas into collision with Perron, I propose to devote a few lines to the manner of his administration of Hánís and its surrounding district. The story is best told in his own words.* "Here," writes he in his memoirs, "I established my capital, re-built the walls of the city, which had long since fallen to decay, and repaired the fortifications. As it had been long deserted, at first I found difficulty in procuring inhabitants, but by degrees, and gentle treatment, I selected between five and six thousand persons, to whom I allowed every lawful indulgence. I established a mint, and coined my own rupees, which I made current in my army and country; cast my own artillery, commenced making muskets, match-locks, and powder; * * * till at length," he goes on to say, "having gained a capital and country bordering on the Sikh territories, I wished to put myself in a capacity, when a favourable opportunity should offer, of attempting the conquest of the Panjáb, and aspired to the honour of placing the British standard on the banks of the Attock." No ignoble aspiration, indeed, for a deserter from a British man-of-war!

It was no idle dream however. Thomas had, in fact, already left his own territory to make the attempt, and he was actually within four marches of Lahore, when he received an express to the effect that his principality of Hariáná was menaced by Perron.

The fact is that Perron, wielding the power of Sindia in Hindostan, having crushed Lakhwá Dádá, was not disposed to brook the establishment so near to Delhi of an independent power, and that power wielded by a native of Great Britain. He accordingly sent to Thomas a summons to repair to Delhi, there to do homage as a vassal of Sindia. Anticipating his refusal, he massed ten battalions and two thousand horse at Delhi. Thomas, foreseeing what was in store for him, replied by an indignant refusal, at the same time that he made every effort to return and cover his capital. Marching thirty or forty miles a day he succeeded in reaching Hánís before Perron had moved out of Delhi.

But Perron had committed himself too far to retreat. He had allied himself with the Sikhs and obtained from them assistance alike in men and money. Thomas likewise had formed alliances with his old friend the Bégam Sombre, with the Rájás of Jaipur and Alwar, and with Lafontaine, who commanded six battalions

* Fraucklin's *Life of George Thomas*.

of Filoze's brigade in the service of Sindia. Reinforced by the troops received from these quarters; he met Perron's army at Báhádugarh, eighteen miles to the west of Delhi. Neither party was very confident of success. Perron thought, moreover, that it might be possible to arrange matters satisfactorily without having recourse to the doubtful arbitrament of a battle. He therefore commissioned one of his officers, Major Lewis Ferdinand Smith,* to repair to the camp of Thomas, and to offer him sixty thousand rupees a month for his troops, the rank of colonel for himself, and the fort of Hánsí in perpetuity, provided he would take service under Sindia, and acknowledge Perron as his chief. Thomas, though unwillingly, consented to discuss these terms at a personal interview.

There were many reasons which combined to dissuade Thomas from the offered accommodation. Intelligence had but just reached him of the defeat of Daolát Ráo's troops at Ujjén, and of his precipitate retreat on Búrhánpúr. Letters, too, had come in from Jeswant Ráo Holkar urging him to attack Perron, and promising him aid in men and money. Recruits, too, were on their way to join him, whilst he knew that Sindia was demanding reinforcements from Perron. His policy was plainly to temporise until he should possess a manifest superiority. This, indeed, was the course that recommended itself to his clearer vision. But the demand made by Perron at the interview, that he should divide his force and send one-half to the assistance of Sindia, maddened him to such an extent that he broke off the conference and hastily retreated to Hánsí.

On the breaking up of the conference Perron returned immediately to Aligarh, called thither by the necessity of attending to the urgent requisitions of Sindia, leaving his force before Báhádugarh under the command of Major Bourquin, then acting as commandant of the third brigade. This officer at once despatched Major Smith to besiege Georgegarh, a fort which had been built by Thomas, about seventy miles from Hánsí, whilst he himself should cover the siege. Thomas, however, noticing the distance of the covering from the besieging force, broke up suddenly from Hánsí, fell upon Smith and completely defeated him. What he might have accomplished may be gathered from Major Smith's own words: "I was attacked," he writes,† "by Thomas with eight battalions, compelled to raise the siege and retreat to Jajar, four *coss* (eight miles) to the east of Georgegarh; favoured by the obscurity of the night, I was not

* It is from the memoirs of this officer, an actor on the scene, that I have gleaned the details which follow.

† *Sketch of the rise and progress of regular corps under Sindia, by Major L. F. Smith.*

completely cut off, and made good my retreat, with the loss of one gun and one third of my force killed and wounded. How I escaped total destruction I do not yet know. Why Thomas did not follow my retreat I cannot say, for if he had continued the pursuit I must have lost all my guns, and my party would have been completely destroyed."

After raising the siege Thomas threw himself into Georgegarh, the defences of which he strengthened. Here he was attacked on the 29th September by Bourquin's troops, who had marched seventy miles in the thirty-six hours almost immediately preceding the assault. "Bourquin," writes Major Smith, "did not lead the attack himself, but prudently remained with the cavalry, two thousand yards in rear of George Thomas's line. The seven battalions of de Boigne, with calm intrepidity, advanced with their guns through heavy sand, exposed to a dreadful and well-directed fire of fifty-four pieces of cannon, and attacked Thomas's ten battalions in their entrenchments; but they were repulsed with the severe loss of one thousand one hundred men killed and wounded, which was nearly one-third of their number. * * Thomas's loss was not so great, as the guns of de Boigne's battalions were mostly dismounted by their recoil on the sand, when fired, which snapped their axle-trees."

"Had Thomas," adds Major Smith, "taken advantage of Bourquin's ignorance and folly, and sallied out on the beaten troops of Perron, he would have overturned his power, but Thomas at this critical moment was confused and confounded. Thomas, indeed, took no advantage of their repulse. He remained shut up in Georgegarh waiting for the reinforcements promised by Holkar, and which never came; for before the period then passing, the power of Holkar, though he knew not, had been temporarily annihilated at Indûr.

Meanwhile reinforcements poured into the besiegers' camp. The incapable Bourquin was superseded by Colonel Pedrons, and he turned the siege into a blockade. This lasted for seven weeks. Reduced then by famine and desertion, having spent his ammunition, and finding his remaining troops utterly disorganised, Thomas saw that the end was at hand. Rather, however, than surrender he mounted—the night of the 10th November 1801—his Persian horse, and accompanied by his only two European officers, Captain Hearsey and Lieutenant Birch, and some troops, rode away, hoping to reach Hânsî by a circuitous route. The party, though attacked and pursued, arrived safely Hânsî on the third day.

Colonel Pedrons consigned to Bourquin the task of finishing the war. The latter followed up Thomas to Hânsî, laid siege to the place, and though Thomas defended himself stoutly, there could be no doubt of the ultimate issue. An offer made by a portion

the garrison to betray their leader brought matters to a crisis. Major Smith was again detached to communicate with Thomas, to inform him of the treachery of his troops, and to offer him honourable terms. These terms assured him freedom of action for himself within British territory with the safe conduct of the property still remaining to him. Thomas accepted the conditions (1st January 1802), and proceeded towards Calcutta with the intention of returning to his native land with the wreck of his fortune, amounting then, according to Major Smith, to a lakh of rupees. He died, however, on his way down, near Berhampúr, in the burying-ground of which place he was interred. His career, records the friend already quoted, "was more worthy of astonishment than imitation."

Perron was now complete master of the situation. He had beaten all his master's enemies in Hindostan; his master's troops had triumphed in Ujjén. But his double triumph had similarly affected both master and servant. They showed, in this crisis of their fortunes, that prosperity was fatal to them. It exalted their pride and weakened their judgment.

Perron had had no education, no mental training; he was not gifted with a large mind. A self-made man, he had raised himself from the position of a common sailor to a post which was, in fact, second only to one other in India, and, so long as he had enemies to fight, the animal vigour of his nature had a fit field for its display. But with the dispersion of his enemies the scene of action for that animal vigour disappeared, and his mental power was more largely called upon. In this respect Perron was weak. He began to show undue contempt for the native chieftains, an unjust partiality for his own countrymen; to further his own private interest only; to look upon the interests of Sindia as secondary, not to be placed in the balance against his own.

It was not long before the action based upon such views raised a storm against him. One after another the native chiefs and leaders complained to Sindia of the arrogance and grasping character of his French lieutenant. To meet the storm raised by these denunciations, Perron proceeded at the end of 1802 to the court of Daolát Ráo, then held at Ujjén. He proposed to himself three objects in this visit. The first, to ascertain the views of Colonel Collins, the British resident, then at Sindia's Court; the second, to ascertain by personal examination, how far Colonel Sutherland, who commanded the second brigade, and whose character he dreaded, was likely to supplant him; the third, to destroy the effect of the intrigues of Sákharam Ghatgay, Sindia's father-in-law, and of the other chiefs who were hostile to him. Should he find the position too strong for him he had resolved to resign his office.

Perron did not resign. He presented to Daolát Ráo a *nazzar* of five lakhs of rupees,—and seemed to triumph. After a stay of a few weeks only at Ujjén, he returned to Aligarh with his former power confirmed. An incident occurred shortly afterwards, however, which roused all his fears and suspicions.

The student of Indian history of that period will recollect that the defeat of Sindia's army by Jeswant Ráo Holkar near Púna on the 25th October 1802, had caused the Peshwa to fly in trepidation from his capital. From Severndrúg, where he had taken refuge, the Peshwa addressed pressing solicitations to Sindia, still in camp at Ujjén, to come to his aid. It may freely be asserted that the fate of India was at that moment in the hands of Daolát Ráo. Had he marched to the aid of his suzerain, not only would no treaty of Bassein have been signed, but he would have attained, with one bound, the influence and power of his predecessor.

Daolát Ráo cast away the opportunity,—never to recur. Why did he do so? Was it, as he gave out, that he was not strong enough, or did he doubt the intention of the Peshwa to throw himself, unless relieved, in the hands of the British?

A glance at the relations between Daolát Ráo and M. Perron at this period will tend to elucidate the question. Perron had hardly returned to Aligarh before he received from Daolát Ráo a pressing requisition to send him another brigade, as with his then force he was not strong enough to march to the assistance of the Peshwa. Daolát Ráo had then three brigades with him; one, belonging to Perron's force, commanded by Sutherland; one, an independent brigade, commanded by Filoze; and a third belonging to the Bégam Sombre. Perron had with himself three brigades. When, therefore, he received the requisition to send one of these to Ujjén, he thought he read in the order a resolution to despoil him of his power. Although, then, he saw that the moment was critical, that by delaying to comply, he risked the independence and even the existence of the Máhrátá empire, yet regard for his own interests and the dread of throwing too much power into the hands of Daolát Ráo, caused him to hesitate for three months. When at last he did comply, the favourable moment had passed, and the Peshwa had thrown himself into the arms of the British Government for protection. In February 1803, Perron despatched to Ujjén the fourth brigade under Dudrenec, and half of the newly-raised fifth brigade under Brownrigg. But it was too late. The treaty of Bassein had been signed.

The treaty of Bassein precipitated the conflict between Sindia and the British. It roused Daolát Ráo to a sense of his errors. In that treaty he saw not only the subversion of the vast plans

of his predecessor, but a threat against himself. Though invited to become a party to the defensive portion of the treaty, he distinctly refused. Then probably for the first time in his life he understood the conception of Mádhají, finding himself as he did face to face with the dangers which Mádhají's scheme would have rendered impossible. Then he bestirred himself; then, at last, he sought to weld union amongst the Máhrátás against the common foe. But he was too late. Holkar refused to join him. His preparations, though he sought to conceal and did deny them, were too patent. The Governor-General of India, Marquess Wellesley, resolved then to anticipate him, and to bring the matter to the arbitrament of the sword. War was declared, and on the 8th August 1808, an English force under General Lake crossed the frontier of Sindia's territory and marched straight on Aligarh.

Perron was at Aligarh, but he was as a general without an army. The main body of the troops were with Daolát Ráo; others were not at the moment amenable to his orders. He had with him at the time but 2,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry.

But there were other evils threatening him which Perron dreaded far more than a deficiency of troops. His conduct in the early part of the year, which I have detailed at length, had roused all the suspicions of Daolát Ráo. His disgrace, again imminent, was hastened by the present of fifteen lakhs of rupees made by Ambají Ingliá to Daolát Ráo as the price of the Subadárship of Hindostan. Ambají was one of the great chiefs whom Perron had insulted, and from whom he could expect no mercy. His rival would have drained his purse if not his life's blood.

Perron could not even trust the commanders of his brigades. Dudrenac, on his way back from Ujjén to Aligarh, was far more attached to Ambají than to him; Bourquin, who at the moment had the second and third brigades under his orders, threw off his allegiance. But one chance remained, and that was to make the best possible terms with the British.

To this course Perron resigned himself. When, on the 29th August (1803) General Lake marched on the village of Aligarh, a splendid opportunity offered to Perron to charge it with the 8,000 horse he had under his command. He did not seize it. He gave no orders. His men were paralysed by his indecision, and a few rounds from the galloper guns sent them flying in all directions. Perron fled with them, directing his course first to Hatrás, thence to Mathurá. From this latter place he sent on 5th September a proposal to the English general to surrender on receiving an assurance of protection for his person and his property.

Lord Lake acceded to the proposal. Whereupon Perron, having first sent his family to Agra, slipped quietly across the

river, and making his way to Sasni, threw himself under the protection of the British detachment stationed there. *Thence he was allowed to proceed with his family, and his property to Chándarnagar. From that time he and his affairs ceased to interest the Indian world.

III.

Amongst the French officers mentioned in the preceding section is Colonel Pedrons. He must have joined de Boigne early, as he raised and commanded the third brigade in 1795. The next mention I find of him is of so late a date as 1800. In that year, when Perron was engaged in besieging the fort of Agra, Pedrons, then a Major, was despatched with eight battalions to attack and annihilate Lakhwá Dádá in Bandalkhand. In this enterprise he was assisted by Ambají Ingliá with some irregular infantry and five thousand horse. He found, however, Lakhwá Dádá so strongly posted, that though the latter had only six thousand horse, three thousand Rohilas, and two hundred drilled sepoys* under his command, Pedrons was afraid to attack him. He spent two months in fruitless reconnoitering. At the end of that time Perron himself came down and crushed Lakhwá Dádá with one blow (3rd May 1800.) We next hear of Pedrons as relieving Bourquin in the campaign against Thomas. The part he then took has been already related. His final act was the defence of the fort of Aligarh against an English army under Lord Lake.

I have already stated that when the English army marched on Aligarh, Perron had with him only 2,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry. The infantry he threw into the fort, the command of which was confided to Pedrons.

Lord Lake's first act was to summon Pedrons to surrender. Pedrons in becoming terms refused. Lord Lake, then, finding that to attack it in regular form would give the enemy time to concentrate their forces to oppose him, resolved to attempt a *coup-de-main*.

It was a daring experiment, for Aligarh was strong, well garrisoned, and the country round it had been levelled. It had but one weak point, and that was a narrow passage across the ditch into the fort. This passage was, however, guarded by a strong gateway, and three other gateways had to be forced before the body of the place could be entered. To resolve to

* These 200 sepoys were drilled and commanded by Major Tone, "an unfortunate gentleman," says Major Smith "whose abilities and integrity were as great as his misfortunes were severe." Major Tone was subsequently shot through the head, whilst serving under Holkar, at an action near Cholí Mahásúr, in 1802. He wrote a valuable work called "Letters on the Máurátá people." (Ferdinand Smith).

attempt such a place by a *coup-de-main* required no ordinary nerve. The whole future of the campaign depended on the success of the storm. Should it fail, all India would rise up against the English; should it succeed, the Máhrátá Empire would receive its death-blow.

But throughout his career Lord Lake always acted on the principle, so often referred to in these articles, that "boldness was prudence." He stormed and carried Aligarh. By that success he paralysed the Máhrátá confederacy. To use the words of a contemporary writer then in the service of Sindia, "it was a mortal blow to the Máhrátá war: it struck a panic into the minds of the natives, and astonished all the princes in Hindostan; it gave them dreadful ideas of European soldiers and European courage."

Pedrons was taken prisoner at Aligarh. From that time he disappeared from the scene.

The next in order is the Bourquin referred to in the preceding section. This man's real name was Louis Bernard. His previous history, and his reason for changing his name, are alike unknown to me. It is only known that Perron had raised him from obscurity to the command of a brigade. His campaign against Thomas has been already related. He is next heard of as evincing his gratitude to Perron by revolting against him on the eve of the war with the English. By Perron's flight to British territory and by Pedrons' captivity, Bourquin became the senior officer in command of the old brigades of de Boigne.

Bourquin was close to Delhi at the head of the second and third brigades when the English were marching on Aligarh. Another French officer, Colonel Dugeon, was commanding the fort of Delhi. Bourquin, strongly sensible of the political advantage which might arise from having in his camp the old blind Emperor, called upon Dugeon to send him out under an escort. Dugeon refused. Upon this Bourquin prepared to besiege Delhi, and he only desisted when the fatal intelligence of the storming of Aligarh recalled him to a sense of his position.

On receiving this news Bourquin began to cross the Jamna with his two brigades. He had already (11th September) passed over twelve battalions with seventy pieces of cannon and five thousand cavalry, when, at 11 o'clock, the English army appeared in sight. Bourquin drew up his troops in a remarkably strong position, his front covered by a line of intrenchments prepared on the two preceding days; each flank covered by a swamp, and his guns hidden by long grass. Wishing to entice the English to attack this formidable position, he directed the outposts to fire on the English camp. At the time that this firing commenced, the British troops had grounded their arms,

many were undressed, others had gone in search of fuel. Lord Lake, however, hastily collected his men and led them to the attack. The fire from the long grass was, however, so heavy, and the intrenchments were so formidable, that Lord Lake, after losing many men and being wounded himself, stopped the advance to attempt a *ruse de guerre*. He then ordered his cavalry, which was leading, to retire slowly behind the infantry. The movement of the cavalry to the rear induced, in the mind of the French leader, the supposition that the British force was beaten. He ordered the men to leave the intrenchments and complete the victory. This they did with loud shouts. Their error continued till the sudden disappearance of the cavalry showed them the British infantry advancing to meet them. The disciplined battalions fought well, but they were over-matched. Bourquin was the first to leave the field. The rout then was complete. Bourquin surrendered, with five officers, three days later, to the English, and disappeared not only from the field of battle, but from the field of history.

A character superior in every way to Bourquin was the Chevalier Dudrenec. A native of Brest, the son of a commodore in the French navy, Dudrenec had come out to India as a midshipman in a French man-of-war about the year 1774. Why he left the French navy, or the occupation to which he betook himself after leaving it, I have never been able to ascertain. He first appears upon the Indian scene in command of Bégam Sombre's brigade. He left this command in 1791 to join Túkají Holkar, by whom he was commissioned to raise, drill, and equip four battalions on the principle previously employed for Sindia by de Boigne. Dudrenec acquitted himself of this commission with great success. The following year, however, his battalions were destroyed—the men dying at their posts,—at the fatal battle of Lakhairí, an account of which I have given in the sketch of de Boigne's career. Not disheartened, Holkar commissioned Dudrenec to raise four more battalions. This task he successfully accomplished, and with them, on the 12th March 1795, he contributed to the victory of Kardlá, gained by the combined Máhrátá forces against the Nizám.

For some time after this engagement Dudrenec remained in comparative inaction at Indúr. In 1797 he added two battalions to his force. In the struggle for power, which followed the death of Túkají the same year (1797), Dudrenec sided at first with the legitimate, but imbecile heir, Khásí Ráo. Acting in his name he alternately defeated, and was defeated by the pretender, Jeswant Ráo. When at length the triumph of the latter seemed assured, Dudrenec went over with all his troops and guns to his side. But Jeswant Ráo did not trust him, and Dudrenec soon saw that his disgrace was determined upon. Under these circum-

stances he thought he would try and steal a march upon his master. Taking advantage of the hostilities then engaged between Sindia and Jeswant Ráo (1801) he endeavoured to take his six battalions bodily over to the former. But the men were more faithful than their commander. They drove Dudrenec from the camp, and marched to Jeswant Ráo, who at once placed at their head an Englishman named Vickers.

Dudrenec was, however, well-received by Sindia, and entrusted with the command of a brigade, the fourth, and placed under the orders of Perron, at Aligarh. In February 1803, he was detached with this brigade to join Sindia at Ujjén; again, towards the autumn of the same year, when hostilities with the English were imminent, he was sent back to rejoin Perron. This force reached the vicinity of Agra in October, having been joined in its way by the three battalions of Bourquin's force which had not crossed the Jamna, nor been engaged in the battle of Delhi against the English, and by some other fugitives. The whole force amounted to about 12,000 men, well supplied with excellent artillery.

It was this army, indeed, which fought the famous battle of Láswárl. But when it fought that battle, Dudrenec was not with it. Influenced, it seems probable, by the example of his fellow-adventurers, and by the favourable conditions offered,* he had surrendered (30th October) to the English. His Indian career then closed.

One of the oldest officers in the service of de Boigne was John Hessing, a man who, if not a Dutchman,† was at least of Dutch extraction. He joined de Boigne shortly after the latter entered the service of Sindia, and was present at the hardy-contested battles of Lálsót, of Agra, and of Chaksána. At Patán, too, he fought bravely and well. After that battle, however, he quarrelled with de Boigne and tendered his resignation. This was accepted. Sindia then advanced him money to raise a battalion which should be peculiarly his own, and should act as his special body-guard. As commandant of this body-guard Hessing accompanied Mádhají to Púna in 1792, augmenting it gradually, as he proceeded, to four battalions. It was at this strength when failing health forced Hessing to leave Púna. He was sent thence to command at Agra, where he died in 1803.

His son, George Hessing, succeeded him at Púna. Shortly

* These conditions generally were security of life and property, and permission to return to Europe.

† Grant Duff says he was an Englishman; but his acquaintance and contemporary, Lewis Ferdinand Smith, invariably speaks of him as

a foreigner. His name does not appear in the list of British subjects serving Máhrátá states, who were pensioned by the British Government, and the inscription on his tomb at Agra declares him a Dutchman.

after that Mádhají Sindia died. Daolát Ráo, however, not only continued his favour to Hessing, but authorised him to increase the number of his battalions to eight. They were at this strength when hostilities broke out between Holkar and Sindia in 1801, although half the number only were then with Daolát Ráo in his camp at Búrhánpúr, George Hessing having sent four to reinforce his father at Agra.

Holkar having shown a disposition at this period to attack and plunder Ujjén, Sindia detached George Hessing with three of his battalions and with one belonging to Filoze, to defend that place. Shortly after he had left, Sindia, not hinking his force strong enough, sent his fourth battalion, and another of Filoze's under Captain McIntyre, to reinforce him. These were followed by Sindia's grand park of fifty-two guns, the advanced guard of which was formed by two of Perron's battalions under Captain Gautier, and the rear guard by two more under Captain Brownrigg.

Never, in his brilliant career, did Jeswant Ráo Holkar display to a greater extent the qualities of a general than on this occasion. Noticing the distance that separated these parties the one from the other; that the state of the soil, knee-deep with the mud created by the heavy rainfall, precluded the possibility of quick communication between them, at the same time that it rendered the progress of the guns extremely slow, he passed the leading column (George Hessing's,) close to Ujjén, and dashed down upon McIntyre's two battalions at Núrí, thirty-five miles from that place. His force was so overwhelming, that, notwithstanding their obstinate resistance, he, in the end, forced them to surrender. Having thus placed an impassable distance between Hessing's detachment and the troops under Gautier and Brownrigg, he turned back and fell upon the former. The battle was long, obstinate, and bloody. The immensely superior fire of Holkar's artillery alone decided the day, nor was it until seven* out of his enemy's eleven European officers had been killed, and three taken prisoners; until three-fifths likewise of their men had been killed and one-fifth wounded, that victory decided in favour of Holkar.

* Lewis Ferdinand Smith writes: "Of the eleven European officers who were in this severe action, eight were British subjects, seven of whom were killed at their posts, and only one survived, but survived with wounds. Colonel Hessing, the commander, escaped."

The names of the eight British subjects were Grahán, Urquhart,

Montague, Macpherson, Lang, Doolun, Haden, and Humpherstone. The seven first-named were killed, the last named was severely wounded and taken prisoner. The names of the foreign officers were Hessing, Dupont, and Deffidon. The first escaped, the two last were taken prisoners.

George Hessing is next heard of at Agra, commanding at that place when it was threatened by Lord Lake in October 1803. The troops, however, noticing the facility with which their foreign officers had surrendered to the English, placed Hessing and the six officers with him under restraint. This action on their part did not prevent Lord Lake from taking Agra. All the European officers, foreign and English, then within its walls, renounced the service of Sindia, and accepted the liberal conditions offered by Marquess Wellesley. Among these was George Hessing.

Michel Filoze, a Neapolitan of low birth and of no education, had at first served under de Boigne. By means of intrigue, however, he contrived to obtain authority to raise a battalion under his own sole command, and at the head of this he accompanied Mádhají to Púna in 1792.

This battalion became the nucleus of the brigade of fourteen battalions raised by Michel Filoze and his son and successor, Fidele, between that year and 1800. At the head of six of these he rendered good service at the battle of Kardlá, 1795. Michel Filoze was an adventurer of the lowest type. To other bad qualities he added the practise of treachery and dishonour. During the intrigues at Púna, which followed the death of Mádhají, Filoze ingratiated himself with Náná Farnawís, the minister of the Peshwa. When the latter was pressed by Sindia to visit him, and only hesitated because he mistrusted the intentions of Daolát Ráo, Michel Filoze assured him in the most solemn manner, and on his word of honour, that he would guarantee his safe and immediate return to his house. Yet, notwithstanding his oaths, and the pledge of his honour, Filoze himself arrested the Náná on his return from the interview (31st December 1797) and made him over to his master. This act of his was resented in the most marked manner by the other adventurers at the court and in the camp of Daolát Ráo. They considered this baseness on the part of one of their number as a stain upon themselves as a body. When shortly afterwards, the Náná was released and restored to power, Michel Filoze, dreading his vengeance, fled to Bombay.

He was succeeded by his son Fidele. Fidele Filoze accompanied Daolát Ráo in his campaign against Holkar in 1801 at the head of six battalions. One of these, under Captain McIntyre, was cut off by Jeswant Ráo Holkar at Núrí; a second under George Hessing was destroyed at Ujjén (June 1801); the remaining four took part in the battle of Indúr (14th October 1801). On this occasion Sindia's army, really commanded by an Englishman, Major Sutherland, gained a decisive victory. Strange to say, after that battle, to the gain of which he and his troops

contributed, Fidele Filoze cut his throat. "The reasons for this suicide," writes Major L. F. Smith, so often referred to, "are various. Some say that he had carried on a traitorous correspondence with Jeswant Ráo Holkar previous to the battle of Indúr, and that he cut his throat to prevent the disgrace of condign punishment; others that he committed the act in a delirium." Major Smith describes Fidele Filoze as having been "a good, ignorant man, a much better character than his faithless and treacherous father, who had all the bad qualities of a low Italian, and none of the good points which Italians possess." The Filoze family ultimately settled at Gwáliar.

A great deal might be written regarding the careers of adventurers who were not foreigners but Englishmen, and some of whom displayed the highest qualities. Prominent amongst these stand the names of Sutherland, Smith, Shepherd, Gardner, Skinner, Bellasis, Dodd, Brownrigg, Vickers and Ryan. The first five of these accepted the terms offered by Marquess Wellesley in 1803, and with upwards of thirty other officers renounced the service of native chiefs; the last five were murdered or killed in action.

Of other Frenchmen who did good service to Sindia and Holkar, may be mentioned Captain Plumet, of whom Major Smith records that he was "a Frenchman and a gentleman, two qualities which were seldom united in the Máhrátá army. He was a man of respectable character and sound principles." Plumet commanded four battalions for Holkar in the attack on George Hessing at Ujjén (June 1801), and he shared in the defeat inflicted upon Holkar by Major Brownrigg at Barkésar in the July following. Finding Jeswant Ráo Holkar a master difficult to serve; cunning, capricious, and ungrateful, Plumet left him, and returned to the Isle of France.

With these names I have exhausted the list of the principal foreign adventurers who built up the armies of Holkar and Sindia between 1787 and 1803. It is true that many more names remain on the list, but not one that calls for sympathy or interest. This is my own conviction formed upon a minute examination of every paper of that period upon which I have been able to lay my hand. How far that conviction is borne out by contemporary opinion may be gathered from the following sentence culled from Major Smith's work already quoted. "Perron's army," wrote that gentleman in 1805, "was a minute miniature of the French revolution. Wretches were raised from cooks, bakers, and barbers, to majors and colonels, absurdly entrusted with the command of brigades, and shoved into paths to acquire lakhs. This was the quintessence of *égalité*, and the *acmé* of the French revolution." Even if Major Smith's description be exaggerated, this at least is

certain, that of all the men to whom I have referred, but one only, de Boigne, was worthy of representing France. He was worthy; and there was another, Raymond, whose deeds have yet to be recorded, who at least rivals him in the esteem which, living, he earned; which, dead, is still not denied him.

IV.

Before proceeding to Raymond it seems fit that I should briefly notice the career of two adventurers, very famous in their day, who flourished at a period immediately antecedent to that of de Boigne. I allude to Madoc and Sombre.

The real name of Sombre, as he was styled on account of his dark complexion, was Walter Reinhard. By birth he was a German, by trade a butcher. He originally came out to India in the Swiss company of infantry under the command of Captain Zeigler, attached to the Bombay European regiment. With that company he most probably came round to the coast, where he deserted and made his way round to Bengal, apparently in the French service.*

After the capture of Chándarnagar in 1757, Sombre wandered from the court of one petty chieftain to that of another in quest of service. After several unimportant adventures, he was in 1762 appointed to the command of a brigade of troops in the service of Mír Kásim, Nawáb Názim of Bengal.

Shortly after that event the greed and avidity of the English rulers of Bengal † forced Mír Kásim to war. The contest was on the one side for dominion, on the other for independence. On the 1st July 1763, Mr. Ellis and the English garrison of Patna, who had taken and then abandoned that city, surrendered to Mír Kásim's generals, Markar and Sombie, and were sent back thither as prisoners. On the 17th July following, Mír Kásim's main army was repulsed on the banks of the river Adjí by a strong artillery force under Lieutenant Glenn; and two days later it was defeated by Major Adams in the most obstinately contested battle of Katwá.

The brigade of Sombre was not engaged on these occasions, but it joined the main army in time to take part in the bloody battle of Ghériá (2nd August). In this battle Sombre occupied a very prominent position, and had he displayed the smallest pluck, the British power might have been temporarily extinguished on that well-contested field. The left wing of the English had been broken; their centre had been attacked in the

* Broome's *History of the Bengal Army*.

† *Ibid.*

rear. The brigades of Sombre and Markar* had only to advance and the day was gained. But it was against Sombre's principle to advance. His plan of action was invariably to draw his men in a line, fire a few shots, form a square, and retreat. He followed out this plan to the letter at Ghériá. He allowed the victory to slip from his grasp, but he covered the retreat of the army.

The victory of Ghériá was followed up by another (5th September) on the U'dwá nullah; and on the 1st October by the capture of Monghír. In the first defeat Sombre and his brigade were sharers.

The fall of Monghír irritated Mír Kásim to such a degree that he determined to take the terrible revenge of slaughtering the English prisoners held by him at Patna. The story is thus told in his admirable history by the late Colonel Broome.† "Mír Kásim now issued the fatal order for the massacre of his unfortunate prisoners, but so strong was the feeling on the subject, that none amongst his officers could be found to undertake the office, until Sombre offered his service to execute it.

"The majority of the prisoners were confined in a house belonging to one Hadji Ahmad, on the site of the present English cemetery in that city. Hither Sombre repaired on the 5th October, with two companies of his sipáhis, having on the previous day, under pretence of giving the party an entertainment, procured all their knives and forks, so that they were deprived of every means of resistance. Having surrounded the house, he sent for Messrs. Ellis, Hay, and Lushington, who went out with six other gentlemen, and were immediately cut to pieces in the most barbarous manner and their remains thrown into a well. The sipáhis now mounted the roof of the house, which was built in the form of a square, and fired down upon the remainder of the party, who were congregated in the centre court. Those who escaped this volley sought shelter in the building, but were quickly followed by Sombre's sipáhis, and a fearful scene of slaughter ensued. The English, driven to desperation, defended themselves with bottles, bricks, and articles of furniture; and their very executioners struck with their gallantry, requested that arms might be furnished to them, when they would set upon them and fight them till destroyed, but that this butchery of unarmed men was not the work for sipáhis, but for *hullalkhores* (executioners). Sombre, enraged, struck down those that objected, and compelled his men to proceed in their diabolical work until the whole were slain. The following morning their remains were thrown into a well in the

* Markar was an American in Army, a standard work based entirely on authentic records.

† Broome's *History of the Bengal*

courtyard. The men employed in this office found one person, Mr. Gulston of the civil service, yet alive, and they seemed inclined to save him; but this gentleman, who was an admirable linguist, smarting with his wounds, and ignorant of their kindly intentions towards him, gave them abuse and threatened them with the vengeance of his countrymen, upon which they threw him still breathing into the well with his more fortunate comrades. A few of the party, probably the sick and wounded, were in the Chehel Sitún, and were butchered in a similar manner on the 11th. Neither age nor sex was spared, and Sombre consummated his diabolical villainy by the murder of Mr. Ellis's infant child, from which it may be inferred that Mrs. Ellis was amongst the female sufferers in this dreadful catastrophe." Upwards of fifty civil and military officers and a hundred European soldiers, perished on this occasion. One officer, Dr. Fullarton, whose medical abilities had gained even the regard of Mír Kásim, had been allowed to reside on the Dutch factory, and escaped some days later. Four sergeants also who had been sent for from Purná by Mír Kásim, overpowered the crew of the boat in which they were being conveyed, and escaped.

From this date the fate of Sombre was allied to that of the deadliest enemies of the English. Thenceforward his life was a purgatory. He could expect but one fate should he fall into the hands of the countrymen of his murdered victims. He therefore always carried about with him poison to avoid a catastrophe which he never ceased to dread. Sombre took part in the battle of Patná (May 2nd 1764), fought by Mír Kásim; and in that of Buxar fought by the Vizier of Oudh, against the English (23rd October 1764). In both these he displayed his usual shiftiness, retreating on the very suspicion of danger. After the ruin of Mír Kásim (1764) he had transferred himself and his brigade to the Vizier of Oudh, but he left him for the Jâts in August 1765.

Whilst serving with the Jâts, Sombre purchased at Delhi a dancing girl, named Zeb-úl-Nissa, afterwards so notorious as the Bégam Sombre. She has been described as small and plump, with a fair complexion, and large animated eyes. She possessed great talents, the power of influencing others, and was utterly unscrupulous.

After his marriage with Zeb-úl-Nissa, Sombre acted on the principle of offering his brigade to the highest bidder. Somehow he always commanded a good price. In 1776 he accepted service under Mirza Najaf Khan, the Commander-in-chief of the Moghol army, after having shared in the defeat inflicted by that leader upon his patrons, the Jâts, at Barsána the previous year. The following year the Court of Delhi conferred upon him the principality known as Sirdhána, yielding an annual rent of six lakhs

of rupees. This territory was nominally grafted to Sombre for the payment of the troops under his command, but upon his death, 4th May 1778, it passed to Zeb-úl-Nissa, thenceforth known in history as the Bégam Sombre or Samrú.

After Sombre's death, the brigade was commanded under the Bégam first by one Pauly, a German, who was taken prisoner by Mahomed Beg Hamdání, and executed in breach of a solemn promise, in 1783. After the murder of Pauly, "three Frenchmen," writes Major L. F. Smith, "Messieurs Baours, Evens, and Dudrenec, successively commanded and gladly retired." In 1793, the Bégam married her then chief officer, M. Le Vaisseau, "a man of birth, talents and pride of character,"* who shot himself two years later. An old and respectable Frenchman, Colonel Saleur, then obtained the command. Under him, the brigade increased to six battalions and fought at Assaye, losing there its four guns and many men. The Bégam herself lived till 1836.

Madoc had been a common soldier in the French army. The capture of Chándarnagar in 1757 threw him loose on the country. After some adventures, totally unworthy of being recorded, he joined Sombre's brigade, and served under his orders at the several battles in which he was engaged under Mír Kásim. With him he transferred his services in 1764 to the Vizier of Oudh, and obtained at once the command of a separate brigade. At the battle of Baxar he rendered good service. His character was the very opposite of that of Sombre. He was rash, enterprising, and even imprudent. In 1765 he transferred his brigade, which consisted of five battalions, twenty guns, and five hundred horse, to the Játs. Subsequently, and as it suited his purpose, he took service alternately with them, with Mirza Najaf Khan, and with the Ráná of Góhad. In 1776, whilst in alliance with the first-named, he was attacked and his party almost destroyed at Biána by fifteen hundred Rohillas, who surprised him during a storm of rain. On this occasion he lost twelve European officers, killed and wounded, all his guns and baggage, and fled, but scantily attended, to Futteh-púr. Thence, however, he made his way to Agra, and succeeded in raising, in an incredibly short space of time, a force as strong in numbers, and as well appointed in men and in material as the party he had lost. Receiving shortly afterwards (1782) an offer of a large sum from the Ráná of Góhad for the brigade as it stood, he sold it to him and returned to France. He did not long survive, being killed in a duel. The subsequent life of his brigade was even shorter, Mádhájí Sindia, who was then warring with the Ráná, cutting it off to a man in an ambuscade (1784).

* Major L. F. Smith.

V.

It is now time to turn to Raymond.

Michel Joachim Marie Raymond was born at Serignac, the 20th September 1755. His father was a merchant, and the son followed the same profession. Pushed on by his enterprising nature, however, young Raymond determined to found a corresponding house in India, and with that object he set out in January 1775 from Lorient for Pondichery, taking with him a large quantity of manufactured goods. He disposed off these to great advantage at Pondichery; then, still drawn on by his ardent nature and his love of adventure, he entered as sub-lieutenant in a corps commanded by the Chevalier de Lassé in the service of Tippú Sahib. With this corps he fought throughout the campaigns of the war which began in 1780 against the English for the possession of Southern India.

When in March 1783 the Marquis de Bussy landed in India at the head of 2,300 men, one of his first acts was to offer to Raymond, as one who knew the country, the people, and the language, the post of Aide-de-Camp. Raymond accepted it, and took a share in all the actions under Bussy related in the first section of these papers.* Subsequently to the Treaty of Versailles and till the death of Bussy at Pondichery in January 1785, Raymond occupied the same post with the rank of captain. But on Bussy's death, he, with the consent of the governor, took service with Nizám Ali Khan, the Súbadár of the Dekhan.

The Súbadárs of the Dekhan had always been partial to the French. It had been under the brother of Nizám Ali that Bussy with his corps of Frenchmen had gained so great a renown. In July 1758, Bussy had been compelled by the policy of Lally to leave Haidarabád. He then made over charge to M. de Conflans. The following year, however, Conflans surrendered to the English, and the ruler of the Dekhan had been forced not only to renounce the French alliance, but to agree never to permit a French contingent to be quartered within his territories.

This treaty was regarded as binding by Nizám Ali Khan, when in 1761, he imprisoned and succeeded his brother. But there was another brother, Basálat Jang, who held in jaghír from Nizám Ali the district of Gantúr. Basálat, considering himself as bound by no treaty, and anxious to have in his service a body of foreigners upon whom he could depend, took into his pay a body of French troops. These were commanded by the younger Lally,† a nephew of the more famous general.

* *Vide Calcutta Review* for January 1877, Art. *French Mariners on the Indian Seas*. † *Transactions in India*, London, 1786.

Nizám Ali, moved by the English, required his brother to disband this contingent. For five years he refused, and only at last complied when, quarreling with Haidar Ali, he found it necessary to conciliate the English. Nizám Ali at once took the corps into his own service.

The fate of the younger Lally I have never been able to ascertain, but it is certain that he and the men he commanded were lent in 1779 by the Nizám to Haidar Ali to aid in the prosecution of his war against the English; that they served throughout that war, and on the conclusion of peace returned to Haidarabád.* It seems probable that Lally died or resigned in 1785: certain it is that in that year Raymond succeeded him.

Up to the time of Raymond's arrival at Haidarabád the foreign adventurers who had served his predecessor had constituted one single corps of European cavalry. Simultaneously almost with de Boigne, Raymond conceived the idea of improving this system by raising and drilling, in the European fashion, a considerable body of native troops, who should be commanded, and in part officered, by the adventurers who had survived the then recent campaign.

To this task Raymond bent all his energies. The work was gradual in its accomplishment. It may be asked, perhaps, how the Nizám was able to evade his obligation to the British Government? But this was not difficult. His predecessor had been forbidden to entertain a corps of Frenchmen. This, the Nizám agreed, was not intended to apply, and could not apply, to native battalions officered by foreigners. Notwithstanding, then, the displeasure frequently expressed by the Madras Government, Raymond, under the Nizám's orders, continued to augment the disciplined native troops.

His plan of procedure was different to de Boigne's, and had some advantages over it. These, however, were owing to the larger European material available in his hands. Thus he was able to fix the complement of the European officers to each regiment at eight, of the men at seven hundred and fifty.

By the beginning of the year 1795, Raymond had under his command fifteen thousand disciplined troops, formed into twenty battalions, and officered, including the staff, by one hundred and twenty-four Europeans. It was the most formidable body of native troops in the service of a native prince in India. For their support the Nizám assigned to Raymond several districts.

Nevertheless, the first essay of these troops on the field of battle was destined to be unfortunate. In the beginning of 1797 the Nizám, incited by the anarchy prevailing at the court of Púna

* *Transactions in India*, London, 1786.

declared war against the Peshwa, and marched to overthrow the Máhratá Empire. The Peshwa summoned his vassals and raised an army to meet him. The two armies met between Kardlá and Parindá, the 12th March 1795. Raymond had all his men in the field; whilst the Máhratás were aided by twenty-six battalions composed of the men of the brigades of Perron, Filoze, Hessing, Dudrenec, and Boyd. In the sketch of Perron's career I have given an account of the action. It will be seen that not only did Raymond obtain at first an advantage over the Máhratás, but that when the tide turned, he covered the retreat, prepared at any moment to convert it into a victory. But for the pusillanimity of the Nizám he might have done so. But with such a leader even a Raymond could not force victory.

During this war with the Máhratás, the Governor-General, Lord Teignmouth, had lent the Nizám two battalions of British sepoys to maintain the internal peace of his dominions, while he should concentrate all his forces against the enemy. In doing this Lord Teignmouth had displayed a consideration for the Nizám which might easily have been construed as exceeding the bounds of permissible courtesy, the British being still in alliance with the Peshwa. But even this did not satisfy the Nizám. He wanted active aid; and because he had been refused, he, on the termination of the war, resolved to dispense altogether with British support, and to supply its place by additions to the corps of Raymond. In pursuance of this resolution he, in June 1795, dismissed the two British battalions. Coincidentally with this dismissal he ordered a large increase to Raymond's troops and assigned fresh districts for their maintenance.

But the British troops had scarcely quitted Haidarabád when an event occurred, the effects of which rendered the timorous Nizám more dependent than ever on the allies he was insulting. His eldest son, Ali Jáh, following the family traditions, broke out into rebellion. Quitting the capital under a false pretext, the young prince made his way to Bidr, obtained possession of that fortress and of others of less importance, summoned disaffected chiefs and disbanded sepoys to his standard, and was soon able to present a very formidable front to his outraged father.

The first act of Nizám Ali on learning of this revolt was to recall the two British battalions; his second, to despatch Raymond against the rebels. Raymond experienced no difficulty. The slightest skirmish sufficed to dissipate the followers of Ali Jáh. The prince fled to Aurangabád, but was pursued and captured. Raymond made over his prisoner to the minister sent by his father to take charge of him. The minister when setting out on his return journey to Haidarabád, directed that the

howdah in which the prince was seated should be covered with a veil. But Ali Jah, ashamed of this indignity and afraid to meet his father, took poison and died.

Notwithstanding the suppression of the rebellion, the Nizam still retained the two British regiments at Haidarabad, and he himself fell gradually into a state of dependence on the British Government. This was further evidenced by the difficulties thrown in the way of carrying out the order for the increase of Raymond's corps. The prudent conduct of Raymond at this crisis was not, however, without influence on the mind of his capricious master, and it seems not improbable that, had he lived, all opposition to his schemes would have vanished. He died, however, very suddenly on the 25th March 1798, just six months prior to the arrival of the crisis which would have tried to the utmost his ability and his influence.

Raymond was a great loss to the enemies of England. No adventurer in India ever stood higher than he did. He was brave, magnificent, generous, affable, and vigilant. To great abilities he united the most consummate prudence. The one dream of his life was to carry out, by the means still open to him, the schemes of Dupleix, of Lally, and of Suffren. He deserves to be ranked with those illustrious warriors in the hierarchy of patriotic Frenchmen. With far fewer means he laid the foundation of a system which excited the greatest apprehension in the minds of the enemies of his country. To die at the early age of forty-four, just as the crisis to which he might have been equal was approaching, was an evidence of love from which his friends would gladly have exempted him. It is, indeed, possible that his reputation has not suffered from his early death. Even Raymond might have proved unequal to cope with the great Marquess Wellesley, wielding all the power of British India. But there is this yet to be said of him. No European of mark who preceded him, no European of mark who followed him, in India, ever succeeded in gaining to such an extent the love, the esteem, the admiration of the natives of the country. The grandsons of the men who loved him then, love and revere him now. The hero of the grandfathers is the model warrior of the grandchildren. Round his tomb in the present day there flock still young men and maidens listening to the tales told by the wild dervishes of the great deeds and lofty aspirations of the paladin to whom their sires devoted their fortunes and their lives.

Raymond was succeeded in the command of the French division by M. Piron, a Fleming. Piron was honest, but sadly deficient in prudence. He could not conceal the hatred which he felt towards the English. It happened that Marquess Wellesley had just landed as Governor-General strongly impressed with the designs of General Bonaparte on India, and almost his first act

was to require the Nizám to dismiss his French contingent. It is possible that the prudent Raymond might have conjured away or have met the storm. Piron did not possess sufficient character to do either. The Nizám was very unwilling to comply. But he yielded to the pressure put upon him by the great Marquess, and on the 1st September 1798, he signed a treaty by which he agreed to receive no Frenchman in his service, to disband the whole of the infantry lately commanded by Raymond, and to receive in their stead a contingent of British sepoy.

No sooner had the treaty been concluded than four battalions of British sepoy with their guns marched to Haidarabad, and joined the two battalions formerly stationed there. Some hesitation was even then displayed by the Nizám to break up Piron's corps; but the threatening attitude assumed by the British, forced him to issue a proclamation to his disciplined sepoy, informing them that their French officers were dismissed. The scene that followed was remarkable. These sepoy had adored Raymond; they had looked to their European officers with affection and pride; they would have followed them to the end of the earth; they knew that their dismissal was due, not to the wish of the Nizám, but to British influence. On hearing, then, the proclamation of the Nizám, they first murmured, then broke out into rebellion. But their European officers had been secured; their cantonments had been surrounded; from every point they saw their position commanded by cannon. Resistance being then hopeless, they surrendered, asking each other with a sigh; "would this have been, had Raymond only lived?" The French officers were sent to France.

I have now brought to a close this sketch of the careers of the principal foreign adventurers who flourished in India between the signature of the treaty of Versailles and the fatal blow dealt to the Máhrátá Empire by Marquess Wellesley in 1803-4. From that moment the British Empire in India was secure. Thenceforth neither native prince nor foreign adventurer could stay its onward progress. Any war which might break out, from the Satlaj down to the sea, could cause no serious disquiet to the Governor-General of British India. Even the acute sovereign of the warlike clan which had established a powerful monarchy beyond the Satlaj,—even Ranjit Singh foresaw the doom which awaited even the kingdom he had created. "It will all," he said, as he noted on the map the red border which encircled the various provinces already under British sway, "it will all become red." His words were a prophecy. The impetus given to the vast machine could not be stopped until the final goal had been attained.

The various, so to speak, indigenous races which had tried to found an empire in India had failed. The Hindús, brave as they

were, became to a great extent demoralised by an over-refinement of civilisation ; an over-refinement which, amongst other strange forms, made of food a religion. This one law, this article of faith, which prevents combination, restricts men to a certain diet, to be partaken of only under certain fixed conditions, is sufficient in the present day to prevent the race which practises it from holding the chief sway over such a country as Hindostan. The northern warriors who ruled on their ruin had defects of an opposite character not less fatal to permanent predominance. With some brilliant exceptions they were intolerant, and the security—the very existence even—of their rule always depended on the character of the ruler. The Máhrátás, who succeeded them, were in every sense of the word adventurers,—fortune hunters, who rose from nothing, men of neither birth, position, nor descent,—the marauders which a country in the last throes of its agony sends out from its lurking places to plunder and destroy. Such was Sivájí ; such were the earlier representatives of the Gaikwár, of Sindia, of Holkar, and of the Bhónslé. Yet these men founded an empire. The Máhrátás succeeded the Moghols. When Lord Lake entered Delhi in 1803, the men he had beaten beneath its walls were the soldiers of the greatest of the Máhrátá chieftains. Virtually he restored the Moghol.

Could the Máhrátá empire have lasted if there had been no foreign power on the spot to supplant it ? To those who would pause for a reply I would point to the condition of the court of Púna after the death of the Peshwa, Madhú Ráo Narain, in 1795. It was the court of Delhi after the demise of a sovereign in its worst days. It was the court of Delhi as it always was after the death of Aurangzib. The Máhrátá system of rule was cursed with the same inherent vice which was the bane of the Moghol sway. The succession was never secure to any one member of the family. The people were never safe against the exactions of their rulers. The rulers were never safe against treachery and insurrection. The inevitable consequences were intrigue, rapine, slaughter ; constant wars ; incessant oppression of the people. Had there been no foreigners on the spot to supplant the Máhrátá rule it is probable that the various members of its clan would have fought to a standstill, only in the end to make way for some new invader from the north,—possibly, for the moment, for Ranjit Singh,—to relapse, on his death, into renewed anarchy.

It would seem, then, to have been necessary for the safety of India that the successor to the Máhrátá should be a foreigner. Who was that foreigner to be ? It was inevitable that he should come from Europe, for the children of northern Asia had been tried and found wanting. Portugal made the first venture, ignorant of the possible stake she might be called to play for. Holland, with a keener though still very dim appreciation of the future, followed

and, in part, supplanted Portugal.* Then came England with a vision more clouded than that of Holland, caring nothing for dominion, looking only for gain. Last of all stepped in France. To the brilliant intellect of her gifted sons, the nature of the mission which lay before one European power was not for long a sealed book. The greatest of the children whom she sent to India, recognising the priceless value of the stake, risked his all to win it. Had the Bourbon who ruled France properly supported him he would have won it. As it was, the intensity of the passion he displayed in playing the great game communicated some vague idea of its importance to his English rivals. The genius of Clive clutched it; the statesmanlike brain of Warren Hastings nurtured it; the commanding intellect of Marquess Wellesley established it as an ineradicable fact. Yet, throughout this period, France, which had been the first to conceive the idea, never resigned it. She had much to contend against. The narrow visions of her monarch and her statesmen could not grasp the vital importance of the mighty stake. It was these men who prevented India from becoming French. I have but to point to a few instances of their incapacity. The restoration of Madras by the peace of Aix la Chapelle; the recall of Dupleix, when if they had sent him but one regiment more, he would have gained southern India; the diminution of the forces ordered to be sent with Lally; the appointment as his colleague of such a man as d'Aché; the acknowledgment by the treaty of Versailles of the *status quo ante bellum*, when the English were reduced to their last gasp in southern India; all these were fatal errors due to that want of comprehensive grasp which marked the statesmen of the later Bourbons. Frenchmen on the spot, indeed, atoned nobly for the errors of their rulers. They fought for the idea, as long as it could be fought for; and when they beheld it slipping from their grasp, they yet struggled with skill, with courage, and with pertinacity to prevent its appropriation by their rivals. In my history of the French in India, and in three recent articles in this *Review*, I have endeavoured to draw a vivid and a true picture of their aims and of their struggles. Those aims were worthy of being recorded, for they were lofty; those struggles deserved a historian, for they were gallant. The record reveals to us, moreover, this great people displaying qualities for which the world has not given them credit. We all knew that the French were clever, brave, and venturesome. Not every one, however, is prepared to find in a Frenchman the long pertinacity displayed by Dupleix; the quality of not knowing when he was beaten evinced by Suffren; the daring hardihood of her privateersmen; or lastly, the patience, the energy, the perseverance shown under trying circumstances by many of the adventurers whose deeds have been recorded in

this number. England, who, grasping gradually the idea of France, now occupies the position to which a Frenchman first aspired, only does honour to herself when she recognises the splendid qualities displayed by her most formidable rival; allows that on the sea as well as on land she met a worthy antagonist; and admits, that if for the favourable result of the contest she owes much to the genius and the comprehensive views of the great statesmen who guided the councils of her country during a large portion of the eighteenth century, she is indebted even to a greater extent to the errors committed by the statesmen of the enemy she was combating.

G. B. MALLESON.
